DISCOVERY

AND

CONQUESTS

OF THE

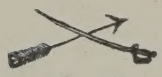
NORTH-WEST,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF CHICAGO.

BY

RUFUS BLANCHARD.



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1881.

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INTRODUCTION.

Spain took the lead in settling the New World. The West India Islands, Peru, Mexico and Florida were Spanish provinces before any other nation had obtained even a foothold in the great Western inheritance of Nature. But these first Spanish adventurers were too richly rewarded with gold not to intoxicate the brains of the nation. Despising the slow process of agriculture as a means of wealth, they wasted their strength in searching for gold wherever they went, and left the fairest portions of America to be colonized by France and England. France pushed her settlements up the St. Lawrence river, and ultimately into the country of the great chain of lakes and the entire valley of the Mississippi, with a view of holding the great channels of American commerce, while the English, at random, set their foot upon the Atlantic coast, without any plans for the future. It is seldom that great national expectations are fulfilled, and the ultimate destiny of America is no exception to this almost universal rule. Year after year the English colonists toiled in contentment along the eastern fringe of the continent, hardly beyond the hearing of the waters that beat against their narrow foothold in the New World. What was beyond these confines they knew not, nor had they time to inquire, for other work was before them. Across the ocean they had unconsciously borne the elements of a great nation. These had to be planted on a new soil and cultivated into a vigorous growth. While this planting season was in progress, the French, with far-reaching ambition, were strengthening their positions in the interior by building forts and establishing friendly relations with the Indians.

No rivalship between the two nations was manifested at

first, but ultimately the religion and State policy of France was destined to come into competition with these same elements in the workings of the English mind. The latter prevailed after a long and apparently even-matched warfare, and the hopes of France were dashed to the ground. The English flag now waved over lake, river, and coast, wherever beginnings had been made, but their triumph had but a transient tenure. A new idea seizes upon the minds of men, and a new flag springs into existence. The English in turn are driven from our soil, and only the Indians, its natural inheritors, left to contend against the Americans. A prolonged struggle ensued on their part for existence, and on ours for advancement. Many complex conditions were brought into the issue. The early French relations to the Indians; their inter-marriages and consequent sympathy for them; the fur trade and its medley of associations, evil and good; the partially successful missionary efforts both of the French Roman Catholic Fathers and of the United Brethren, or Moravians. All these brought a charm of romance into the ever open chasm between the pioneer soldiers and the tenacious Indians. Slowly and sadly the latter retreated forever from the blood-stained soil, and few of their offspring are left among the living of to-day. Neither their courage, nor their murderous revenge could save them, and what has been a loss to them (but a few in number), has been a gain to the millions who now own the soil.

Never before in the history of the world has the ambition of man been stimulated to such an extent as here. The jurists, the schoolmasters, and the ministers of New England and Virginia followed the host of pioneers to the new field where all the appliances of civilization were to be built and the timber taken from the stump. During this process the stream of wealth has more than kept pace with expectation, till we now find ourselves equal in rank and influence with the older States of the Union. For this position we are partly indebted to recruits from all the enlightened nations of Europe. It is not too much to say that we are made up of the activity and enterprise of the world as it brimmed over its confines at home and found a broader field here for its action.

"The West," "Western," "Western characteristics,"

are significant expressions. They mean dash, spirit, elasticity, resolution, and hope. Nor is it strange that these are the prominent traits of a people whose star of destiny has so suddenly risen to the zenith; of a people nurtured into confidence in themselves by an almost unremitting tide of advancement in everything which constitutes national grandeur, except the finishing touches of art and science, which are yet to be perfected.

While these conditions have grown upon us in our progress down the highways of time, we have laid upon ourselves heavy burdens by premature legislation, not unlike those of the erratic sallies of childhood. Wiser counsels must come to our rescue to make amends for these, just as the well-digested thoughts of maturity recast the images of youth.

Breathing time has now come to view the ground over which we have traveled, doubly endeared to us, because we ourselves were the first to take possession of it, and because we fashioned its institutions after our own model. That our history rises in importance as we assume larger proportions in the body politic, is manifested by the eagerness with which every thing pertaining to the early records of the West is sought after, and by the increasing number of Historical Societies springing up throughout the country, for the preservation of these precious relics.

The rival interests of nations, complicated with religious and social conditions, produce war, and the province of the historian is not circumscribed to the details of the battle-field. These are but the means by which the passions and sympathies of nations achieve their ends. Hence, history, without reference to issues and contingencies, is only a bundle of facts, packed into the leaves of a book too tightly for the wedge of inquiry to let light shine between them. If the historian has failed to introduce to his readers the motive power that lets loose the dogs of war, his book will be like the play of "Hamlet with Hamlet left out." That history has taken the first place in literature, is due to the exhaustless character of its subjects, among which may be found truths which foreshadow the future from the past, and leave a more abiding impression than the teachings of fiction.

THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER I.

Jaques Cartier explores the St. Lawrence River—Settlement of Quebec—Discovery of Lake Champlain—Expedition against the Iroquois—Dutch settlement at Albany—Discovery of Lake Huron—The Falls of St. Mary reached—The French take formal possession of the country—Discovery of the Mississippi River—The Pictured Rocks—Discovery of the Chicago Portage—Marquette winters at Chicago—The Indians' affection for him—Religious services on the prairies—Death of Marquette. The removal of his remains to St. Ignace—His Journal—Late discovery of his bones.

Far in the depths of a new continent, a flat heath of waving grasses is pierced by a small tranquil stream, from whose unrippled face the moon-beams had glittered for ages in silence.

This is all that can be said of the history of Chicago, till the white man visited it, and learned from the Indians that it was a convenient portage from the interior to the lakes.

When Alexander was weeping that there were no more worlds to conquer, with no overstrain of the imagination, we can see the Indian securely gliding his canoe over the Chicago river into Lake Michigan, with an omnipotent reliance upon his own skill and courage, to protect himself from the greatest conqueror on earth, and it is difficult to tell which would have been the most surprised, Alexander or the Indians, could both have been informed of each other.

History begins with mythology, in the old world,—in the new, on an immaculate tablet, simple and positive. Here the white man has raised his altars and commenced making his record, and the traditions of the red man have vanished before him, but still some enduring monuments of his nomenclature remain.

These unlettered lexicographers gave symbolic names to their rivers, lakes, islands and to themselves, and in their vocabulary they had the name Chicago, which, in the language of the Illinois tribes meant an onion. And in the language of the Pottawattomies, who dwelt at Chicago, it meant a pole-cat. These

were its literal meanings in a positive sense, and by this name the place where our city stands, has been known from a period ante-dating its history.* It is highly probable that it was thus named because wild onions grew in great profusion there. That the name was a synonym of honor, is demonstrated from the fact the Illinois tribes named one of their chiefs Chicago, and thus elevated above his peers, he was sent to France in 1725, and had the distinguished honor of being introduced to the Company of The Indies.†

The discovery and exploration of the whole interior of the country, was the work of French zeal and enthusiasm. To propagate the faith was the first object, at least in theory, but not far behind it was ambition to annex new realms to the crown of France. In pursuit of these two objects, the exploits of their adventurers, soldiers and missionaries, have justly challenged the admiration of the world. Borne along by the tidal wave of glory, these men gathered force and strength as they penetrated into the country, and breathed the air of freedom which pervaded the limitless creation of prairie and forest under the regime of the red man.

Even before the Spaniards under De Soto, had penetrated from Florida to the Mississippi river, which was from 1539 to 1543, the French under Jaques Cartier, had sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec. This was in 1534. The delighted adventurers returned to France with the news of their discoveries of the wedge-shaped river ninety miles wide at its mouth, graduating to the dimensions of a common river at Quebec. What was beyond was left to conjecture for the present, for France was then too much distracted with religious dissensions at home, to utilize her discoveries on the St. Lawrence, and it was not till 1608 that she made the attempt. At that time, Samuel de Champlain, who was justly called the father of New France, made a permanent settlement at Quebec. He was the man for the place: austere in religion, sapient in politics, and courageous in war.

The deeds of the first settlers of all new countries are germ-cells of future destiny. Even the early Indian policy has had its influence, and it is not too much to say, may have had much to do with casting the lot of the Northwest ultimately, with the English colonies, instead of with the French, who were its first discoverers and owners. The tribes along the St. Lawrence, or Hochelega, as it was sometimes called, were friendly with the French, whom they called Ononthio (our older brother.) In

* Happily there is now (1878) a living witness (Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq.,) well known for candor, who was versed in the Illinois language, whose testimony is the authority here given for the meaning of the word, and may be looked upon as conclusive. Schoolcraft and other authorities might also be cited, if more were required.

† Shea's Charlevoix. Vol. VI, page 76.

Champlain they beheld their champion who could lead them to victory against their ancient enemies, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who inhabited the present State of New York. Their central seat of power was located on the banks of Onondaga lake, among the cluster of lakes which was then, and is now, the paradise of the region thereabouts.

Without discussing the merits of the dispute between these traditionary enemies, Champlain consented to lead a war party of his allies, of the St. Lawrence, against the Iroquois. It was in 1609, the next year after the settlement of Quebec, that he, with a canoe fleet of noisy Indians, paddled his way up the river, then without a name, which connects the waters of Lake Champlain* with the St. Lawrence river. Following the Western Bank of the Lake nearly to the present site of Ticonderoga, at midnight they saw the enemy, who, like themselves, were on some adventure. The two parties held a parley and agreed to land and wait till daylight before commencing the fight. In accordance with this truce, each band chose their positions like duelists on a field of honor. Champlain opened the battle by piercing two Iroquois chiefs through the body at a single shot of his rifle, and the brave but astonished Iroquois fled before the effective weapons of warfare, which had been so unexpectedly introduced among them. But the end was not yet. The same year Henry Hudson sailed up the river, which bears his name, to the present site of Albany, and built Ft. Orange. Around this nucleus of German power (ultimately English power,) the Iroquois gathered with amicable intentions, all the more abiding from the fact that the French had assaulted them at first sight, and thus made them their enemies.

This good fellowship was reciprocated. The Indians wanted guns, kettles and knives, and the Dutch wanted furs in exchange for them. In a few years they wanted more. As the aggressive spirit of the French on the St. Lawrence began to make itself manifest, the Dutch found their Iroquois allies a convenient bulwark, behind which to take shelter from their Canadian foes, both French and Indian, who at an early day often threatened the Northern border with destructive forays; meantime Champlain's colony soon began to feel the weight of Iroquois vengeance, relieved only by treacherous intervals of peace. In 1615 Champlain pushed his explorations to the banks of Lake Huron, and flourishing missionary stations were established in the country of the Hurons on the Eastern shore of the lake, which still perpetuates their memory. In 1641 two zealous missionaries, Jogues and Rambault reached the falls of St. Mary, and in 1658, two venturesome fur traders, one of whose names was De Groseilles, reached the Western extremity of Lake Superior and wintered

* The lake took its name from him.

among the Sioux, the same people whose descendants overwhelmed the army of Gen. Custer in the Black Hills, during the summer of 1876. At that time these tribes numbered 40,000* and held the country far to the West—even beyond the Mississippi river. They told the French traders about the great river which flowed southwardly through the interior, which were the first direct tidings which came to them of this stream. The next spring the two traders returned to Canada with an escort of 250 Indians and a valuable cargo of furs. A great sensation was produced by this imposing delegation. The news they brought of the great river was particularly inspiring to the French, whose passion for water channels of communication into the interior was overweening. An expedition to return with the Sioux to their distant lodges beyond the great lakes, was immediately set on foot; all classes were eager to join it, the fur traders for peltries and the missionaries to open new fields for gospel cultivation. The former provided themselves with trinkets for barter with the Indians, and the latter with baptismal basins wherewith to put the seal of Christianity upon their disciples, who were to be converted from heathenish darkness into the light of Christianity. Armed with these and other appliances, the hosts of the devil were to be attacked in the very heart of his dominion, to use the language of the Jesuit relations during those days of chivalric piety. And in truth, when these hardy old Soldiers of the Cross appropriated the watchwords of the battle field, as fitting expressions to symbolize the work before them, it cannot be denied that the metaphor was not far-fetched, especially after Jogues, Lallemant, Brebeuf, Garreau, and Garnier, had fallen victims of Iroquois vengeance. The expedition started from Montreal the next spring, numbering thirty young Frenchmen, to whom were added Fathers Leonard Garreau and Gabriel Dreuilletes,† and the Sioux delegation who had accompanied the traders. The eyes of the ever watchful and jealous Iroquois were upon them, and they had but little more than lost sight of their starting place, when they were waylaid by these ubiquitous foes. Father Garrau and several others were killed on the spot, the other French-

*Charlevoix, Carver, Pike.

† This emenent missionary had been stationed for several years among the Abenaquis of Sagadehoc, (Maine). Returning from thence to Canada, by order of his superiors, he was soon commissioned to go to Boston on an embassy, to bring about a comity of interest, both religious and secular. Canada at that time, was oppressed by the burdens of impolitic legislation, such as the banishment of Huguenots and onerous restrictions on the fur trade, and her Statesmen beheld with amazement the rising power of the Massachusetts colony, and felt a strong desire to negotiate a treaty with the Bostonians, for the purpose of working in harmony together for the conversion of the Indians, and also to keep them under a wholesome restraint by a concert of action between the English and French. In response to this overture, the prudential Bostonians, under the counsels of such men as Winslow, Dudley, Bradford, and Eliot, declined the proposal. Every

men saved themselves by flight, leaving their canoes and merchandise in the hands of the victors. No cause for a quarrel had yet had place between the Iroquois and Sioux, and the latter were allowed to depart in peace for their homes. It was not till 1665 that any further progress was made in Western exploration. At this time, Father Alouez reaching the Falls of St. Mary in September, coasted along the southern shore of Lake Superior to the great village of the Chippewas. Here he summoned a council of Indian nations, composed of delegations from all the tribes of the adjacent countries, among whom were representatives from the Illinois tribe, which is the first mention made of them. In Father Alouez, they beheld a champion of human rights, and to him they unbosomed their griefs by first informing him of their ancient grandeur, and then of their diminished numbers from hostile visitations of the Sioux on the West and the Iroquois from the East, who had extended their conquests over the prairies, even before the white man had come among them. Alouez addressed them with words of paternal care, offering them the Christian religion and promising them protection against the Iroquois.

Soon after this, missions were established at Green Bay, St. Marys and LaPoint, but the next notable event which took place was the grand gathering at St. Marys. Nicholas Perrot was the moving spirit of this convention. Thither he summoned Chiefs from no less than fourteen tribes to help celebrate the ceremonials, for a great deed was to be executed. Possession was to be taken of the country. Fifteen Frenchmen were present, among whom were Alouez and Joliet. A large wooden cross was consecrated, and elevated like a liberty pole of modern days. This done, around it knelt the priests, who sang, chanted, and prayed with suitable impressment, and went through the forms of taking possession of the country along the upper lakes and "Southward to the sea," a description of an unknown quantity, for up to that time no explorer had ventured very far into the interior. It was well known, however, that a great river coursed Southwardly through the country, but whither did it lead? The hopeful theory was, that it opened into waters lead-

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possible token of respect was shown their distinguished guest. But these considerate representatives of the New American Idea, based on religious toleration, determined not to dilute the force of it by complicity with the elements in Canada, which were carrying weights in the exciting race for National grandeur between the two contestants. Moreover, the Iroquois had never raised the hatchet against Massachusetts, and if they had swept Canada with the fire brand and scalping knife, even as the sickel reaps the wheat field and the fire consumes the stubble, might it not be in the providence of God to punish them for their persecutions of the Huguenots? Therefore the disappointed Priest was dismissed with a refusal to grant his request, softened with courtly blandishments, but withal, an air of independance, as much as to say: we are willing to trust to the providence of God for our future destiny, and you must also do the same.

ing to China, for this pleasing illusion, which had been the incentive to Columbus when he penetrated the secrets of the ocean, was still the golden dream of the Canadian adventurers. Pending these speculations, Father Marquette and Joliet obtained leave from Talon, the Intendant of Canada, to start on an expedition for the purpose of bringing to light the mysteries of this river, the country it drained and whither it went.

Joliet was born in Canada and was educated for a priest, but was evidently better fitted by nature for an explorer than for a father confessor. But Marquette had not mistaken his calling. With peculiar fitness and grace his sacerdotal robes depended from his shoulders, belted around his waist by the inevitable chord of his priestly order. The love of God and man, and the deep adoration of the blessed Virgin who was his patron Saint, were ever visible in his face, which was cast in a mould of benevolence. The tender passions of his youth found vent in the pious devotions, which were his every-day routine, and which for nearly twenty years, had made him conspicuous among his Jesuit brethren in the vanguard of that army of pioneers. The two distinguished men started from St. Ignace, a small missionary station on the north shore of the Straits of Mackanaw. Two birch bark canoes, five men, a bag of corn meal, a string of dried beef and a blanket apiece, constituted their outfit, except the all-important appliances for religious devotions, such as beads and crosses, so necessary to the success of the enterprise. Their route lay along the north shore of Lake Michigan and the west bank of Green Bay. Father Alouez and Dablon had established the mission of St. Francis Xavier here, four years previously, and welcomed the adventurers on their laudable enterprise, with that hearty unction which can only be appreciated by men who have missions to perform, big with future destiny. Resuming their journey, they passed through the waters of Lake Winnebago, and thence accompanied by Indian guides, continued up the Fox river to the carrying place across to the Wisconsin river. Into this stream they launched their canoes, and for the first time dipped their paddles into the tributary waters of the Mississippi. Down its current they passed under cedar-crested precipices of solid rock, through forest glooms and across long stretches of sandy prairie. No marks of human life were apparent along these then silent grandeurs which are now the admiration of tourists in the picturesque State of Wisconsin. On the 17th of June they emerged from the prairie copse which fringed the banks of the Wisconsin, entered the forest shades which stud the Mississippi, and soon found themselves on its broad surface of moving waters, "with a joy I cannot express" says the devout Marquette.*

*Marquette named it Conception River, in honor of the day on which it was discovered.

As they passed down its waters the scenery was changed. The banks were less precipitous than the bold headlands of the Wisconsin, and the country looked more promising, as they obtained occasional views of it through the openings along its wooded margin. Herds of buffalo were seen grazing on the ample pasturage of the prairies, which must have struck the beholders as a waste of nature's gifts. In the neighborhood of the Des Moines river, they discovered human foot prints and hesitated not to follow them. Leaving their canoes in charge of five men, Marquette and Joliet took the Indian path, and after two leagues travel, came in sight of their villages. The two adventurers shouted to attract attention and four chiefs advanced to meet them with friendly tokens. They were of the Illinois tribe and hailed the advent of the two Frenchmen with delight. They feasted them with roast buffalo, fish and saganite (hominy), and even honored them with the proffer of roast dog. The distinguished guests, however, declined this dainty repast, although they did not call in question the spirit of hospitality with which it was offered. After suitable prayers, benedictions and compliments, the Frenchmen took their leave, continuing their course down the river. Just above Alton is a high bluff of solid rock. On its time-worn surface, some artistic Indian, had in time past, exhibited his accomplishments by painting a monstrosity in human form.* Marquette was startled at the sight. But the departed spirit of the savage artist whose genius inspired it and immortalized his own memory did not come to his rescue. Therefore the pious Marquette was indignant at the sight of the impious device, and doubted not that the devil was its author. Fain would he have effaced the sacriligious picture, but it was beyond his reach. Painfully he ruminated on this evidence of demonology in the land, as the two bark canoes were borne along as if propelled by the forces of nature, till suddenly they found themselves in the breakers of the Missouri river, whose eddies whirled their light water craft like chaff in a miniature hurricane. This momentary danger diverted his thoughts from the unpleasant subject, and they proceeded along with extra caution. They passed the site of the present city of St. Louis, slumbering beneath the shades of a full-grown forest, with no premonition of her future destiny. The giddy heights of Grand Tower and the Ohio river were passed without meeting any more signs of life, but on the left bank below this river they again saw Indians. A friendly interview was secured by means of the calumet, and to their astonishment they found them

*No historic authority can be quoted for this assumption, but the theory is plausible enough to warrant its belief in absence of contravailing testimony. Portions of this picture were visible as late as 1850, and might have been till this day had not the stone on which it was painted been quarried out for building purposes.

dressed in broad-cloth and armed with guns.* No tidings of the sea coast could be obtained from them, and the two bands of voyagers parted company with an interchange of courtesies. Below the Ohio the monotony of scenery is chilling. Here the massed floods from the Western slopes of the Alleghenies and the Eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains roll along through a low, spongy soil, and with a power mighty and unremitting continue to wear away on one bank and replenish on the other.—on one side a primeval forest being undermined and fallling by piecemeal into the river, while on the other a young nursery of cottonwood trees sprouting up, to occupy ground that but a few decades past was the bos om of the rolling deep, and a few centuries past a mature forest of giant trees. Through these glooms the adventurers passed down the river till the mouth of the Arkansas was reached. Here again they met Indians, savage as nature could make them. The hot-headed young men of the tribe hurled their war clubs at the new-comers, one of which flew over Marquette's head. The pious missionary prayed to the holy Virgin and presented the potent calumet. The old men, seeing the situation, call back and restrain the young attackers, and a friendly meeting is the result, for which Marquette, with his accustomed loyalty to the blessed Virgin, gives all the credit to her without reserving any for the calumet. From their new hosts they learned that the mouth of the Mississippi was but ten days' travel distant, but it was not deemed prudent to advance farther with the intense heat of July upon them, and the danger of being picked up by Spanish adventurers imminent. They had passed below the point where De Soto had discovered and crossed the Mississippi in 1541, which was one hundred and thirty-two years previous, but no trace of his work had remained, not even in tradition.† The object of their expedition had been fulfilled, which was to discover the great river and determine whether it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean. In the latter case the hopes of the past century would be realized, which was a Western passage to the land of the Grand Kahn. That the great river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico no doubt could now exist, but that the waters of the Missouri led to lakes or straits which opened into the Pacific, was still a pleasing illusion.

The voyagers, with thankful hearts, now determined to return, and on the 17th of July, after an affectionate leave-taking of their conciliated but rather doubtful friends, turned their canoes upstream, when came the tug of tugging, for 'twas no easy task to

*They probably were a roving band from the far distant borders of civilization on the Atlantic coast.

†Some late historians have stated that Spanish coats of mail, captured from De Soto, were found here by the French, but their authority is is not quoted.

stem the current of the Mississippi. Patient toiling at the oar finally brought them to the mouth of the Illinois river, where the Kaskaskias volunteered to conduct the voyagers to Lake Michigan by a more convenient route than the one by which they had come, which was by the Illinois, the Desplaines and the Chicago rivers.* Marquette gladly availed himself of their services, especially as it would bring him to the acquaintance of new tribes to whom the blessed words of the Gospel had never been spoken. On the Illinois river, especially along the shores of Peoria lake, and in the vicinity of Starved Rock, near the present site of Utica, were the principal villages of the Illinois tribes. The squaws dug up the rich prairie soil with sharpened sticks, planted their corn and cultivated it with the same rude instruments. The yellow harvest was carefully stored in caches† for the common use of the tribe, none of which was wasted in the manufacture of whisky or assigned to tax gatherers. Their government, or rather their absence of government, was simple. If one person committed an offence against another, prompt vengeance was taken on the spot. All shared alike in creature comforts, but yet an aristocracy existed among them quite as marked as can be found at the same place now. It was not based on wealth, for they had nothing which could represent it beyond a few glittering ornaments which were within the means of the humblest porcupine hunter; but it was based on some act of daring or wise or heroic counsel which had promoted the public weal. These qualifications gave their possessors the right to speak in their councils and challenged due homage from the whole tribe. By these qualifications in gradations of political power and influence nice distinctions were made by common consent, and he who would transcend these distinctions would be ostracised unsparingly, with no asylum wherewith to hide his disgrace.

To these high minded chiefs, Marquette offered the christian religion, and no opposition was made to it; indeed they set their subordinates an example of patronage to it by manifesting a commendable interest in it, nor did they by implication or otherwise, show any signs of preference for their own God, the Great Spirit. Marquette was delighted at the prospect that a nation might be born in a day, especially when they listened to his religious tenets and elementary explanations of the plan of salvation, and politely invited him to return and set up the

*This is conceded to be the first record made of any allusion to the Chicago portage, although Alouez, Nicholet and Perrot have each been credited by some writers as the first to visit Chicago. But it is possible, and even probable, that the Illinois chiefs informed Alouez of the place at his great council at the Chippewa village on Lake Superior in 1665; yet no record is made of such information by either Shea or Parkman.

†These were excavations in the ground, not unlike cellars, covered with earth.

standard of the cross among them. Thus passed the hours of his sojourn among the flexible Illinois, and when the pious missionary resumed his journey with Joliet and his company of five, a large delegation of his late Indian friends accompanied them to Chicago. Few people ever came to this place for the first time without an excited curiosity to see it, and it is only a reasonable presumption that these French adventurers were eager to behold the face of the dear old lake, in whose sparkling waters they had for many years glided their light barks in its northern extremity, and especially to see the little inlet stream called Chicago, to which the Indians attached so much importance.

'Twas in September. The emerald hues of the prairie had already been mottled with the mature tints of autumn. The summer haze had vanished and the stimulating breath of the familiar old lake greeted them cheerfully, as the party crossed the carrying place from the Desplaines to the South branch of the Chicago river. Into the little stream they launched their boats, and their wake sent tiny waves among the tall grasses which bathed their roots in the water's edge on each side. Here the two bands parted with a hearty good-bye, the Indians returned to their lodges and the Frenchmen took their course down the western shore of the lake. It is in the economy of Providence to hide the book of fate from all else who could move in their accustomed spheres. Where is the fruitage of those seeds which Marquette planted during his life-labors in the wilds of America, and where the haughty tribes whom the French hoped to elevate to their own standard by infusing their own spirit into their facile but keen senses?

The enthusiasm and dash of the French and their tawny allies have melted away before the silent power which began without high expectations on the stubborn coast of the Atlantic, and the Chicago of to-day is no inconsiderable monument of the force of this power. Its destiny, however, was yet a sealed book, and so it remained for a century from this time.

Marquette and his party soon arrived at the Mission at Green Bay. His strength was exhausted, and he was obliged to remain here for the winter to rest, while Joliet should return to Canada and report their discoveries to Frontenac, the governor. Ample notes of travel had been carefully prepared and also an autograph map of the country through which they had passed, on which rivers and Indian villages had been laid down with a fair approximate to accuracy.* Marquette rested at the comfortable quarters of the

*This map is still preserved in the college of St. Mary in Montreal. A fac simile of it has been published by Mr. Shea, of New York, and inserted in his book entitled, "Discovery of the Mississippi." It has also been inserted in the margin of Blanchard's Historical Map of the United States, published at Chicago in 1876, and a copy reduced in scale is herewith presented.

FAC SIMILE
of the Autograph Map of the
MISSISSIPPI
OR
Conoeption River,
DRAWN BY
FATHER MARQUETTE
at the time of his voyage,
From the Original preserved St. Mary's College.
MONTREAL.
chemin aux assiniboulak
a 120 lieues vers le
nord ouest
LAC SVPERIEVR OV
DE TRACY
LES GRANDES
30 ISLES
S MARIE
S IGNACE
LAC HVRON
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PEORIA
MI
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LAC DES
ILINOIS
R DE LA CONCEPTION
NOMES
PAHOTET
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OTONTANTA
MOINGWENA
KACHKASKA A
PEORIA
48
47
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43
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41
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NATIONS ESLOLGNEES DANS LES TERRES
NATIONS DANS LES TERRES
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MAROA
CHABANON
KAKINONBA
MATAHALI
APISTONGA
R BABOSKIGS
m MONS&PEEA
ATOTCHASL
MATORA
AKOROA
PAPIKAHA
EMAMBETA
PANIASSA
TANIKSA
ALAICHI
METCHIGAMEA
MAKANSEA
BASSIN DE LA FLORIDE
FLORIDE

mission house at Green Bay the ensuing winter, and when spring came he was still too weak to return to preach the gospel to the Illinois tribes, according to his promise when he left them. He therefore deferred his departure till the heats of summer were over. On the 25th of October, feeling revived by the bracing influences of autumn, he, with two companions, Perre and Jacques, and a band of Indians, started on his mission to the Illinois. It took them a month to reach Chicago. Here again the strength of the missionary gave out and his companions built a log cabin for him on the South branch of the Chicago river, and nursed him with tender solicitude through the winter, and the Indians often brought him such luxuries as their limited means could supply to relieve his wants.* There were also some fur traders "at the portage," which meant Chicago, who had just established themselves at this important point so lately made known to the Canadians. They often visited Marquette's humble cabin and divided their scanty supplies of eatables with the invalid missionary.† From items of his journal it appears that his Indian friends, who visited him with all their willingness to receive his religious instruction, had the bad taste to ask him for powder, to which request the dying missionary replied: "Powder I have not. We came to spread peace through the land, and I do not wish to see you at war with the Miamis."‡

The spring floods, which broke up the ice on the 29th of March, were so high as to cover the ground where his cabin stood, and make the wretched hut untenable. They were therefore forced to seek their canoe as an asylum from the swollen waters, and in it they passed over to the Desplaines and down its current to the Illinois river. The last item on his journal bears date of April 6th. On the 8th he arrived at the great village of the Illinois, which was situated near the present site of Utica. He was received as "an angel from Heaven," says the relation. Five hundred chiefs and old men seated themselves in a circle around the Father, and outside of these were fifteen hundred of the commoner classes, and beyond these were the women and children. In short, the whole village had assembled on the green, leaving their empty houses behind without fear of burglars or faithless servants' misdemeanors during their absence. With deep pathos the words of the Father, in pure Indian dialect, penetrated the hearts of his hearers and inspired them with a transient veneration for the Christian's God. These were his last services. His

*Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, page 54. Packman's Discovery of the Great West, page 68.

†Shea, page 54.

‡The Illinois and Miamies to the east of them had been enemies for many years, and remained so till La Salle, in 1682, with skillful diplomacy, negotiated a permanent peace between them. See Tonty's Life of La Salle.

sands of life had almost run out, and feeling a desire to reach Canada before he died, he made haste to take his leave. He had endeared himself to his Indian flock, proofs of which they gave by accompanying him in large numbers on his return as far as Chicago, and contending with each other for the honor of conveying his baggage. From Chicago he had determined his route to Canada by the Eastern shore of Lake Illinois, as Lake Michigan was then called. The same two companions were with him who had conducted him from Green Bay to the Illinois villages. The love between these young men and their spiritual father was tender and sincere on both sides, and as they plied their oars along the still shores of the lake with unremitting strokes, the father instructed them how to bury him when death came, for he now felt certain that he could not live to reach Canada. Arriving at a place a little below Sleeping Bear Point, the father felt a strong desire to land, but his companions, wishing to make all possible haste on the way, tried to persuade him to keep on their course. At that moment a storm began to make a commotion in the waters, and they landed and built a hut of bark for their dying master and carried him in their arms from the boat to it. While his strength yet held out he took the precaution to write down his own sins, or what he called such, since his last confession to his superior, for propitiation. Next he promised to remember his two attendants in heaven; and then, after asking their pardon for the trouble he had caused them, he begged them to lay down to rest by his side, promising to awaken them when the last agony came. In about two hours he called them to his side and soon died in transports of joy.

Perre and Jacques buried him on the bank of the lake and erected a large wooden cross over his grave, and with deep dejection left the spot where their beloved father had laid down to take his last rest, where twenty years of toiling through the wilderness had brought him.

It was late in the Spring, on the 19th of May, that his death took place, and the news of the sad event came to the different tribes of the country not long after they had returned to their various homes from the usual winter's hunt. A universal tribute of respect was shown to his memory. The Ottawas, of Canada, did more than to express this in words. The next spring, 1676, as one of their hunting parties were returning from the vicinity of the grave, they dug up the remains and separated the bones from the decayed flesh, according to the Indian custom, and enveloped them in a casket of birch bark. This done, they carefully conveyed the precious relics to the nearest missionary station, which was at St. Ignace, opposite Michilimakinac. As they approached the place they were met by the priests at the head of a procession of the resident traders and Indians. With im-

pressive funeral services the bones were interred beneath the floor in the chapel.

"REV. FATHER: the Peace of Christ: Having been compelled to remain all summer at St. Francis on account of my ill-health, and having recovered in the month or September, I waited for the arrival of our people returning from below (i. e., Quebec), to know what I should do for my wintering. They brought me orders for my voyage to the Mission of the Conception among the Illinois. Having met Your Reverence's wishes touching copies of my journal on the Mississippi river, I set out with Pierre Porteret and Jacque ——, Oct. 25, 1674. In the afternoon the wind forced us to lay up for the night at the mouth of the river, where the Pottawatamies were assembled; the head men not wishing any to go off towards the Illinois, for fear the young men would lay up furs with the goods they had brought from below, and after hunting beaver would resolve to go down in the spring, when they expect to have reason to fear the Sioux.

"*Oct.* 26.—Passing to the village, we found only two cabins there, and they were starting to winter at La Gasparde; we learned that five canoes of Pottawatamies and four of Illinois had set out to go to the Kaskaskia.

"27. We were detained in the morning by rain; in the afternoon we had fair weather and calm, and overtook at Sturgeon Bay, the Indians who preceded us.

"28. We reached the portage; a canoe which was ahead prevented our killing any game; we began our portage, and cabined for the night on the other side, where the bad weather gave us much trouble. Pierre did not come in till one o'clock at night, having got lost on a road on which he had never before been. After rain and thunder, snow began to fall.

"29. Having been compelled to change our cabinage, we continued to carry the bundles. The portage is about a league long, and very inconvenient in some parts. The Illinois, assembling in our cabin in the evening, ask us not to leave them; as we might need them, and they know the lake better than we do, we promised.

"30. The Illinois women finished our portage in the morning; we are detained by the wind. No game.

"31. We start with pretty fair weather, and stopped for the night at a little river. The road from Sturgeon Bay, by land, is a very difficult one; we did not travel far on it, last fall, before we got into the woods.

"*Nov.* 1. Having said holy mass, we halted at night at a river, from which a fine road leads to the Pottawatamies. Chachagwessiou, an Illinois, much esteemed in his nation, partly because he concerns himself with trade, came in at night with a deer on his shoulder, of which he gave us part.

"2. Holy mass said, we travelled all day with fair weather. We killed two cats, which were almost clear fat.

"3. As I was on land walking on the beautiful sand, the whole edge of the water was of herbs similar to those caught in nets at St. Ignace; but coming to a river which I could not cross, our people put in to take me on board, but we could not get out again on account of the swell. All the other canoes went on except the one that came with us.

"4. We are detained. There is apparently an island off shore, as the birds fly there in the evening.

"5. We had hard work to get out of the river. At noon we found the Indians in a river, where I undertook to instruct the Illinois, on occasion of a feast, which No-wasking we had just given to a wolfskin.

"6. We made a good day's travel. As the Indians were out hunting, they came on some footprints of men, which obliged us to stop next day.

"9. We landed at two o'clock, on account of the fine cabinage. We were detained here five days on account of the great agitation of the lake, though there was no wind; then by the snow, which the sun and a wind from the lake melted next day.

"15. After travelling sufficiently, we cabined in a beautiful spot, where we were detained three days. Pierre mends an Indian's gun. Snow falls at night and melts by day

"20. We slept at the Bluffs, cabined poorly enough. The Indians remain behind, while we are detained by the wind two days and a half. Pierre, going into the woods, finds the prairie twenty leagues from the portage. He also passed by a beautiful canal, vaulted as it were, about as high as a man; there was a foot of water in it.

"21. Having started about noon, we had hard enough work to make a river. The cold began from the east, and the ground was covered with a foot of snow, which remained constantly from that time. We were detained there three days, during which Pierre killed a deer, three wild geese and three turkeys, which were very good. The others passed on to the prairies. An Indian having discovered some cabins came to tell us. Jacques went with him there the next day. Two hunters also came to see me. They were Maskoutens to the numbers of eight or nine cabins, who had separated from each other to be able to live. They travel all winter with hardships almost impossible for Frenchmen, by very difficult roads; the land being full of streams, small lakes and marshes. They are very badly cabined and eat or fast according to the spot where they happen to be. Having been detained by the wind, we remarked that there were large sand-banks off the shore, on which the waves broke continually. There I felt some symptoms of a dysentery.

"27. We had hard enough work to get out of the river; and having made about three leagues, we found the Indians, who had killed some buffalo, and also three Indians, who had come from the village. We were detained there by a wind from the shore, immense waves that came from the lake, and the cold.

"*December* 1. We went ahead of the Indians, so as to be able to say mass.

"3. Having said mass and embarked, we were compelled to make a point and land, on account of the fog.

"4. We started well to reach Portage River, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else; and also more tracks of animals and turkeys. The navigation of the lake from one portage to the other, is quite fine, there being no traverse to make, and landing being quite feasible all along, provided you do not obstinately persist in travelling in the breakers and high winds. The land along the shore is good for nothing, except on the prairies. You meet eight or ten pretty fine rivers. Deer hunting is pretty good as you get away from the Pottawatamies.

"12. As they began to draw to get to the portage, the Illinois having left, the Pottawatamies arrived with much difficulty. We could not say mass on the feast of the Conception, on account of the bad weather and the cold. During our stay at the mouth of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three buffalo and four deer; one of which ran quite a distance with his heart cut in two. They contented themselves with killing three or four turkeys of the many which were around our cabin, because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge he had killed, every way resembling those of France, except that it had like two little wings of three or four feathers, a finger long, near the head, with which they cover the two sides of the neck, where there are no feathers.

"14. Being cabined near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, on my inability to go further, being too much embarrassed, and my malady not permitting me to stand much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, going to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe. We gave them a buffalo and a deer that Jacques had killed the day before. I think I never saw Indians more greedy for French tobacco than these. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet to get a small piece; but we returned them, giving them some pipes, because we had not yet concluded whether we should go on.

"15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us to go and find their people and give them the merchandise which they had brought, in order to get their furs, in which they act like traders and hardly give more than the French; I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding a council till spring, when I should be at their village; they gave us for a fathom of tobacco three fine buffalo robes, which have done us good service this winter. Being thus relieved, we said the mass of the Conception. Since the 14th, my disease has turned into a dysentery.

"30. Jacques arrived from the Illinois village, which was only six leagues

from here, where they are starving. The cold and snow prevent their hunting. Some having informed la Toupine and the surgeon that we were here, and unable to leave their cabin, had so alarmed the Indians, believing that we would starve remaining here, that Jacques had great trouble in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry all our affairs.

"*Jan.* 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen knew that my illness prevented my going to them, the surgeon came here, with an Indian, to bring us some whortleberries and bread; they are only eighteen leagues from here, in a beautiful hunting ground for buffalo and deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had, too, laid up provisions while awaiting us, and had given the Indians to understand that the cabin belonged to the blackgown. And I may say that they said and did all that could be expected of them; the surgeon having stopped here to attend to his duties, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois, who were near there, that my illness prevented my going to see them, and that if it continued I should scarcely be able to go there in the spring.

"24. Jacque returned with a bag of corn and other refreshments that the French had given him for me; he also brought the tongues and meat of two buffalo that he and an Indian had killed near by; but all the animals show the badness of the season.

"26. Three Illinois brought us from the head men, two bags of corn, some dried meat, squashes, and twelve beavers; 1st, to make me a mat; 2d, to ask me for powder; 3d, to prevent our being hungry; 4th, to have some few goods. I answered them: firstly, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of the prayer, &c; secondly, that I would not give them powder, as we were endeavoring to diffuse peace on all sides, and I did not wish them to begin a war with the Miamis; thirdly, that we were in no fear of starving; fourthly, that I would encourage the French to carry them goods, and that they must satisfy those among them for the wampum taken from them, as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come twenty leagues, to pay them for their trouble and what they brought me, I gave them an axe, two knives, three clasp knives, ten fathoms of wampum, and two double mirrors; telling them I should endeavor to go to the village merely for a few days, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, to stay and die in their country, and said that they had been told that I would remain long with them.

"*Feb.* 9. Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, to whom we began a novena by a mass, at which Pierre and Jacque, who do all they can to relieve me, received, to ask my recovery of the Almighty, my dysentery has ceased; there is only a weakness of the stomach left. I begin to feel much better, and to recover my strength. None of the Illinois who had ranged themselves near us have been cabined for a month; some took the road to the Pottawatamies, and some are still on the lake, waiting for the navigation to open. They carry letters to our Fathers at St. Francis.

"20. We had time to observe the tide which comes from the lake, rising and falling, although there appears no shelter on the lake. We saw the ice go against the wind. These tides made the water good or bad, because what comes from above flows from the prairies and small streams The deer, which are plentiful on the lake shore, are so lean that we had to leave some that we killed.

"*March* 23.—We killed several partridges: only the male has the little wings at the neck, the female not having any. These partridgrs are pretty good, but do not come up to the French.

"30. The north wind having prevented the thaw till the 25th of March, it began with a southerly wind. The next day game began to appear; we killed thirty wild pigeons, which I found better than those below (Quebec), but smaller, both young and old. On the 28th, the ice broke and choked above us. On the 29th the water was so high that we had barely time to uncabin in haste, put our things on trees, and try to find a place to sleep on some hillock, the water gaining on us all night; but having frozen a little, and having fallen as we were near our luggage, the dyke burst and the ice went down, and as the waters are again ascending already, we are going to embark to continue our route

"The Blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering, that we have wanted nothing in the way of provisions, having a large bag

of corn still left, meat and grease; we have too, lived most peacefully, my sickness not preventing me from saying mass every day. We were able to keep Lent only Fridays and Saturdays.

"31. Having started yesterday, we made three leagues on the river, going up, without finding any portage. We dragged for half an arpent. Besides this outlet, the river has another, by which we must descend. Only the very high grounds escape inundation. That where we are has increased more than twelve feet. Here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago. Geese and duck pass constantly. We contented ourselves with seven. The ice still brought down, detain us here, as we do not know in what state the river is lower down.

"*April* 1. As I do not yet know whether I shall remain this summer at the village or not, on account of my dysentery, we left there what we could dispense with, especially a bag of corn, while detained by a strong south wind. We hope to-morrow to reach the spot where the French are, fifteen leagues from here.

"6. The high winds and cold prevent us from proceeding. The two lakes by which we have passed, are full of bustards, geese, ducks, cranes, and other birds that we do not know. The rapids are pretty dangerous in some places. We have just met the surgeon, with an Indian, going up with a canoe-load of furs; but the cold being too severe for men who have to drag their canoes through the water, he has just made a cache of his beaver, and goes back to the village with us to-morrow. If the French get robes from the country, they do not rob them, so great is the hardship they experience in getting them."

(Copied from THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, contributed by Shea, who translated it from the French.)

The old chapel at St. Ignace stood guard over the remains of Marquette till 1706, when it was burned by the Jesuits on their departure from this historic spot, and until the autumn of 1877 no steps were taken either to memorize the grave of the missionary explorer or to recover his bones, at which time in the month of May, Pierre Grondau discovered the foundation walls of a small building, the stones bearing the marks of fire. The location accorded with the description of the spot marked in La Hontan's map, originally published in France in 1703, and republished in London in 1772, as the site of the house of the Jesuits.

By direction of Father Jacker, village priest, further excavations were made the same year, and conclusive proofs of the identity of the spot as the grave of Marquette were obtained. The spot where the altar of the Virgin had stood was found, and buried in front of it were wrought iron nails, a hinge, and charred wood. These relics, and a large piece of birch bark, in a good state of preservation, were within the walls of a vault, which walls were of cedar still partially preserved. The bones were nearly all turned to dust, two only being found.

The foregoing facts were obtained from a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Oct. 16th, 1877, by Mr. Cecil Barnes, a resident of Chicago, who was an eye-witness, having assisted in the excavation.

CHAPTER II.

Ft. Catarauqui built at the Outlet of Lake Ontario—La Salle arrives in Canada—His Ambitious Plans—He builds a Vessel for Navigating the Lakes—It sails for Green Bay, and is sent back Laden with Furs—La Salle arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph and builds a Fort—Goes to the Illinois River and commences Building a Vessel to Explore the Mississippi to its Mouth—Hennepin starts to Explore the Upper Mississippi—His Captivity—Du Lhut among the Sioux—La Salle returns to Canada to raise Recruits—Bad News from Ft. Creve-Cœur—Retribution—Iroquois Invasion of the Illinois Country—Indian Trading Policy—Desperate Exploit of Tonty—Council with the Western Tribes—La Salle's Plans Resumed—Success.

The journey of Marquette and Joliet had outlined a work far beyond the comprehension of any one at that time, and to utilize it was too heavy an undertaking even for all the French forces in Canada, till ample preparations could be made, in the way of building forts to connect Quebec to the Illinois country. The French had nothing to fear from the Western tribes, but their communication with them was impossible unless the Iroquois could be propitiated; for these tribes held the whole present State of New York, and not only did their canoes sweep Lake Ontario, but their war parties often scoured the country north of it.* Frontenac, a man of distinguished ability, was then Gover-

* In 1649, an unusually fearful Iroquois invasion was visited upon the Huron tribes, who were allies of the French, and among whom successful missions had been established. These were destroyed, and two heroic missionaries, Brebeuf and Lalemant, refusing to leave their charge in the hour of danger, fell before the merciless invaders. The following account of their death is copied from Parkman's Jesuits in America:

"On the afternoon of the sixteenth—the day when the two priests were captured—Brebeuf was led apart, and bound to a stake. He seemed more concerned for his captive converts than for himself, and addressed them in a loud voice, exhorting them to suffer patiently, and promising Heaven as their reward. The Iroquois, incensed, scorched him from head to foot, to silence him; whereupon, in the tone of a master, he threatened them with everlasting flames, for persecuting the worshipers of God. As he continued to speak, with voice and countenance unchanged, they cut away his lower lip and thrust a red-hot iron down his throat.

nor of Canada, and, with a view to Western progress, in 1673, had convened a council with the Iroquois, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, to obtain permission of them to build a fort. In this he was successful, and the fort was constructed at once, and named Ft. Catarauqui. This was a great point gained by the French, for it not only served as a barrier against the recurrence of an Iroquois invasion of Canada, but it brought French goods into a more direct competition with the Dutch trade at Albany, by the facilities which the fort offered as a trading post.

Conspicuous among the adventurous explorers of Canada at that time, was Robert Cavelier, known in history by the name of La Salle. He was the son of a wealthy merchant living at Rouen, France, from which place he came to Canada in the spring of 1666. His seven years' life in American wilds previous to Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi river, was largely spent in exploring the interior. One of his expeditions was made across the Iroquois country to the Ohio river, and down its channel as far as the falls at Louisville. As might be supposed, the actual discovery of the Mississippi stimulated La Salle's ambition to higher aims than ever. That it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific Ocean, was now his settled belief, and, peering into the future, he foresaw with a penetrating eye the yet unmeasured volume of trade which would one day pour through the deltas of the Mississippi to the sea. There was enchantment in the thought that he should be the instrument by which this would be thrown into the lap of France, and to accomplish this

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He still held his tall form erect and defiant, with no sign or sound of pain; and they tried another means to overcome him. They led out Lalemant, that Brebeuf might see him tortured. They had tied strips of bark, smeared with pitch, about his naked body. When he saw the condition of his Superior, he could not hide his agitation, and called out to him, with a broken voice, in the words of Saint Paul, 'We are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men.' Then he threw himself at Brebeuf's feet; upon which the Iroquois seized him, made him fast to a stake, and set fire to the bark that enveloped him. As the flame rose, he threw his arms upward, with a shriek of supplication to Heaven. Next they hung around Brebeuf's neck a collar made of hatchets heated red hot; but the indomitable priest stood like a rock. A Huron in the crowd, who had been a convert of the mission, but was now an Iroquois by adoption, called out, with the malice of a renegade, to pour hot water on their heads, since they had poured so much cold water on those of others. The kettle was accordingly slung, and the water boiled and poured slowly on the heads of the two missionaries. 'We baptize you,' they cried, 'that you may be happy in Heaven; for nobody can be saved without a good baptism.' Brebeuf would not flinch; and, in a rage, they cut strips of flesh from his limbs, and devoured them before his eyes. Other renegade Hurons called out to him, 'You told us that the more one suffers on earth, the happier he is in Heaven. We wish to make you happy; we torment you because we love you; and you ought to thank us for it.' After a succession of other revolting tortures, they scalped him; when, seeing him nearly dead, they laid open his breast, and came in a crowd to drink the blood of so valiant an enemy, thinking to imbibe with it some portion of his courage. A chief then tore out his heart, and devoured it."

end became the idol of his imagination till death. Intent upon the fulfillment of these designs, he sailed for France in the autumn of 1674, the next year after the discovery of the Mississippi.

Frontenac and La Salle were on the most friendly terms, for they were no rivals. La Salle did not envy him as governor, because he aimed at higher fame than could come from the viceroy's chair of a province. Nor did Frontenac envy La Salle as an explorer, especially as he felt an assurance that he should be a sharer in any honors growing out of his discoveries. He therefore gave La Salle letters of the highest commendation to the court of France, which insured him a favorable hearing. Louis XIV., the king, gave him the order of knighthood and granted him a seigniory of land adjacent to Ft. Catarauqui. Returning to Canada, he rebuilt the fort with substantial walls of stone, within two years, and changed its name to Frontenac. The next step was to build a fort at the mouth of the Niagara river. By dint of great exertions and profuse presents to the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois Nation, he obtained reluctant permission to do this, and also to build a vessel above the falls of Niagara, with which to navigate the lakes. The fort having been finished, the vessel was next completed, and launched early in the spring of 1679. It was named the Griffin, in honor of the family arms of Frontenac. The immediate design of this vessel was to convey materials wherewith to build another vessel on the Illinois river, with which to navigate the Mississippi to its mouth. This mission executed, the exploring party were to set sail for France, after taking formal possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of the French king.

Beyond these designs was another less practical one, which contemplated a raid on the Spanish province of Mexico, at the head of ten thousand Indians, for the purpose of reducing it to a French province. This latter madcap scheme of La Salle's must have had its origin in the inspirations of a forest life, which have often turned the brain of otherwise able-minded men into utopian channels.

Soon as the vessel was finished it was launched, and anchored in the stream as a measure of safety lest the Senecas might, in a fit of jealousy, set fire to it. On the 7th of August, everything was made ready. The sailors were at their posts, some at the capstan drawing her anchor, and others hoisting her canvas to the first breezes that ever wafted a vessel over Lake Erie. A cannon was fired on the occasion, and the Griffin gracefully moved away from the shore, tacking to the larboard and starboard alternately, in order to make headway up the Niagara river, to the astonishment of the Indians, who beheld the strange spectacle for the first time. Her crew numbered about thirty, all told,

among whom were Fathers Gabriel Membre and Hennepin, Tonty having been sent in advance to Michilimackinac. The Griffin sailed up Lake Erie, up the Detroit river, and across Lake Huron to Michilimackinac. Stopping here a short time, she became the marvel of the Indians, who called her the monster canoe. Next she proceeded to Green Bay, landing at an island there, where her cargo was unloaded. This consisted of trinkets for Indian traffic in part, but its most valuable portion was the materials wherewith to build another vessel on the Illinois river, such as chains, bolts, cables, and a blacksmith's forge. The Griffin was loaded with furs and sent back from whence she came, and her unloaded freight packed into small boats, to be transported from thence to the Illinois river. For some cause, not now known, La Salle had determined to make the trip by the way of the St. Joseph river, crossing the portage from its elbow near the present site of South Bend, to the head-waters of the Kankakee river, thence down stream till deep water on the Illinois was reached. With this intent, he started with seventeen men, with his small boats, along the western shore of Lake Michigan. The southern extremity of the lake had to be doubled, and its eastern shore followed to the point of destination, the mouth of the St. Joseph. Tonty had been ordered to meet him at this place, with twenty men, from Michilimackinac. While waiting for him, La Salle set his men at work to build a palisaded fort, and, for the first time, the sound of the axe and saw rung along those cone-shaped sand-hills which now teem with an annual burden of peaches for the Chicago market. Is it to be wondered that La Salle should be more favorably impressed with the large and beautiful river of St. Joseph than the insignificant stream at Chicago, whose mouth was almost closed with a sand-bar?

Tonty arrived at the appointed spot at the end of twenty days, when the order was given to advance. Two men were left in the lonesome fort, and the flotilla paddled up the tranquil waters of the St. Joseph to the carrying place, where the freight was unloaded, and with the boats, carried across the dividing ridge, by a devious path, to the head-waters of the Kankakee. Into this stream the boats were launched, and loaded again, for final transportation. 'Twas a strange sight, to behold a miniature army of resolute Frenchmen threading their course along the sluggish little stream, almost overlapped with water bushes. This sea of mud is seldom entered, even now, except on wild duck excursions; and many an effeminate sportsman, who has been tempted from his luxurious parlors in the present Chicago, to invade these bottomless swamps on such errands, has returned with the ague. As La Salle passed along, the stream widened

and the surroundings improved, till he reached the great village of the Illinois, on the river which still bears their name. It was on New Year's day in 1680. All was silent, for the inhabitants —braves, squaws, pappooses, and dogs—had gone on their winter's hunt. La Salle was in need of provisions, and, impelled by necessity, took from their storehouses corn enough to feed his men, and kept on his course down the river. Arriving at the present site of Peoria, he met the returning Indians. A council was convened at once, in which La Salle made known the nature of his mission. First, he made satisfactory apologies for having taken their corn, and paid them its value in goods. His next business was to get leave to build a fort and also a vessel for the navigation of the Mississippi. This liberty was easily obtained from the flexible Illinois tribes, whose jealousy had never been aroused against the French. Work on both was commenced. The palisaded fort was soon finished. The keel of the vessel was laid, and its ribs placed in position, when murmurs of discontent arose among the ship-carpenters, and a few of them deserted, in consequence of not being paid promptly.

It is no marvel that these men should prefer the ease and immunity from care, which the amenities of savage life offered them, rather than the service of the austere and exacting La Salle, with, to them, but a barren hope of pay, especially as they did not share his hopeful ambition. That La Salle did not make proper allowance for such contingencies, was one of the weak points that undermined his best-laid plans, and robbed him of that success, which his broad-gauge intellect and zeal deserved. These first desertions were but a foretaste of that bitter cup, which his overweening dash at the impracticable was preparing for him. We have such men among us now, and perhaps one in a thousand of them, by some eccentric turn of the wheel of fortune, achieves success, which example, like a contagion, seizes upon a thousand more, to lastly be victimized.* La Salle, whose nature forbade

* Tonty, who was an eye-witness to the whole, in his Life of La Salle, page 35, uses the following language on the desertion of the men:

"Most of our men being discouraged by a long and tedious voyage, the end whereof they could not see, and weary of a wandering life in forests and deserts, where they had no other company but brutes and savages, without any guide, carriage, and provisions, could not forbear murmuring against the author of so tiresome and perilous an enterprise. M. La Salle, whose penetration was extraordinary, discovered immediately their dissatisfaction, and tried all possible means to prevent the consequences thereof. The glory of the enterprise, the example of the Spaniards, the hopes of a great booty, and everything else that may engage men, we made use of to encourage them and inspire them with better sentiments; but these exhortations, like oil poured upon fire, served only to increase their dissatisfaction. What said they? 'Must we always be slaves to his caprices, and be continually bubbled by his visions and foolish expectations? and must the fatigues we have hitherto undergone be used as an argument to oblige us to go through more perils, to gratify the ambition or folly of a merciless man?'"

him to look on but one side of a question, and that the front side, supplied the places of the deserters, by his wonderful faculty of bringing an extra stock of energy into service, and by these means continued work on the vessel.

Of the four priests who comprised the party of adventurers, Hennepin was the least in favor. Ever prone to intrude his advice unasked, or to attribute unlucky incidents to a neglect of his counsel, he became a bore, all the less endurable, because his sacred robes protected him from censure.* He was ever pluming himself, on his self-sacrificing spirit and willingness to undertake any enterprise, however dangerous, providing it would advance the Christian cause among the heathen, and that his highest ambition was to die in such a service. There was no lack of priests in the fort, and La Salle conceived the thought of taking Hennepin at his word, by sending him on an expedition to explore the head-waters of the Mississippi. The astonished priest accepted the mission, but with a bad grace, and started in an open canoe with two attendants, on the last day of February, his brother priests uniting with La Salle in lavishing upon him words of consolation, as he left the fort to push his way among new and unheard-of tribes of savages, in an equally unknown land. And here we will leave La Salle, to follow the fortunes of Hennepin and his two companions, Accau and Du Gay. They were provided with an ample store of goods, to be used as presents to the different tribes they might encounter on their way; besides which, were provisions, guns and ammunition. They glided down the Illinois river to its confluence with the Mississippi, and plied their oars up the stream, in obedience to orders. Game was abundant, and they fared well till the 12th of April, when, stopping on shore to roast a wild turkey for dinner, they beheld with consternation a war-party of 120 naked savages, breaking the solemn silence of the uninhabited place, with the noisy whooping of Indians on the war-path. The little party were immediately taken captive, despite the ceremonials of the calumet, or the inevitable tobacco accompanying it.

They were a band of Sioux, intending to make war on the Miamis, in revenge for some old scores; but the raiders were turned from their purpose, when Hennepin informed them, by signs, that the Miamis were away from home on a hunting excursion. The next business to be settled was the fate of the three French captives. As to the question whether they should be killed, or treated with hospitality, there was at first, a division of opinion. Had the chivalrous La Salle been among the French

* This analysis of his character is drawn from Parkman, who has exposed the frailties of Hennepin unsparingly.

party, his impressive dignity would have insured the utmost courtesy toward themselves; but Hennepin was overcome with terror, and the haughty Sioux could have but little respect for him. After a hasty council, however, they concluded to spare the lives of the captives, in order to encourage more Frenchmen to come among them, with the much-coveted trinkets, of which it was known they had an abundance. But this decision was not made known to the captives. On the contrary, Hennepin was informed by signs, amid a din of wailings, that his head was to be split with a war-club. This unwelcome news drew forth from him some presents, which at least had the effect to postpone the execution of such a cruel purpose.

The Indians now concluded to return to their home among the little lakes at the upper Mississippi, and take the captives with them; but they kept up the practice of their villainous tricks to extort goods from Hennepin, till nearly his whole store was exhausted. Pending these griefs, Hennepin sought consolation in reading his morning devotion from his breviary; but this solace was a fresh source of danger, for the devotional murmurings of his voice were interpreted by the Indians, as a piece of sorcery, which might bring retribution upon themselves. Hennepin, observing this, chanted the words in a clear, musical voice, which amused instead of terrified his hearers, and satisfied his own conscience. The party arriving at the vicinity of St. Paul, the boats were concealed in a thicket, and they started on foot across the country to their respective lodges.

'Twas early in May, but remnants of ice still clung around the shaded margins of river, lake and marsh, imparting an icy chill to the waters through which the travelers passed, sometimes shallow, and sometimes deep enough to swim them. Between these low savannas, long stretches of high prairie had to be traversed, over which the naked-limbed Indian skimmed along with nimble step, but the poor priest, shackled by his long robes, lagged behind in spite of his utmost exertion. Seeing this, the Indians, always fertile in expedients, took hold of his hands, one on each side, and pulled him along at a rapid pace, while they set fire to the dry prairie grass behind him, to act as an extra incentive to speed.

Five days of this exhaustive travel brought them to the Indian town in the region of Mille Lac. Here the captives were adopted, each by a different chief, and consequently separated from each other. Hennepin was taken by Aquipaguetin, the head chief of the party and his most persistent persecuter on the way. His home was on an island in Lake Mille Lac, where five wives and a due proportion of children paid savage courtesies to their lord and master. Hennepin was well received. A sweating

bath was given him, and his mutilated feet rubbed with wildcat's oil, under an impression that, by this process, the agility of that animal might be measurably imparted to the patient. He was fed on a short allowance of wild rice and dried whortleberries, of which the Indians had laid in no over-stock for winter's use; but all shared alike, except sometimes a little preference shown by the squaws for their own children.

Ouasicoudie was the highest in rank, as chief of the Sioux of this region, and he had no sooner learned of the arrival of the three French captives, and the dastardly tricks by which Hennepin had been robbed, than he berated Aquipaguetin severely, for he had been the instigator of those villainous devices, which the high-minded Sioux discarded as a nation.

As the weary days wore along, the supply of food diminished and hunger began to warn these improvident children of nature, that something must be done to appease it. For this purpose, a buffalo hunt was determined on in early summer, and Hennepin was promised that he might accompany them. This was good news to him, as it gave promise of a plentiful supply of food; but inasmuch as he was to accompany the grim father of his adoption, Aquipaguetin, he feared that fresh abuses were in store for him, when away from the influences of Ouasicoudie. To avert this new danger, the reverend father told the Indians, that a party of Frenchmen were to meet him, at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, in the summer, with a stock of goods.*

The time came for starting on the proposed buffalo hunt, and the 250 braves, with their squaws and children, and boats enough to carry them were promptly on the spot. Accau and Du Gay had a boat of their own, a present from the Indians, into whose good graces they had grown since their captivity. But poor Hennepin was no favorite. Boat after boat passed the forsaken priest, as he stood on the river bank begging a passage. Even the two Frenchmen refused to take him in; and but for the condescension of one of the crew in the rear, the missionary would have been left alone, in those distant and savage realms of the wilderness. Arriving at the mouth of Rum river, they all encamped on the bank of the Mississippi. Very short rations of dried buffalo meat was their fare, except what unripe berries could be gleaned from the uncultivated face of nature, which was

* Hennepin affirms that La Salle had promised this to him when he left Ft. Creve-Cœur; but the truth of this assertion may well be questioned, especially since Hennepin's veracity has been tarnished by the mendacious book of travels which he published on his return to France. In this book he claimed to have explored the Mississippi to its mouth. It had a large sale, and won for him a reputation which was as short lived as his motive in writing it was contemptible, inasmuch as his aim was to rob the true explorers of the lower Mississippi of the honors due to them alone.

spread out in appalling amplitude around them. Hennepin, as might be supposed, was disgusted with Indian life, and so was Du Gay. The two, therefore, obtained permission of Ouasicoudie, who had always been their friend, to leave the encampment, and go and meet the expected Frenchmen at the mouth of the Wisconsin river. Meantime, Accau's highest ambition was to remain with his savage associates.*

Equipped with a birchen canoe, a knife, a gun, and an earthen pot of Sioux manufacture, in which to boil meat, the Father and Du Gay, his companion, started down the river. They arrived at the falls on St. Anthony's day, and Hennepin, in honor of the Saint, gave them his name, which they still retain. Thence they made their way down the river by slow stages, for they were obliged to resort, in part, to turtles and fish for subsistence, inasmuch as their stock of ammunition was getting short; and to capture these in sufficient quantities to appease hunger caused much detention. While the travelers were urging their way toward the Wisconsin—of course, with the intention of ultimately reaching Canada—they were disagreeably surprised to see Aquipaguetin, with ten warriors, coming down the river. Hennepin feared the worst, but no harm was offered him. The chief was on his way to meet the French at the mouth of the Wisconsin, for purposes of traffic, and, after a brief salutation, swept past the Frenchmen. In three days he returned, having found no French traders there. Approaching Hennepin, he gave him a severe scolding, and passed along up the river, to the great relief of the terrified Father. The travelers had now but ten charges of powder left, which was too small a supply to last them on so long a trip as the route to Canada. In this emergency, they determined to again join the Sioux hunters, who were now encamped on the Chippewa river, an affluent of Lake Pepin, not far distant. They soon found them, and, happily for the wanderers, in a good humor, for they had been unusually successful in killing buffalo.

Exciting news was soon brought to their encampment by two old squaws. A war party of Sioux had met five white men coming into their country from Lake Superior, by the way of the St. Croix river. Much curiosity was manifested by Hennepin, to know who the white explorers were. The hunt was over, and as the Indians were to return at once, their curiosity was soon to be gratified, for Hennepin and his companion were to return with them. On arriving at the present site of St. Paul, the expected visitors were met, and they proved to be no other than the

* Since Accau had declared his resolution to remain with the Sioux, Du Gay had made ample apologies to Hennepin for having refused him a place in his boat on starting from Mille Lac, and they were now restored to good fellowship again.

famous explorer, Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut, with four companions. This master-spirit of the forest had been two years among the far-off lodges of the Sioux, and other tribes to the north, exploring, like La Salle, under the patronage of Frontenac.

Having learned that three white men were in the country, he came to meet them, with a determination to drive them away, if they were of any other nationality but French. The commanding presence of Du Lhut, not surpassed even by La Salle, won the utmost respect from the Sioux at once. The whole party returned north to the region of Mille Lac, and a grand feast of honor was spread for the distinguished guests.

As autumn approached, the Frenchmen made preparations to return to Canada, to which the Sioux interposed no objections, assured, as they were, by Du Lhut, that they would soon return with goods for traffic.

Accau, by this time sated with the society of his late associates, was willing to join Du Lhut, and the whole party, eight in all, started for Canada, by the way of the Wisconsin river.

The travels of Du Lhut and the captivity of Hennepin had made known to the French the general features of the upper Mississippi, but the outlet of this stream was still a mystery. It had been one hundred and thirty-seven years since the miserable remnant of De Soto's Spanish adventurers had fled down its current in hot haste, closely pursued by the exasperated natives of the country, whom they had plundered, and little or nothing had been given to the world respecting its physical aspect. La Salle was the destined one to bring to light this majestic chasm, which opened through the heart of a continent.

Let us now return to Ft. Creve-Cœur, and follow the invincible explorer through the thorny path which still intervened between him and his destination. Even before Hennepin had started from Ft. Creve-Cœur, he had felt the positive necessity of a fresh supply of men to fill the places of the deserters; for his force was now too small to even continue work on the vessel. The fort was now finished, and its name, Creve-Cœur ("broken heart"), sufficiently symbolized the failure of all his plans thus far, but was no index to his unconquerable resolution. Spring was now opening, with its discomforture of mud and swollen streams; but, regardless of these obstacles, he formed the resolution to start for Canada, to obtain the necessary recruits. Hennepin had no sooner left the fort than La Salle made preparations for his departure. On the 2d of March everything was in readiness. Five companions were selected to accompany him, one of whom was Nika, a faithful Indian servant, whose skill as a hunter and knowledge of woodcraft was indispensable to the safety of the party.

They commenced their journey in a canoe, and packing into it a slender outfit of blankets, guns, and the inevitable bag of hominy, they tugged up the Illinois river till the mouth of the Kankakee was reached. Up this stream they plied their oars till they came about to the present site of Joliet. Here the ice of winter was still unbroken, and the canoe had to be abandoned. Blankets, guns and other luggage, were now packed on their shoulders, and they took up their march through the oozy savannas, which intervened between them and Ft. Miamis, at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, which was the first point to be reached. Taking their course to the northeast, according to their best knowledge of locality, after a few days of toilsome travel, and as many nights of cold comfort on the damp ground, they were gladdened by the sight of Lake Michigan. The point at which they struck it was but a few miles south of Chicago, near the mouth of the Calumet.* Following the shore of the lake, around its southern extremity, on the 24th they arrived at the fort, where its lonesome garrison of two men still stood sentinels of the forest, like hermits, cut off from all communication with the world.

When La Salle had sent his vessel back down the lakes from Green Bay, loaded with furs, he gave orders to have her return to Ft. Miamis for a second trip; and, notwithstanding no tidings had reached him of the vessel since her departure, he had not entirely relinquished all hopes that she had arrived at this place, in obedience to his orders, and that he might yet recruit his exhausted finances from the sale of her cargo; but these hopes were not realized—neither the vessel nor any news of her was here.† The Griffin never had been heard from since she left Green Bay; no doubt could now be entertained, that she had been lost during the heavy gales that prevailed soon after she set sail on the great wilderness of waves that the lakes then were, without a lighthouse or a chart, to guide the pioneer bark along the unknown shore. Without taking time to rest, La Salle, with his party, again plunged into the leafless forests, striking their course toward the western extremity of Lake Erie. It was an unknown country. With no other guide but a pocket compass, the travelers pushed through thickets and swamps, weighted down with camping equipments and guns. After a few days' travel, they found themselves pursued by a band of Indians supposed to be Iroquois. For several days their footsteps were dogged, and all attempts to elude their pursuit were unavailing.

* Parkman's Discovery of the Great West, p. 178.

† In obedience to orders from La Salle, the two men at the fort had made a tour around the northern shore of the lake, to get news from the Griffin, but nothing could be learned of her fate.

The leaf-strewn ground was set on fire, but the wily enemy followed their tracks like bloodhounds. Lest they might come upon them in the night, no camp-fires were made. The cold supper of dried meat was eaten in silence, each wrapped himself in his blankets, and laid down to sleep, knowing that an enemy was near, thirsting for their blood. Thus they proceeded on their way till the second of April, on which night the cold was too severe to bear, and a fire was kindled to thaw their clothes, which were stiffened with ice. No sooner than the light was descried, their pursuers came upon them with terrific yells; but, happily for La Salle's party, a deep stream intervened between his camp and the hostile party. La Salle boldly advanced to its banks to get a sight at the enemy, when a parley ensued, which resulted in ascertaining them to be a band of Mascoutins, and not Iroquois, as at first supposed. The mistake was mutual, as the Mascoutins also supposed La Salle's party to be a band of Iroquois, to meet whom was the signal for a fight. This danger averted, they continued their journey till the Detroit river was reached. Two of his men were sent from this place to Michilimackinac; and with the remaining two, among whom was Nika, he crossed the Detroit river on a raft, and bent his course toward the north shore of Lake Erie; reaching which place, a canoe was made, and the travelers started for Ft. Niagara, coasting the northern shore of the lake.

It was past the middle of April when they arrived. The hardships of the journey had told fearfully upon his men. Two of them had become unfit for active duty before the Detroit was reached; and now the other two, one of whom was the hardy Nika, were unable to proceed farther, while La Salle himself was in the flush of strength and vigor—a striking proof of the power of a great mind over the body. Here news of fresh disasters greeted him again. A vessel laden with stores for him, from France, was wrecked on entering the St. Lawrence river; but this was not all. His envious enemies in Canada had circulated various evil reports about him, and not only estranged some of his friends, but had induced a new recruit of men from France, destined for his service, to desert him. Never before had such a combination of disasters overtaken him. The very elements seemed to have conspired to destroy what the treachery of his supposed friends could not. In this extremity, he selected three fresh men from Ft. Niagara, and started for Montreal. On the 6th of May, he arrived at Ft. Frontenac, on his way, which was the spot where his knighthood had been endowed with a seigniory of land. Here he might have become the wealthiest man in Canada, could he have contented himself to parcel out these lands to the peasantry of Canada, and receive rents from them, like other noblemen. But these honors would

have been stale and insipid to the high-minded explorer, whose mind ran on the destinies of New France. When he reached Montreal, his dignified bearing was a matter of astonishment to his enemies, and was not long in restoring the confidence of his friends. The grandeur of his still unshaken resolution was consistent with the even grander schemes in which he had enlisted for life; and, in less than a week after his arrival, both men and money were placed at his disposal, to renew his plans. Active preparations were now made for his departure to the Illinois country with his new recruits; but before these were completed, he received bad news from Ft. Creve-Cœur, by messengers sent from Tonty. The fort had been plundered and entirely destroyed by its own garrison, all having joined in the infamous work except Tonty and four or five others of his companions, who were still true to La Salle's interest.

The renegades took the advantage of a brief absence of Tonty to accomplish the work; and, ere his return, they had robbed the place of everything of value which could be carried away, and threw into the river what they could not steal. Next, they went to Ft. Miamis and committed similar depredations, and closed their career of robbery at Michilimackinac, by stealing a quantity of furs at that place, which belonged to La Salle. Soon after this unwelcome news came, two other messengers arrived, and informed La Salle that the robbers, numbering twelve men, in three gangs, were now on their way to Ft. Frontenac, with the intention of killing him at sight. Selecting nine of his bravest men, he now resolved to waylay them ere their arrival. In this he was successful, and soon returned to Ft. Frontenac with the whole party as prisoners, except two who had been killed in the encounter.

It was now of the utmost importance that he should make all haste to the Illinois country, to relieve Tonty of the perils which environed him. On the 10th of August everything was made ready, and he embarked from Ft. Frontenac with his new command, numbering twenty-five men. He chose his route by the way of Lake Simcoe and along the shores of Georgian Bay to Michilimackinac. From this place he started in advance, with twelve men, and left the rest to transport the heavy materials, under command of La Forest. Coasting along the east shore of Lake Michigan, he soon came to the St. Joseph, and, as he expected, found Ft. Miamis in ruins. Leaving five of his men here to rebuild the fort and await the approach of La Forest, he pushed on by the same route he had traveled before, through the perplexing mazes of the Kankakee, in its mud-bound circlings. No signs of human life were seen; but when the Illinois river was reached, herds of buffalo made their appearance, and the scene was changed. Hurrying along in painful

suspense, the site of the once familiar Indian town was reached; but instead of a wild, tumultuous scene of Indians dancing grotesque figures or grouped around in lazy dalliance, a ghastly spectacle of human skulls projecting from the ramparts of the ruined fort greeted his eyes. The Iroquois had been there and swept away every sign of life, not even respecting the tombs of the dead; for these had been desecrated, and masses of fetid flesh and disjointed bones lay scattered over the green.

This crushing disaster had fallen upon La Salle when hope was reviving of a speedy accomplishment of his plans. Searching among the slain, all the while fearing he should find Tonty and his three or four faithful comrades, a painful sense of his forlorn situation came over him; but he was calm, and betrayed no signs of despair. A night of horrors succeeded, in which sleep was impossible. Gangs of wolves, quarreling over the spoils of battle-field, fell upon their ears, as they listened in silence for the war-whoop of the triumphant foe. The next morning, La Salle, with four of his men, followed the path of the fugitives and their pursuers down the river, to see if any tidings could be heard of Tonty. He kept on till he arrived at the mouth of the river, and here for the first time beheld the majestic Father of Waters, whose accumulated floods were gathered from the far-off realms of Nature's unoccupied domain, still slumbering in secret recluses. Neither Tonty nor any signs of life could be found, and he returned to the spot where he had left his three companions. From here, the whole party, after loading themselves with half-burnt corn, which the destroyers had set fire to, started for Ft. Miamis on the St. Joseph river, arriving at the place in January, 1681. Here he found his command, who, according to his orders, had followed on with the baggage, after he had left Michilimackinac, a few weeks before, in such haste, to relieve Tonty.

All his plans had miscarried; here were his men huddled together within the scanty limits of Ft. Miamis, but his base of operations on the Illinois river had been swept away like chaff before a whirlwind, and not a solitary representative of his allies the Illinois remained in their native land, and his work was to begin anew. His resolution was taken at once. A strong league of all the western tribes must be formed, for defensive purposes, against the Iroquois, before he dared to push his explorations down the Mississippi; and, indeed, it was all-important that the French should show themselves able to defend those western tribes, as a preliminary step toward getting possession of their country, or, rather, gaining a foothold in it.

The late Iroquois invasion of the Illinois country, of which La Salle had just witnessed the ravages, was not a mere ebullition of savage frenzy, but the result of a public policy quite as excusa-

ble as the ordinary wars of civilized nations. The fur trade was the largest interest, at that time, throughout the entire country, and sharp rivalry in this branch of commerce had always existed between the Dutch settlements on the Hudson river, and the Canadian French. Acting in harmony with the Dutch, the Iroquois themselves had become factors of this branch of industry, and reaped quite a revenue by buying furs of the western tribes, and selling them to the Dutch. It was therefore, adverse to their interest to have the French among the Illinois, inasmuch as it gave not only the entire Illinois' trade to them, but threatened to turn the trade with the tribes to the east away from themselves into French hands. A similar rivalry exists this day between Chicago and Canadian cities as to who shall command the most trade. But the matter is settled by national comity, in the shape of reciprocity treaties, instead of a resort to the sword.

La Salle with his men remained at Ft. Miamis till March, when the severity of winter had abated, and he could again venture into the forest haunts of the Indians to execute his plans. The Illinois tribes had returned to their ancient villages, smarting under their late humiliation, and the occasion was favorable for La Salle's plan, to unite them with the Miamis and other western tribes, for the purpose of repelling Iroquois invasion. He therefore convened a council of the different tribes, and soon persuaded them to forget their former causes for resentment, and unite under his standard and make common cause against the common enemy of both the French and the western tribes. By this politic diplomacy, La Salle had turned the late Iroquois victory over the Illinois to his own account, and opened the way for resuming his grand adventure; but before anything farther could be done, it was necessary to return to Canada, and acquaint his friends with the new situation.

The genial influences of May had made the canoe navigation of the lake secure, and he started at once along the east shore to reach Canada by the same route he had last come. Arriving at Michilimackinac, his cup of joy was brimming over, for Tonty had also just arrived there from Green Bay, at which place he had been ice-bound for the winter, as La Salle himself had been at Ft. Miamis on the St. Joseph. The two distinguished explorers were necessary to each other, and their joy was mutual.

When the Iroquois army came upon the Illinois village, Tonty was among them with Father Membre; and, rightly judging that his allies would be defeated by their haughty invaders, he determined to try the arts of diplomacy to ward off, if possible, the impending blow. Both armies were drawn up in order of battle on the open prairie in front of the village, and the usual prelude to an Indian fight, such as horrible yellings and defiant war-whoops, were in full tide, when Tonty, with a heroism seldom

witnessed, advanced from the ranks of his Illinois friends toward the Iroquois, bearing a flag of truce. The astonished invaders received him into their councils, and, for a time, their skirmishing, which had already begun, ceased. The Iroquois were undecided in opinion whether he should be instantly tomahawked or let go, and one chief thrust his spear into his side, inflicting a painful wound—perhaps to experiment on his mettle. Tonty bore it with the immobility of a subject for the dissecting-room, which had the effect to elevate him vastly in the estimation of the Iroquois, and they let him go, but were not to be turned from their purpose; and they attacked the Illinois and drove them from their homes—seized a large number of their squaws, whom they led to their far-off lodges in the present State of New York, there to become their supernumerary wives.

After Tonty's efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the two contending armies had failed, he withdrew, and, with Membre, made the best of his way to the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Green Bay.

The following summer was employed by La Salle in his trip to Canada and return to his place of rendezvous at Ft. Miamis. All that he had hoped for in the way of preparation for his third attempt had been accomplished to his satisfaction, and nothing remained but to start on the enterprise. Besides the twenty-three Frenchmen in his command, eighteen Indians were taken into his service, ten of whom chose to take their squaws with them, to do camp duty.* Father Membre accompanied the expedition, and has given its history, which begins as follows:

"On the 21st of December I embarked, with the Sieur de Tonty and a part of our people, on Lake Dauphin (Michigan), to go toward the divine river called by the Indians Checaugou, in order to make necessary arrangements for our voyage. The Sieur de La Salle joined us there with the rest of his troop, on the 4th of January, 1682, and found that Tonty had had sleighs made, to put all on and carry it, when the Checaugou was frozen over."

The exact words of Father Membre have been quoted to show the antiquity of the name Chicago, which the father spelled Checaugon.

The whole party began their journey, it appears, with sleighs drawn by the men, on the icy faces of the Chicago, Desplaines, and Illinois rivers, till open water was reached at Peoria lake. Here the canoes were unloaded from the sleighs and launched in the Illinois river. The camping utensils were stowed away, the

* These Indians were fugitives from New England, who, having been conquered in king Philip's war, had found an asylum in the far West.

four Indian babies who accompanied them slung away in some nook where they would be least in the way, and the flotilla moved along on its way, propelled by strong arms assisted by the current.

The old site of Ft. Creve-Cœur and the amateur ship-yard near by it, was soon passed, as they skimmed down the whirling current, and the view was quickly lost to sight, if not the painful remembrances which must have been recalled to La Salle and Tonty.* When night came, the whole party moored their boats on the bank of the river, pitched their tents, slung their kettles on tripods, and built their fires. After a supper of boiled hominy and dried beef, they prostrated their weary forms on the ground for the night. This was the daily routine till the mouth of the Mississippi was reached, although it was varied with intercourse with different tribes of Indians on their way, among whom such improvements as adobe houses, earthen plates, and domestic fowls were found.†

It was on the 9th of April that they arrived at the low and grassy margin of the Gulf of Mexico, upon those attenuated points of spongy soil scarcely deserving the name of banks. Far in the rear, upon the treeless banks of the river, the dry grasses of April rasped their dry blades together with a din of buzzing before the wind. The gulf rolled in her heavy swells against the unceasing torrent of the river, which met like two opposing forces of nature; and here, amid these desolations, the party landed and erected the inevitable cross. Beside it, the arms of France, engraved on a leaden plate, was buried. A solemn service of prayer and singing was then performed, and, with impressive forms, possession was taken of the whole valley of the Mississippi and named Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., king of France.

The whole party now started on the return, tugging against the scalloping currents of the river, which tossed their light boats like vessels in a storm. Far away to the right and left, the distant forests pushed their hoary tops into the horizon, walling in the lonely passage to the sea of the gathered waters of half a continent. This immense valley was now a French province, by virtue of the wooden cross just erected, around which the amphibious monsters of the gulf were to gambol in security as soon as the adventurers were out of sight.

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* The original plan of building a vessel to navigate the Mississippi had been abandoned for the more practical canoe of that early age.

† These were seen below the Arkansas.

CHAPTER III.

La Salle Returns to the Illinois Country—Ft. St. Louis Built—La Salle leaves Tonty in Command of Ft. St. Louis, and Starts for France—Tonty Unjustly Superseded in Command by La Barre, the New Governor of Canada—La Salle at the Court of Louis XIV.—La Barre Recalled—Tonty Restored to Command—La Salle furnished with a Fleet to Sail for the Mouth of the Mississippi and Establish a Colony—The Fleet Passes its Destination, and Lands on the Coast of Texas—Treachery of Beaujeu—La Salle Builds a Fort—His Vessels Lost—Desperate Condition of the Colony—La Salle starts Across the Wilds for the Illinois Country—He is Assassinated on the Way—The Murderers fall upon each other—Return of Cavelier and His Party—Tonty's Fort on the Arkansas—Mendacious Concealment of La Salle's Death—Iberville and Bienville make a Settlement at the Mouth of Mississippi—Analysis of the English Colonies.

La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi was the work of a master mind; but, for the present, it was an unwieldy acquisition to the complicated as well as overburdened executive capabilities of the Canadian government.

Had La Salle's means been sufficient, he would have immediately established a fort at the mouth of the river, as a depot for receiving and shipping buffalo hides and furs, from the inexhaustible sources of supply for these valuable goods, in the limitless wilds drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. But his labors thus far had not only exhausted his own means in exploration, but had drawn largely upon the resources of his friends, as well as leaving him in debt even to the men who had performed the drudgery of the camp.

On his passage up the Mississippi, he had been seized with a violent attack of fever, and was unable to pursue his journey, with the comfortless accommodations afforded by their canoes; but, fortunately for him, a fort had been built at the Chickasaw bluffs, on their passage down,* and his strength barely held out

*Fort Prudhomme. On their passage down the river, a landing was made here for the purpose of hunting. While thus engaged, Father Prudhomme was lost in the woods, and, while searching for him, a fort was built and named for him. He was found after two days' search, in a state of great exhaustion.

till their arrival at this place. Here he remained till he was able to resume his journey, attended by Father Membre. Meantime, Tonty hastened forward to the Illinois country with the men, for it was all-important that a nucleus of French power should be established here, in order to utilize the late discoveries.

This was no easy task to accomplish, especially from the untempered materials out of which it was to be improvised; but La Salle, who never looked upon any obstacle in his way as insurmountable, went to work with his accustomed resolution, as soon as he was able again to take the field. The yellow tints of autumn had begun to imprint their stamp upon the forests when he and Tonty had commenced building Ft. St. Louis at Starved Rock, where the western tribes might gather around the lilies of France, with an assurance of protection.*

This work completed, La Salle intended to sail for France, as soon as he could arrive at Quebec, the starting point.

At this juncture, rumors of an Iroquois invasion of the Illinois country came to hand, and postponed his anticipated visit to the French court; for to desert his Illinois allies in this hour of danger, would be a forfeiture of French interests on the prairies, as well as a relinquishment of his plans for a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi.

A large number of Indians, composed of several western tribes besides the Illinois, were now tenanted along the Illinois river adjacent to the fort, who, with the aid of a small number of Frenchmen, would be able to repel any Iroquois invasion likely to be sent against them. But to hold these capricious wanderers to the French interest, a stock of goods for barter with them, and a few Frenchmen to do military duty, were necessary. These must come from Canada. Had Frontenac still been Governor, all would have been well; but this able man had been removed through the machinations of some of the jarring interests of the province, and La Barre put in his place. He was no friend to La Salle, and instead of reinforcing him with the necessary men for service in the Illinois country, he detained those in Canada designed for that post, and withheld all supplies from him. La Salle had now no other recourse left, but to remain at his post in the Illinois country during the winter, ruminating in his fertile brain on future plans, whereby he could bring to the knowledge of the French king an appreciative sense of the magnitude of his discoveries. The next summer was nearly spent in the same painful uncertainty amidst the servile tribes of the prairies, whose lack of courage to protect them-

* This spot was chosen as a place of great natural strength, where a few Frenchmen could hold a nation of savages at bay.

selves contrasted unfavorably with the prowess of the conquering Iroquois.

Autumn was approaching—the expected invasion of these champions of the forest had not come—and La Salle determined to start for France. On his way to Quebec, he met an officer going to the Illinois country, with a commission from La Barre, the governor of Canada, to take possession of Ft. St. Louis, the citadel of the rock tower, which was then the key to the interior. Tonty had first built this fort, and, by virtue of La Salle's authority, now held command of it; and though he alone was better qualified to command it than any other one except La Salle, yet he peaceably conformed to the authority of La Barre, and took a subordinate position under Baugis, the late appointee of La Barre.

The following March, the expected Iroquois came and besieged the place for six days. The fort held out, and the discomfitted invaders, for once balked of their expected victory, retreated.

La Salle was now in Paris. La Barre's villainous aspersions had preceded him, in the vain attempt to undervalue his discoveries and wrest from him what little authority yet remained in his hands as commander of Ft. Frontenac and almoner of seigniorial rights of the lands of the Illinois country.* This was more than calumny could accomplish. Sixteen years of toil and disappointment, of hope deferred, crowned at last with a success only waiting recognition, had moulded lines of irresistible advocacy into the weather-beaten face of La Salle. He no sooner gained a hearing at the court of Versailles than the reports of his enemies recoiled upon themselves. La Barre was recalled, Denonville was made governor of Canada, and the command of Ft. St. Louis restored to Tonty, the incarnation of courage and fidelity, and the only one now worthy of holding it.

La Salle, now fully restored to the confidence of the French court, was furnished with a fleet of four vessels to fulfill the cherished project of his ambition—the establishment of a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The fleet sailed from Rochelle on the 24th of July, 1684, with 280 adventurers who enlisted in the service as emigrants, to form a colony in the wilds of America. Among them were artisans of various trades and a few young women. Several priests also accompanied the expedition, among whom was Cavelier, the brother of La Salle,

* La Salle's patent of nobility had invested him with authority to parcel out the lands around Ft. St. Louis to French settlers, who would marry natives and settle on the land. This was done to encourage permanent colonization, but the recipients of these emoluments abused their privileges by marrying new wives as often as their whimsical propensities or their interests demanded, greatly to the disgust of La Salle.

and Joutel, whose history of the progress and tragical termination of the scheme is now esteemed as the best authority.

The general command was given to La Salle, but unfortunately another person, by the name of Beaujeu, had charge of the fleet, whose authority did not go beyond the management of the vessels. He was by birth from a family of note, and had been for many years in the king's service—at least long enough to spoil him for the position he was now to occupy as a subordinate to La Salle, whose experience in the wilds of America was sneered at by the officious captain.

On their way to the mouth of the Mississippi, much dissension arose between Beaujeu and La Salle. The former was envious and the latter tenacious. One vessel, containing valuable stores, was captured by Spanish cruisers in consequence of Beaujeu's disobedience of La Salle's orders to land at Port de Paix, a harbor of La Tortue.

After much detention at the West India Islands, in consequence of the sickness of La Salle, the fleet finally entered the Gulf of Mexico, and made sail for their destination, as near as they could calculate their course from the latitude and longitude taken by La Salle when he with his canoe fleet, two years before, had discovered the mouth of the river to which they were now tending.

Coasting along the northern shore of the gulf, they made several landings, but finally passed by the place, either through ignorance or design of the faithless Beaujeu. Continuing along the shore, which trended southwardly, La Salle soon became convinced that they had missed their destination, and urged upon Beaujeu to retrace the mysterious path which had now brought them to the treeless and sandy shores of Texas. This he refused to do, on the ground that his provisions were getting short, and he must return immediately to France. La Salle, convinced of the mistake they had made, offered him fifteen days' extra provisions, which would have been more than sufficient to feed the crew while engaged in continuing the search. Even this proposition Beaujeu had the effrontery to discard.

In attempting to land, one of the three remaining vessels was stranded, and became a total wreck; but, notwithstanding this calamity, Beaujeu set sail for France, leaving La Salle and his men to their fate on the savage and unknown shore whither they had been drifted like lost travelers.

In this extremity La Salle landed his men and built a fort on the shores of Matagorda Bay, for this was the spot where the winds and waves had cast them. He was not without hopes that one of the rivers which emptied into it was one of the devious mouths of the Mississippi; which, perhaps, may account for

his not continuing his search for this illusive object with the remaining vessel.*

The note in the margin is Joutal's account of the building of the fort. The same faithful historian has recorded in his journal the wanderings of La Salle in his search for the fatal river, as he (Joutal) always called it. This search was persisted in for two years, during which time disease and death were wasting away the unhappy colony, till but a feeble remnant was left, while, to make their situation still more desperate, their last remaining vessel was wrecked in crossing the bay on some local service. To save them, La Salle formed the desperate resolution to make his way on foot across the country to Canada, and obtain relief for these victims of his unlucky enterprise.

Joutel, in giving an account of his starting, says:

"We set out on the 12th of January, in the year 1687, being seventeen in number, viz: Monsieur de La Salle, Monsieur Cavelier the priest, his brother, Father Anastasius the recollet, Messieurs Moranget and Cavelier, nephews to Monsieur de La Salle,

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* "When Mons. de Beaujeu was gone, we fell to work to make a fort, of the wreck of the ship that had been cast away and many pieces of timber the sea threw up; and during that time several men deserted, which added to Monsieur de La Salle's affliction. A Spaniard and a Frenchman stole away and fled, and were never more heard of. Four or five others followed their example, but Monsieur de La Salle, having timely notice, sent after them, and they were brought back. One of them was condemned to death, and the others to serve the king ten years in that country.

"When our fort was well advanced, Monsieur de La Salle resolved to clear his doubts, and to go up the river where we were, to know whether it was not an arm of the Mississippi, and accordingly ordered fifty men to attend him, of which number were Monsieur Cavelier, his brother, and Monsieur Chedeville, both priests, two recollet friars, and several volunteers, who set out in five canoes we had, with the necessary provisions. There remained in the fort about an hundred and thirty persons, and Monsieur de La Salle gave me the command of it, with orders not to have any commerce with the natives, but to fire at them if they appeared.

"Whilst Monsieur de La Salle was absent, I caused an oven to be built, which was a great help to us, and employed myself in finishing the fort and putting it in a posture to withstand the Indians, who came frequently in the night to range about us, howling like wolves and dogs; but two or three musket shots put them to flight. It happened one night that, having fired six or seven shots, Monsieur de La Salle, who was not far from us, heard them, and being in pain about it, he returned with six or seven men, and found all things in a good posture.

"He told us he had found a good country, fit to sow and plant all sorts of grain, abounding in beeves and wild-fowl; that he designed to erect a fort farther up the river, and accordingly he left me orders to square out as much timber as I could get, the sea casting up much upon the shore. He had given the same orders to the men he had left on the spot, seven or eight of whom, detached from the rest, being busy at that work, and seeing a number of the natives, fled, and unadvisably left their tools behind them. Monsieur de La Salle returning thither, found a paper made fast to a reed, which gave him notice of that accident, which he was concerned at, because of the tools, not so much for the value of the loss, as because it was furnishing the natives with such things as they might afterward make use of against us."

the Sieurs Duhaut the elder, l'Archeveque, Hiens, Liotot, surgeon, young Talon, an Indian,* and a footman belonging to Monsieur de La Salle, &c. We carried along with us part of the best things every man had, and what was thought would be of use, wherewith the five horses were loaded, and we took our leaves with as much tenderness and sorrow, as if we had all presaged that we should never see each other more. Father Zenobius was the person who expressed it to me most significantly, saying he had never been so sensibly touched at parting with anybody."

Many a parting adieu was waved to the travelers as they slowly made their way across the extended plain in front of the fort, till the last glimpse of their receding forms was lost in the expanse of wilderness which intervened between them and New France.

La Salle with his men urged their way over the vast plains of Texas, swimming the rivers that crossed their path, subsisting on buffalo meat, and camping nightly on the ground, till they reached the Trinity river. The route thus far had been traveled a few months before by La Salle, in his erratic wanderings in quest of the "fatal river," and having an overstock of provisions at that time, he concealed some beans in a hollow tree for possible future use. Being now encamped hard by, he despatched Liotot, Hiens, Teissier, L'Archeveque, Nika, and Saget, to secure them. To their disappointment, they found them spoiled; but, on their return, Nika shot two buffalo. Saget was now despatched to the camp of La Salle for horses to bring in the meat, to be cured for use on the way.

The request was gladly complied with by sending two messengers, Moranget and De Marle, to return with Saget with the necessary horses. The meat had already been cut into thin slices and hung out to dry by the usual process; all except some choice bits which Duhaut and his pals had reserved for themselves. This was an acknowledged prerogative of the hunter who killed game, and to Nika only belonged this right; but Moranget, in no mood to respect these distinctions, abusing the whole party in a storm of indignation, seized all the meat by force.

The tragedy that followed is related by Joutel as follows:

"The 16th, in their return, they met with two bullocks, which Monsieur de La Salle's Indian killed, whereupon they sent back his footman, to give him notice of what they had killed, that if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses for it. The

* The Indian mentioned by Joutel was Nika. This faithful servant had accompanied La Salle in all his forest marches ever since he first pushed his way into the lake country, and had more than once furnished subsistence to his famishing men by his superior skill in hunting, and had piloted them safely through mysterious portages known only to Indians.

17th, Monsieur de La Salle had the horses taken up, and ordered the Sieurs Moranget and de Marle, his footman, to go for that meat, and send back a horse load immediately, till the rest was dried.

"Monsieur Moranget, when he came thither, found they had smoked both the beeves, though they were not dry enough; and the said Sieurs Liotot, Hiens, Duhaut, and the rest, had laid aside the marrow-bones and others to roast them, as was usual to do. The Sieur Moranget found fault with it; he in a passion seized not only the flesh that was smoked and dried, but also the bones, without giving them anything; but on the contrary, threatening they should not eat so much of it as they had imagined, and that he would manage that flesh after another manner.

"This passionate behavior, so much out of season, and contrary to reason and custom, touched the surgeon Liotot, Hiens, and Duhaut to the quick, they having other causes of complaint against Moranget. They withdrew, and resolved together upon a bloody revenge; they agreed upon the manner of it, and concluded they would murder the Sieur Moranget, Monsieur de La Salle's footman, and his Indian, because he was very faithful to him.

"They waited till night, when those unfortunate creatures had supped and were asleep. Liotot the surgeon was the inhuman executioner. He took an axe, began by the Sieur Moranget, giving him many strokes on the head; the same he did by the footman and the Indian, killing them on the spot, whilst his fellow-villains, viz.: Duhaut, Hiens, Teissier, and L'Archeveque, stood upon their guard, with their arms, to fire upon such as should make any resistance. The Indian and the footman never stirred, but the Sieur Moranget had so much vigor as to sit up, but without being able to speak one word, and the assassins obliged the Sieur de Marle to make an end of him, though he was not in the conspiracy.

"This slaughter had yet satisfied but one part of the revenge of those murderers. To finish it and secure themselves it was requisite to destroy the commander-in-chief. They consulted about the safest method to effect it, and resolved to go together to Monsieur de La Salle, to knock out the brains of the most resolute immediately, and then it would be easier to overcome the rest. But the river, which was between them and us, being much swollen, the difficulty of passing it made them put it off the 18th and 19th. On the other hand, Monsieur de La Salle was very uneasy on account of their long stay. His impatience made him resolve to go himself to find out his people, and to know the cause of it.

"This was not done without many previous tokens of concern and apprehension. He seemed to have some presage of his mis-

fortune, inquiring of some whether the Sieur Liotot, Hiens, and Duhaut had not expressed some discontent; and not hearing anything of it, he could not forbear setting out the 20th, with Father Anastasius and an Indian, leaving me the command in his absence, and charging me from time to time to go the rounds about our camp, to prevent being surprised, and to make a smoke for him to direct his way in case of need. When he came near the dwelling of the murderers, looking out sharp to discover something, he observed eagles fluttering about a spot not far from them, which made him believe they had found some carrion about the mansion, and he fired a shot, which was the signal of his death and forwarded it.

"The conspirators hearing the shot, concluded it was Monsieur de La Salle, who was come to seek them. They made ready their arms and provided to surprise him. Duhaut passed the river. L'Archeveque, the first of them, spying Monsieur de La Salle at a distance, as he was coming toward them, advanced and hid himself among the high weeds, to wait his passing by, so that Monsieur de La Salle, suspecting nothing, and having not so much as charged his piece again, saw the aforesaid L'Archeveque at a good distance from him, and immediately asked for his nephew Moranget, to which L'Archeveque answered that he was along the river. At the same time the traitor Duhaut fired his piece and shot Monsieur de La Salle through the head, so that he dropped down dead on the spot, without speaking one word.

"Father Anastasius, who was then by his side, stood stock still in a fright, expecting the same fate, and not knowing whether he should go forward or backward; but the murderer Duhaut put him out of that dread, bidding him not to fear, for no hurt was intended him; that it was despair that had prevailed with him to do what he saw; that he had long desired to be revenged on Moranget, because he had designed to ruin him, and that he was partly the occasion of his uncle's death. This is the exact relation of that murder, as it was presently after told me by F. Anastasius.

"Such was the unfortunate end of Monsieur de La Salle's life, at a time when he might entertain the greatest hopes as the reward of his labors. He had a capacity and talent to make his enterprise successful; his constancy and courage and his extraordinary knowledge of the arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for anything, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those tha

were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death.

"The shot which had killed Monsieur de La Salle was also a signal of the murder to the assassins for them to draw near. They all repaired to the place where the wretched dead corpse lay, which they barbarously stripped to the shirt, and vented their malice in vile and opprobrious language. The surgeon Liotot said several times, in scorn and derision, *There thou liest, great Basha; there thou liest.* In conclusion, they dragged it naked among the bushes, and left it exposed to the ravenous wild beasts. So far was it from what a certain author writes, of their having buried him and set up a cross on his grave.

"When those murderers had satiated their rage, they set out to come to us at our camp with the dried flesh, which they had caused to be brought over the river by the Indians, who had been spectators of the murder and of all the inhuman acts that had been committed, with amazement and contempt of us. When they were come to the camp, they found Messieurs Cavelier the one brother, the other nephew to the murdered commander, whom Father Anastasius acquainted with the dismal end of our chief, and enjoined them silence, which it is easy to imagine was very hard upon them; but it was absolutely necessary.

"However, Monsieur Cavelier the priest could not forbear telling them that if they would do the same by him, he would forgive them his murder, and only desired of them to give him a quarter of an hour to prepare himself. They answered, they had nothing to say to him; that what they had done was the effect of despair, to be revenged for the ill-usage they had received.

"I was absent at that time; they called L'Archeveque, who, as I have said, was one of the conspirators, had some kindness for me, and knowing they designed to make me away too, if I stood upon my defence, he parted from them, to give me notice of their mischievous resolution. He found me on a little rising ground, where I was looking upon our horses as they grazed in a little adjacent bottom. His intelligence struck me to the heart, not knowing whether I should fly or stay; but at length, having neither powder nor shot nor arms, and the said L'Archeveque giving me assurances of my life, provided I was quiet and said nothing, I committed myself to God's protection, and went to them, without taking any notice of what had been done.

"Duhaut, puffed up with his new-gotten authority, procured him by his villainy, as soon as he saw me, cried out, Every man ought to command in his turn; to which I made no answer; and we were all of us obliged to stifle our resentment, that it might not appear, for our lives depended on it. However, it was easy

to judge with what eyes Father Anastasius, Messieurs Cavelier, and I beheld these murderers, to whom we expected every moment to fall sacrifices. It is true, we dissembled so well that they were not very suspicious of us, and that the temptation we were under of making them away in revenge for those they had murdered, would have easily prevailed and been put in execution, had not Monsieur Cavelier the priest always positively opposed it, alleging that we ought to leave vengeance to God.

"However, the murderers seized upon all the effects, without any opposition, and then we began to talk of proceeding on our journey."

Thus, at the age of only forty-three years, fell the hero of a thousand conflicts against the calumnies of Jesuits,* the envy of rivals, and the untamed forces of Nature herself, against which he had contended for twenty years, in the heart of a savage wilderness. Much of this time the earth had been his couch at night, and his companions the savages whose realms he had entered.

With these he was an unusual favorite, not because he took the least interest in their every-day routine or catered to the narrow-gauge ideas with which the average mind in a state of nature was occupied, but because in him was personified a true nobility of character which perforce subordinates common grades of intellect, whether savages or civilians, to its will.

He was one of those men whose stamp of genius, in his peculiar sphere, has been left upon his age, where it will remain an indelible record, not only among the forests of America, but among the splendors of Versailles, where his sunburnt face once stood among the effeminate graces of the French court like a giant among pigmies.

Strange that one so gifted should have had his weak points; but this was the case, and many of his misfortunes and his death were traceable to them. His weakness was found in his haughty, cold immobility, which repelled considerate counsels and left him alone in the hermitage of his thoughts when he needed advice.

Bereft of their champion, the situation of the party not in the conspiracy was perilous in the extreme. The least irritating word from them would have been the signal of death.

Duhaut and Liotot seized upon all the effects of La Salle, even the clothing on his person, leaving his naked body on the spot where he was killed, the flesh to be eaten and the bones tossed about by the wolves, and finally to moulder beneath the grasses of the prairie.

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* La Salle never felt friendly to the Jesuits, and always chose priests not belonging to that order to accompany him. The Jesuits in turn opposed him. Hence the unfriendly manner in which Charlevoix speaks of him.

The excuse for this was, that it was but a just remuneration for the losses they had sustained in following his fortunes to the desperate pass to which they were now brought. The appropriation of La Salle's effects aroused the indignation of the other conspirators, but the outbreak destined to finish up the closing scene was postponed.

Fathers of the faith and assassins besmeared with blood composed the company now left on their way to the realms of civilization. These incongruous extremes, after being several days together, however, are relieved from each others' presence by a stroke of retribution as sudden as the death of La Salle himself. Joutal's relation of it is as follows:

"After we had been some days longer in the same place, Hiens arrived with the two half-savage Frenchmen* and about twenty natives. He went immediately to Duhaut, and, after some discourse, told him he was not for going toward the Mississippi, because it would be of dangerous consequence for them, and therefore demanded his share of the effects he had seized upon. Duhaut refusing to comply, and affirming that all the axes were his own, Hiens, who it is likely had laid the design before to kill him, immediately drew his pistol and fired it upon Duhaut, who staggered about four paces from the place and fell down dead. At the same time, Ruter, who had been with Hiens, fired his piece upon Liotot the surgeon, and shot him through with three balls.

"These murders committed before us put me into a terrible consternation; for believing the same was designed for me, I laid hold of my firelock to defend myself; but Hiens cried out to me to fear nothing, to lay down my arms, and assured me he had no design against me, but that he had revenged his master's death. He also satisfied Monsieur Cavelier and Father Anastasius, who were as much frightened as myself, declaring he meant them no harm, and that, though he had been in the conspiracy, yet had he been present at the time when Monsieur de La Salle was killed, he would not have consented, but rather have obstructed it.

"Liotot lived some hours after, and had the good fortune to make his confession; after which, the same Ruter put him out of his pain with a pistol-shot. We dug a hole in the earth and buried him in it with Duhaut, doing them more honor than they had done to Monsieur de La Salle and his nephew Moranget, whom they left to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus those

* The two savage Frenchmen referred to by Joutel were deserters from La Salle's fort on Matagorda Bay the year before. They had cast their lot with the Indians, and here met their old comrades by chance.

murderers met with what they had deserved, dying the same death they had put others to."

It had been apparent to the innocent party, ever since the death of La Salle, that the murderers durst not return to Canada, and it had been a question not only how to obtain a share of the outfit so necessary for the wilderness tour, but how to part company amicably with these odious associates.

The late death of Duhaut and Liotot settled this question very readily, Hiens, the leader of the outlaws, declaring that he would not risk his neck in Canada, and made an equitable division of the spoils. The travelers then cut loose from the late scenes of bloodshed, bidding adieu to the malcontents, whose lot was now cast with these Indians, less savage than themselves.

The division of the goods and the final parting is best told by Joutel, as follows:

"Accordingly, he laid aside, for Father Anastasius, Messieurs Cavelier, the uncle and the nephew, thirty axes, four or five dozen of knives, about thirty pounds of powder and the like quantity of ball. He gave each of the others two axes, two knives, two or three pounds of powder, with as much ball, and kept the rest. As for the horses, he took the best and left us the three least. Monsieur Cavelier asked him for some strings of beads, which he granted, and seized upon all the late Monsieur de La Salle's clothes, baggage, and other effects, besides above a thousand livres in money, which belonged to the late Monsieur Le Gros, who died at our dwelling of St. Louis. Before our departure, it was a sensible affliction to us to see that villain walk about, in a scarlet coat and gold galloons, which had belonged to the late Monsieur de La Salle, and which, as I have said, he had seized.

"After that, Hiens and his companions withdrew to their own cottage, and we resolved not to put off our departure any longer. Accordingly, we made ready our horses, which much alarmed the natives, and especially the chief of them, who said and did all he could to obstruct our journey, promising us wives, plenty of provisions, representing to us the immense dangers, as well from enemies who surrounded them as from the bad and impassable ways and the many woods and rivers we were to pass. However, we were not to be moved, and only asked one kindness of him, in obtaining of which there were many difficulties, and it was that he would give us guides to conduct us to Cappa; but at length, after much trouble and many promises of a good reward, one was granted, and two others went along with him.

"All things being thus ordered for our departure, we took leave of our hosts, passed by Hien's cottage, and embraced him and his companions. We asked him for another horse, which

ne granted. He desired an attestation, in Latin, of Monsieur Cavelier, that he had not been concerned in the murder of Monsieur de La Salle, which was given him, because there was no refusing of it; and we set forward with L'Archeveque and Meunier, who did not keep their word with us, but remained among those barbarians, being infatuated with that course of libertinism they had run themselves into. Thus there were only seven of us that stuck together to return to Canada, viz: Father Anastatasius, Messieurs Cavelier, the uncle and the nephew, the Sieur de Marle, one Teissier, a young man born at Paris, whose name was Bartholomew, and I, with six horses and the three Indians who were to be our guides; a very small number for so great an enterprise, but we put ourselves entirely into the hands of Divine Providence, confiding in God's mercy, which did not forsake us."

While they are laboring through the solitudes of the dreary country, we will follow the adventures of Tonty in his noble attempt to rescue La Salle's colony.

After the news of La Salle's departure from France to colonize the Mississippi country had reached Canada and the Illinois settlements, Tonty, who was stationed at the latter place, was fired with zeal to serve the new colony by every means in his power. Accordingly, he assembled a band of twenty Frenchmen and thirty Indians, and with this force, on the 13th of February, 1686, went down the Mississippi river to its mouth, where he expected to find his old friend La Salle at the head of a flourishing colony; but what was his surprise and disappointment when, after searching through the whole region, no trace of it could be found.

After leaving marks of his presence in various places, he wrote a letter to La Salle, and left it with the chief of the Bayagoulas, who promised to send it to him should he ever learn his whereabouts.

Tonty then started up the river with his men; but when he arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas, he deemed it prudent to build a fort, and leave a force of six men, among whom were Couture and De Launay, here to succor the colony if possible.*

This done, he returned to his post in the Illinois country.

For more than a year these sentinels of the forest remained at their post, holding themselves in readiness for any emergency.

Hard by was a large village of the Arkansas tribe, who enlivened the hermitage of the Frenchmen with the rude amusements of Indian life.

One summer day, while the tedious hours were being measur-

* Tonty's Memoir, in French's Hist. Coll., vol. 1, p. 68.

ed out with their dull routine, the Frenchmen were startled from their reveries by a French voice across the river, which flowed by their palisaded retreat, and they immediately fired two guns as a signal, which the party across the river answered.

Two canoes were immediately sent across the river, and the tired travelers were soon taken over and conducted into the fort.

The reader scarcely need be told that they were the fugitives from La Salle's unhappy colony in Texas. Cavelier, his brother, was the principal spokesman, and as he related the long train of overwhelming disasters which had befallen the colony, and at last came to the cruel assassination of La Salle, their listeners gave vent to their feelings in tears and sobs.

After a brief rest, the travelers resumed their journey for the Illinois country, leaving the lonesome garrison at their post, whose duties were now to establish a representation of French interests in the country.

On the 14th of September, they arrived at the old familiar grounds of Ft. St. Louis, on the Illinois river, opposite the present town of Utica; and now comes the strange part of the history.

Tonty, the commander, was absent fighting the Iroquois, and Bellefontaine, his lieutenant, stood in his place. All were eager to get tidings from La Salle, and, in response to their inquiries, they were told that he was well when they left, but omitted to state that he had been assassinated on the way—a very questionable way of telling the truth by establishing a falsehood, the incentive for which, it is but fair to presume, must have been from sinister motives, which supposition is strengthened by the fact that Cavelier borrowed, in La Salle's name, 4000 livres from Tonty.

It was the intention of Cavelier and his party to repair immediately to France, and to this end they made haste to take their departure. Arriving at Chicago, which by this time had become famous as a portage, they waited a week for the storm to abate, before daring to venture on the lake with their canoe, when they started, but were soon driven back by the heavy surf.

They now returned to Ft. St. Louis, and quartered under the hospitalities of Tonty, whose friendship for La Salle made him receive the subtle deceivers with welcome.

The next spring, the party took advantage of the first mild weather to embark for Canada by the Chicago route, and from thence sailed for France, where they at last unbosomed themselves of their terrible secret at the French court. But, long before this, the withered germ of French power in Texas had fallen under the war-club of the Indians.*

* The history of its destruction was furnished by the Indians, for which see Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, p. 208.

The bones of La Salle lay mouldering beneath the luxuriant grasses of a Texas prairie, but his plans for the aggrandizement of New France survived his untimely death, and and were soon destined to be renewed by Iberville and Bienville.

In 1699, these intrepid Frenchmen, who were born and nurtured among the excitements of life in Canada, obtained command of a small fleet, and made a French settlement on Dauphin Island, off the Bay of Mobile.

The same year they entered the mouth of the Mississippi river, and sailing up its scroll-shaped turnings, landed in the dominions of Tonty's old friend the chief of the Bayagoulas. It will be remembered that he had left a letter for La Salle with him, when he went down the river fourteen years previously. This letter had been preserved by him during these years with pious care, and with commendable discretion he now relieved himself of his responsibility by giving it to Iberville.

A permanent French colony was now established at the mouth of the river, out of which, a few years later, grew the city of New Orleans and the settlements of the famous sugar plantations along the river.

This was the southern extremity of the French settlements in America. Canada was the northern extremity, and Chicago the most frequented portage between them.

There were, however, other portages of intercommunication; one by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, another by the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers, both of which had beeu traveled, the one by Marquette and the other by La Salle, as already related.

The next year after Iberville and Bienville's successful settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia were made, and other thriving French villages sprung up near by them a few years later.

Vincennes, on the Wabash, was settled in 1710, and Ft. Charters, on the Mississippi, not far from Cahokia, in 1720. It was the strongest inland fortress in America, costing over $50,000.

A cordon of French forts extended from Canada to New Orleans, at this time, with which to cement the vast extent of New France together by an unbroken chain.

That one of these forts was built at Chicago there is sufficient evidence, from the fact that mention is made of its existence, by Tonty, while on his way from Canada to the Illinois country in 1685, who uses the following language: "I embarked for the Illinois Oct. 30th, 1685, but, being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and proceed by land. After going 120 leagues, I arrived at Ft. *Chicagou*, where M. de la Durantaye commanded.* No record remains as to the time of its construction.

* Tonty's Memoir, published in Hist. Coll. of Lou., vol. 1, p. 67.

There was a missionary station here in 1699, where the gospel was dispensed to the Miamis.* There appears also to have been a French village here at that time, as St. Cosme speaks of a lost boy at the time of his passing through the place, and several Frenchmen turning out to hunt for him among the tall grasses. After thirteen days, the boy returned to the village, spent with hunger and fatigue, and almost insensible.†

While these events, so auspicious to the French in the interim, were passing, the English colonists were at work within a very circumscribed compass, along the eastern fringe of the continent.

The Massachusetts colony was composed of Puritans after the Cotton Mather pattern.

The Connecticut and the New Hampshire colonies were also fashioned after the same model.

The Rhode Island colony was modified somewhat by the liberalism of Roger Williams, Wheelright, Vane, and Anne Hutchinson.

The Germans along the Hudson river were not unlike this same thrifty people of our day.

On the Delaware were the Swedes and Fins, models of frugality and piety.

In Pennsylvania were the English Quakers, under the leadership of the broad-gauge brain of William Penn.

In Virginia was the true type of English chivalry.

The Puritans may justly be called the conscience of the nation, and the Virginians, with equal propriety, the sword of the nation.

In the Carolinas were Huguenots and Quakers, and in Georgia respectable Englishmen, not conspicuous for any tangent points of character, except the ambitious aims indispensable to American emigrants.

No confederation or bond of union existed between these different colonies, but the exploits of the French in the West were rapidly hastening an issue bound to unite them together in a bond of union which was the outgrowth of the French and Indian war.

While this issue is maturing, Chicago must slumber in obscurity.

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* Early Voyages, p. 50, published by Joel Munsel, Albany.

† Early Voyages, pp. 56–8.

CHAPTER IV.

First Passage through the Detroit River—A Stone Statue found there—English on the Upper Lakes—Settlement of Detroit—The Foxes Attack the Place—Mission of Father Marquette at Michilimackinac—Cahokia and Kaskaskia Settled—Ft. Chartres—Vincennes Settled—Comparison of the English with the French Colonies—The Paris Convention to Establish the Line between the English and French in America—Convention at Albany—The Ohio Company—The French Build Forts on French Creek—Gov. Dinwiddie sends Washington to Warn them out of the Country—The Ohio Company send Trent to Build a Fort where Pittsburgh now stands—He is driven away by the French—Washington sent to the Frontier—He Attacks the French—Retreats—Builds Ft. Necessity—The Fort taken by the French.

Detroit stands foremost among the cities of the Northwest in local historic interest, although the place was unknown to the French even for some years after Lake Superior had been explored to its western extremity and missions established along its southern waters.

The Ottawa river of Canada, Lake Nippising, and the northern waters of Lake Huron, were the channels by which the great West was first reached by the French, and nearly the only ones used till La Salle had secured Lakes Ontario and Erie as a highway from Canada to the West, as told in the previous chapter.

In the autumn of 1669, at the Indian village of Ganastogue, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, two distinguished explorers, La Salle and Joliet, met by chance. Joliet was on his return from a trip to the Upper Lake, as Lake Superior was then called, for the purpose of discovering the copper mines. In reaching this place from Lake Superior, he must have passed down the river, then without a name, now called Detroit river, and first called by the French "The Detroit" (The Straits). It is a matter of record that an old Indian village, called Teuchsa Grondie, stood originally there, but no mention is made of it by Joliet.

The next spring, 1670, two priests, Galinee and Dablon, on their way from Canada to the mission of Sainte Marie, which had been established at the Sault the previous year, landed at or near the present site of Detroit. The first object of interest they beheld was a barbarous piece of stone sculpture in the human form. This was quite sufficient to unbalance the equilibrium of the two fathers, whose zeal had been whetted into an extravagant pitch by the hardships they had encountered on their way. With pious indignation they fell upon the "impious device" with their hatchets, broke it in pieces, and hurled the fragments into the river.*

The place would have been brought to light long before but for the Iroquois, who guarded the passage of the lower lakes with bull-dog tenacity, to preserve their own nation and protect their fur trade.†

That a fort was built at Detroit between this time and 1687 is inferred from Tonty's Memoir,‡ in which, while on the way down the lakes, he says: "The Sieur de la Forest was already gone with a canoe and thirty Frenchmen, and he was to wait for me at Detroit till the end of May." Farther along he continues: "We came, on the 19th of May (1687), to Ft. Detroit. We made some canoes of elm, and I sent one of them to Ft. St. Joseph."

During the few years which succeeded Frontenac's recall from the governor's chair of Canada, La Barre and next Denonville supplied his place. Both of their administrations were ushered in with promises of great results, but terminated in utter failures. They had measured their strength against the Iroquois, who proved too much for them, both in the forum and in the field.

Thos. Dongan was then colonial governor of New York, whose vigorous and ambitious policy, assisted by the Iroquois, contemplated the establishment of a trading post at Michilimackinac, for the mutual interests of both, and, in 1687, English agents started up the lakes for that purpose,‖ under protection of the Iroquois and Foxes.

The latter held supreme sway on those waters at that time, and were more friendly to the English than the French, as the

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* Jesuit Relations, 1670.

† Father Paul Raguneau, in the Jesuit Relations of 1650, uses the following language:

[*Translation.*] "All the Algonquin nations who dwell to the west of the ancient country of the Hurons, and where the faith has not yet been able to find its way, are people for whom we cannot have enough compassion. If it be necessary that the name of God be adored, and the cross be planted there, it shall be done in spite of all the rage of hell and the cruelty of the Iroquois, who are worse than the demons of hell."—Pages 30 and 31.

‡ See Hist. Coll. of Lou., vol. 1, p. 69.

‖ Paris Doc. III., published in Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. 1, p. 229.

French had, by some misdirection, made enemies of them at their first interview.

After Tonty with his men had left Detroit, as just told in his Memoir, as he was continuing his course along the lake shore toward Canada, he fell in company with Durantaye and Du Lhut, with their commands.

They had in their custody thirty English prisoners, whom they had just captured on the shore of Lake Huron.

Farther along in the Memoir, Tonty states that he took thirty more English prisoners, who were on their way to Michilimackinac, under command of Major Gregory—that they had with them several Huron and Ottawa captives, who had been taken by the Iroquois and consigned to their charge—that they also had a "great quantity of brandy" with them, which Tonty congratulated himself for having taken, inasmuch as it would have (in his own words) "gained over our allies, and thus we should have all the savages and the English upon us at once."

A war was going on at this time between the Iroquois and the French, of which the English probably took advantage to attempt to gain a foothold on the upper lakes.

Before the war was ended, all Canada was overrun by the Iroquois, Montreal burned, and two hundred persons captured and taken into the wilderness lodges of their conquerors in the present State of New York.

They were treated so kindly, however, that more than half of them refused to return to their home in Montreal after peace had been made, even though the French king commanded them to return.

The following September, 1689, commissioners from the New York and New England colonies met the Iroquois deputies at Albany in convention, when one of the chiefs congratulated the English colonists that their chain of friendship was strengthened by their burning of Montreal.

Frontenac was now restored to power in Canada, and under his vigorous administration the Iroquois were obliged to evacuate the French provinces, and the war was transferred to the territory of the English colonists, by the burning of Schenectady and the slaughter of its inhabitants. The original plan of this expedition was to capture Albany, the headquarters from which the English had fitted out their expedition to Michilimackinac,* but on their way they were informed that there was too large a force there for them to encounter, and they attacked Schenectady instead.

Had the English scheme to establish a post at Michilimackinac proved a success, the limits of New France would have been

* Paris Doc. IV.

confined to the present limits of Canada, and the whole western country have been opened immediately to English colonization, which must have hastened its settlement at least a generation. But the whole plan miscarried, if not on account of Tonty's seizure of the brandy, at least owing to the great distance of the post from the English settlements and to the allied action of the French and western tribes against the Foxes, whose immediate protection was necessary to the English cause on the upper lakes.

This English attempt to gain a foothold in the West doubtless stimulated the French to hasten to completion their own designs to accomplish the same purpose.* To this end a council was called at Montreal a few years later, to which the Canadian and western tribes were invited, nor were their ancient enemies the Iroquois forgotten.

The latter now disclaimed any intention to allow either the French or English to erect forts on the upper waters, but the western tribes favored the plan, of course. Meantime the French had already made preparations to establish a post on the Detroit.

Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Lord of Bouaget and Mountdesert, was on the spot, with a commission from Louis XIV., as commandant of Detroit. He started from Montreal in June, 1701, with one hundred men and all the necessary appliances, both religious and secular, to form a colony, and the next month safely landed, tented upon the spot, built Ft. Pontchartrain, and and commenced the settlement of the place.

The settlement was a permanent one, although for many years it was often reduced to the verge of ruin. The aimless character of the settlers was the chief cause of this, but there were other hindrances in the way of progress. The Iroquois looked with jealous eyes upon them, but not more so than did the English settlements along the Hudson; and three years after the settlement of Detroit, an Indian convention of the tribes bordering on the lakes was summoned to meet at Albany.†

Here the brains of those vacillating French allies, particularly the Ottawas, were temporarily turned over to the English interest, and on their return they set fire to the town, but the flames were soon extinguished.

A second attempt to burn the place, while it was under command of Tonty, met with no better success. Meantime Cadillac succeeded in getting some Indians from Michilimackinac and other places, whose friendship was of a more abiding character, to form a settlement near by, who acted as a sort of picket guard about the place.

These consisted of Ottawas, whose village was on the river,

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* Lanman's Mich., p. 40.

† Cass' Discourse.

above the town, and the Hurons and Pottawattomies, whose villages were below. Comparative safety thus secured, in 1707 Cadillac parceled out the adjacent lands to his unambitious subjects on the following terms:

"By the conditions of a grant, made by Cadillac, at Detroit, March 10th, 1707, the grantee, François Fafard Delorme was bound to pay a reserved rent of fifteen francs a year to the crown, for ever, in peltries, and to begin to clear and improve the land within three months from the date of the grant. All the timber was reserved to the crown, whenever it might be wanted for fortifications, or for the construction of boats or other vessels. The property of all mines and minerals was reserved to the crown. The privilege of hunting rabbits, hares, partridges, and pheasants, was reserved to the grantor. The grantee was bound to plant, or help to plant, a long May-pole before the door of the principal manor-house, on the first day of May in every year. All the grain raised by the grantee was to be carried to the mill of the manor to be ground, paying the tolls sanctioned by the custom of Paris. On every sale of the land a tax was levied; and, before a sale, the grantee was bound to give information to the government, and if the government was willing to take the land at the price offered to the grantee, it was to have precedence as a purchaser. The grantee could not mortgage the land without the consent of the government. For a term of ten years, the grantee was not permitted to work, or cause any person to work, directly or indirectly, at the profession and trade of a blacksmith, locksmith, armorer, or brewer, without a permit. All effects and articles of merchandise, sent to or brought from Montreal, were to be sold by the grantee himself, or other person who, with his family, was a French resident; and not by servants or clerks or foreigners or strangers. The grantee was forbidden to sell or trade spirituous liquors to Indians. He was bound to suffer on his lands such roads as might be thought necessary for public use. He was bound to make his fences in a certain manner, and, when called upon, to assist in making his neighbors' fences."*

As might be supposed, little progress could be made by the inhabitants, shackled as they were by such oppressive restrictions, and environed by the warlike Foxes, liable at the slightest provocation to attack them. In May, 1712, incited by a bloodthirsty spirit or possibly by a promise of a reward from the Iroquois or their patrons, the English colonists, they laid, as they supposed, secret plans to attack the place.

The occupants of the three friendly Indian villages adjoining were absent, and but for the disclosures of a converted Indian

*Am. State Papers, Public Lands, v. 1, 261.

of the Fox nation, the place must have been taken, for there was but a slender garrison to defend it. The savage disciple to the Catholic faith, whose newly-bred conscience impelled him to act the apostate to his own people, obtained an interview with M. Du Buison, the commandant, and revealed the secret to him in time to make preparation for the impending blow.

Cadillac was now Intendant of Louisiana and busy with Crozat in a butterfly chase after supposed gold mines, and the entire responsibilities rested upon Du Buison. He immediately sent deputies to the various tribes to the south and west, whose jealousy of the ferocious Foxes made them his ready allies. "Yes, we will come and defend you, and all we ask is, that you cover the bodies of such of us as are slain, with a little earth, to keep the flies away," was their reply.*

The zealous allies came, and were received within the gates of the fort, and on the 13th of May the attack was commenced from an intrenchment hastily thrown up by the determined Foxes, commanding the outworks of the French defences. To drive them from their position, the besieged erected a block-house commanding it.†

The strife soon became desperate. For nineteen days the battle raged, the victory alternating from one side to the other, till the Foxes withdrew under cover of night. They were followed, and the fiercest battle of the war ensued, in which the Foxes were routed and driven from the country to Green Bay.‡

This danger passed, the inhabitants of Detroit basked in the sunshine of peace and security from further alarms, till the French and Indian war had spent its force along the far-off eastern frontier, and an English garrison had taken quiet possession of the town. Then again the desolations of Pontiac's war rolled over their heads fiercer than ever; but till then the peasant habitant of the place paid his annual rental, cultivated his garden patch, and lived a thoughtless life, like the population of other French towns in the wilderness solitudes of New France.

Michilimackinac was settled more than a quarter of a century before Detroit. Its name is of Indian origin, the language of which is, The Place of the Dancing Spirits.‖ It had a history before the white man ever visited it, of which a volume might be written, from the traditions of the red man. Its first settlement by the French was made about the year 1671, at which

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* Monette's Miss. Val.

† Cass' Discourse.

‡ From Green Bay they next emigrated to Rock river, in Illinois, and remained till 1832, the time of the Black Hawk war.

‖ This is Schoolcraft's version. Others equally authoritative, say it meant a turtle. The discrepancy probably comes from the word having different significations in different Indian dialects.

time some converted Hurons fled to the place as a refuge of safety from their demon-like persecutors, the Iroquois, and here the good Father Marquette followed them, impelled not by any worldly motive, but by the love of God and man, and obedience to the will of his patron saint, "the Blessed Virgin."

For many years the place had no permanent settlers, but served as a transient stopping place for itinerating priests and erratic fur-traders.

Of the little cluster of early French towns in the southern part of the Illinois, Cahokia was settled first, by Father Pinet and St. Cosme, in 1700.* Kaskaskia was settled a few months later. These and other smaller places close by soon became thriving French villages; all the more so as they were in no danger of hostile invasion from any quarter.

Ft. Charters was a substantial fortress, built of stone, with bastions and towers. It was finished in 1720, and would have stood for centuries but for the wearing away of the Mississippi river's east bank, on which it stood, half way between Cahokia and Kaskaskia. The portions of it not thus undermined are still left in a good state of preservation, as a monument of French occupation of the Mississippi Valley.

Vincennes was settled by Father Mermet in 1710.† This was an isolated French post, buried in the depths of the gigantic forests of the lower Wabash. Here the French lived and grew in an atmosphere of Indian social life, till the fires of the American Revolution, kindled afar off, soon came to their doors, as will appear in a succeeding chapter.

Sharp lines of contrast in religion and government, between the English and French colonies of America, were everywhere visible. The fairest portions of the country were in the hands of the French, and almost the entire Indian population of the vallies of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence were their allies. Throughout this immense territory, including also the entire lake country, the flag of France waved in security among the confiding natives, without the least apprehension of future danger from its patronage. They cultivated their scanty patches of corn, just enough to keep them in hominy, and in the winter gathered in a rich harvest of furs, wherewith to spread their tents with mats and to barter with the French traders for guns, kettles, knives, hatchets, vermilion with which to paint their faces, and the inevitable whisky.

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* A tract, reprinted by Shea in 1859, entitled "Relation ou Journal du voyage du R. P. Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus en 1700 de puis le pays des Illinois jusq'a l'embouchere du Mississippi, Ecrit ou Pere de Lambecville et envoye du fort de Mississippi a 17 lieues de sa decharge dans le Golfe ou Mer Mexique le 16 Fevrier, 1701," is the authority from which the above is taken.

† Law's History of Vincennes, p. 12.

The fur trade was the great interest of the country, and those engaged in it were men of no ordinary capacity for accomplishing large results with slender means. Their every-day routine was a heavy strain upon their physical as well as mental powers, as far as sharp bargain and sale was concerned. Yet they were but servile instruments in the hands of their superiors. The same might with equal propriety have been said of the entire French population of the country, who lived by industry, if the average of a day's labor in a week could be called such.

Farming was of but secondary interest, and but few of those engaged in it owned the land they tilled, nor had they the least desire to own it.

The French villages in the Illinois country, as well as at most other places, were each under the government of a priest, who, besides attending to their spiritual wants, dispensed justice to them, and from his decisions there was no appeal. Though this authority was absolute, the records of the times show no abuse of it, but, on the contrary, prove that it was always used with paternal care. It could hardly be otherwise in their wilderness isolation, uniting, as it did, the interests of all on one common level. Nevertheless, it was a modified form of feudalism, subordinating everything to the will of the Church and State combined, and could not have been perpetuated into the maturity of the State with the same happy results that followed its beginning.

The double power, thus gathering force and keeping pace with the growth of the State, was too transcendant for the varied and multiplied wants of individual enterprise. But the French peasant did not look ahead so far as this. He was contented, because his mind was dwarfed within the narrow compass of present necessities, and his old-fashioned but gaudy attire, as well as his daily bread, came with a small effort. Without ambition, and almost without temptation to offend against his fellows, he had little to trouble his conscience, or, if he had anything, the burden was readily lifted by his father confessor.*

Turning from this picture to that of the English colonies, is like leaping over an unbridged chasm. Here two positive elements rose into prominence, like indigenous trees in a forest. The most potent of these was the Puritan element. When the Protestant religion was first introduced into England in 1528, its proselytes, though not men of deeper thoughts than those of Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Moravia, yet were more demonstrative and aggressive than their German brethren, and, in 1550, the new faith had grown into formidable proportions. In 1563,

* Raynal's Hist. East and West Indies; Monette's Miss. Valley; Martin's Louisiana.

an open issue was taken with the established church, and from that day till the Puritans planted their feet on the rock of Plymouth, there was no truce to religious agitation in England. This rock proved a safety-valve for the preservation of the old English Church and State, united as they were into one marvelous tower of strength, in defiance of the Puritan element.

Happy was it for the world that Plymouth Rock became the retort which concentrated the elastic force of Puritanism and economised it for the use of America, there to grow up with the new State, modified by the public policy of government better suited to the wants of the master spirits of that age, because it was one of their own making.

When these fugitives crossed the Atlantic, they brought with them the true philosopher's stone. They represented the elements of national progress on a grander scale than had ever entered into the imagination of a knight of a baronial castle. Science, literature, and exalted ideas of liberty, were everywhere diffused and written upon the immaculate tablet which was opened before them beyond the Atlantic.

The other element of American power was planted at Jamestown. Here the acknowledged representative of the Englishman, supreme in his convictions of propriety, planted his standards, and became the chivalric representative of liberty in its broadest sense.

Both the Jamestown and Plymouth elements rapidly grew into power, and, forgetting the old religious issues that had made enemies of their fathers, united together and subordinated the German and the Swedish colonies to their rule. Along the Atlantic coast the various colonies, extending from the New Hampshire colony to the Georgia colony, were under English protection, and held their lands by virtue of English charters, but between each no confederation had ever been thought of.

Up to this time the colonists had manifested but little concern about the interior, except the Virginia colony, who had pushed across the Alleghenies, and founded some trading stations on the head-waters of the Ohio river.

The great question to be settled was, Where should the line be run between New France and the lands of the English colonists in America? From its magnitude, it had already attracted the attention of the powers of Europe, who were on the watch lest their balance of power should be thrown out of equilibrium by too great a share of the American continent falling into the hands of either France or England. Accordingly, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, which hushed Europe to peace after thirty years of war, it was provided that the line should be established by commissioners appointed by the sovereigns of the two respective nations. In 1752, these commissioners met in Paris,

but out of the tangle of old English charters, French forms of possession, etc., no result could be reached which satisfied the ambitious designs of both countries, and the question was left to be settled by future destiny. To control this destiny, preparations for war were now made on both sides.

The French strengthened their forts, particularly Louisburg on the coast of Cape Breton, Quebec, and Crown Point on the west bank of Lake Champlain.*

The English, on their part, called a convention of their thirteen colonies in America, to meet at Albany in June, 1753, for the purpose of concerting measures of defense. Here were assembled the representatives of the crown, sapient and cautious, but not more so than the deputies of her trans-Atlantic children. The crown representatives refused to acknowledge any united action of the colonies, lest this union might at some future day become too powerful for the public welfare, while the colonies refused to sign a compact giving the mother country the right to tax them even for defensive purposes. No logic on either side could break through this dead-lock, and the convention adjourned without accomplishing any result.

Meantime, the issue was hastening to a crisis on the western frontier. As early as 1748, Conrad Weiser (a noted interpreter at Indian treaties) had been on the head-waters of the Ohio river as agent for the Ohio Company, then forming. A trading station at Logstown, eighteen miles below the fork of the Ohio, was then established by this company, which was composed of Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington. Half a million acres of land ware granted them by the crown of England, for purposes of colonization. Two other companies were also chartered, for similar purposes, the same year.

Soon as the French learned of this, Gallisoniere, Governor of Canada, determined also to assert the French claim to the country along the Ohio, and the next year, 1749, sent Capt. Louis Celoron to the present site of Erie, Pa., with orders to proceed thence to the head of a small creek eighteen miles distant, and follow down its banks to the Allegheny river, and down this stream to the Ohio river, burying leaden plates along the route, as monuments of French possession west of this line. This done, he sent a letter to Gov. Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, to warn the English not to trespass beyond it.

The same year, two more English trading posts were established in the West—one on the Great Miami river, called Loramie's store, and the other on the Maumee.

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* This fort had been built by the French in 1731. It was within the acknowledged limits of English territory, but had been held ever since by the French, as a standing menace to the Hudson river settlements, aggressive and defiant.

The succeeding year, 1750, Christopher Gist, an intrepid frontiersman and surveyor, started on a tour of exploration from the head-waters of the Potomac, late in October. Pushing boldly into the savage glooms of the forest west of the fork of the Ohio, he crossed the Scioto and visited the Indian towns on the Miami; but he was not the first Englishman on the disputed ground. George Crogan and Andrew Montour, both celebrated for frontier accomplishments, were then among the various Indian tribes, to influence them in favor of the English and secure their trade. Mr. Gist conferred with both these men, who warned him against visiting certain localities where the French interest prevailed. But there was among the Indians a division of sentiment as to whose cause they should espouse in the coming issue,* and never were a people more perplexed to know on which side their interest laid.

While Mr. Gist was making this tour, news came to him of the capture of several Englishmen by the French along the northern waters of the Ohio.

On the Muskingum he made the acquaintance of a white woman who had been captured from the New England States at the age of ten years. She was now over fifty, the wife of an Indian and mother of several children. She had a vivid recollection of her childhood home, of the religious turn of the Puritan mind, and was much astonished at the wickedness she had seen practiced by the white people when they came among the Indians.†

Mr. Gist crossed the Ohio river and returned home, in May, 1751, by the way of the Kentucky river settlements, which were then in their infancy.

Early the next year the French visited the country in sufficient force to capture the English trading post on the Miami. A desperate defence, however, was made, fourteen of the assailants having been killed. The traders were taken to Canada. Several English families lived at this post, which made it the beginning of a settlement as well as a trading post. The Twightwees or Miamis helped to defend the place, while the Ottawas and Chippewas assisted the French in taking it.

While these acts of hostility were transpiring on the Miami, the Ohio Company were convening a council at Logstown with the Indians, for the purpose of confirming the old treaty of Lancaster, by virtue of which large tracts of land on the Ohio had been ceded to this company by the Six Nations.‡ Through the influence of Montour, the treaty was reluctantly, on the part of

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* The Miamis or Twightwees were friendly to the English, and portions of the Six Nations and Delawares, who had emigrated to the Ohio country from the East.

† Journal of Gist, published in Pownall's Topography, London, 1776.

‡ The treaty of Lancaster was a cession of Ohio lands to the English by the Six Nations, by virtue of their conquest of the tribes occupying said lands.

the Indians, confirmed; but the war which soon followed swept away all these distinctions as to land titles.

The French, meantime, according to their usual practice, in 1753 commenced building forts in the disputed [illegible]. The first one, named Presque Isle, was built where Erie now stands. From this place they cut a wagon road eighteen miles southwardly, through the forest, to a small lake near the present site of Waterford. Here they built another fort, which they named Le Bœuf; thence, following down the stream of which this was the fountain-head, to where it empties into the Allegheny river, they built a third fort, which they named Venango, after an old Indian town on the same spot. These forts were on the same line along which Capt. Celoran had buried leaden plates four years previously.

Governor Dinwiddie, of the Virginia colony, always tenacious in the defence of English rights, beheld these French approaches to the Ohio with deep concern. Here was the pivot on which hung the fate of the West and the then limitless interior. To secure at least a foothold in it, he determined to send a messenger to the French, to warn them that the English claimed the country on the head-waters of the Ohio, and request them to leave it.

George Washington, then twenty-one years old, was selected for this mission. He had eight attendants, the two principal of whom were Christopher Gist, the surveyor already mentioned, and Jacob Van Braum, an intelligent German, who afterwards acted as interpreter at the surrender of Ft. Necessity. He left Wills Creek, the present site of Cumberland, on the 15th of November, 1753. At Logstown dwelt a famous Six Nation chief, named Half-King, who was a friend to Washington, and whose jealousy of the French made him an ally of the English. Deeming his counsel, and especially his influence, indispensable to the success of the enterprise, Washington proceeded immediately to his headquarters and obtained an interview with him. Whatever else may be the frailties of Indian character, hasty diplomacy is not one of them, as Washington learned. Three days of his precious time were consumed in attendance on his majesty. The ceremonials of the council over, Half-King entered heartily into Washington's plans, and, with three other chiefs, accompanied him to Ft. Le Bœuf, the headquarters of M. Le Guarduer St. Pierre, the commander of the French forces.

Their route lay northward, through the forests, to the mouth of Le Bœuf Creek, now called French Creek, thence up its banks to Ft. Le Bœuf. On arriving at the place they met the commander. He was an accomplished and scholarly old knight, and notwithstanding the rustic appearance of the beardless youth before him, who came with a message warning him to leave, he

received him with deserved attention; for nobility of character cannot be disguised by a rough exterior in the estimation of one who possesses it himself. During the two days Washington [illegible] the place, the hospitalities of the fort were extended to him with that hearty good-fellowship for which a Frenchman is conspicuous.

As might be supposed, the mission was fruitless of results, for the French commander did not allow himself to lose sight of the interests of France, and, to that end, plied his arts of pleasing to Half-King also.

This was a matter of no small annoyance to Washington, whose apprehensions being aroused that he might win him over to the friendship of the French by the influence of his free wines, he openly accused him of such an intention; but the complacent diplomat silenced these charges with fresh sallies of politeness, and thus the matter ended.

When Washington was about taking leave, the generous Frenchman presented him a canoe well filled with provisions, among which the wine was not forgotten.

Washington with Gist started down French Creek with the canoe, giving orders to Van Braum to meet him at Venango, its mouth, with the men and horses accompanying the expedition. The canoe was now abandoned, Half-King and the other chiefs wishing to remain here. Washington and his party took leave of them and started down the west bank of the Allegheny river.

The poor horses were so spent with hunger and fatigue, that their progress through the trackless forests was slow, and Washington determined to set out on foot in advance with Gist, and leave the emaciated beasts in charge of Van Braum and the rest of the party, to follow as fast as they could travel.

It was now December, and the ground was covered with a sprinkling of snow; but both of the travelers were accustomed to "life in the bush," and, making light of their forest march, slept away each day's fatigue enveloped in their blankets, each night, in the open air of winter.

On their way, at two different times, they encountered a faithless Indian, whose pretended friendships were abruptly broken off by attempts to shoot them. Happily, each time, the ball missed its aim, though at one of these treacherous attacks only fifteen paces intervened between the savage and Gist, his intended victim. This danger passed, they soon arrived at the place where they wished to cross the Allegheny river. Here they worked all day to make a raft, having only "a very poor hatchet," says Washington, in his journal, to make it with. Just before dark, they launched it and started for the opposite shore; but when the current was reached, heavy masses of ice came floating down stream with such force as to threaten to sink their

frail bark. To prevent this, Washington thrust out a setting-pole against the moving masses of ice, when, by some misdirected strain, he was hurled into the water. He soon regained the raft, half-paralyzed by his wintry bath; and now the problem was, how to gain the opposite shore. This was impossible, and they floated down with the current, till an island, desolate but merciful, caught them from the dangerous toils of the Allegheny. Here they spent the night. The cold was so intense that Gist's feet were frozen in the morning, and he could hardly walk. A solid bridge of ice had formed, over which they passed to the eastern shore, and the river was crossed.

Washington now assisted his disabled companion along the rugged way, till the trading establishment of a Mr. Frazier was reached, a few miles below, and here they rested three days. Thence Washington proceeded to the settlements, reaching Wills Creek January 6th, 1754.

The message he brought from the French commander, refusing to leave the country unless ordered to do so by the Marquis Du Quesne, Governor of Canada, was handed to Governor Dinwiddie.

The latter had not been idle during the interval of suspense. He had appealed to Governor Hamilton, of the Pennsylvania colony, who in turn used his utmost exertions to awaken his constituents to the importance of the subject, and to this end summoned an extra session of the Assembly at Philadelphia; but this body were divided in opinion as to whether the French were invading the country belonging to the English crown, and, under the inspiration of the teachings of William Penn and the Quaker doctrines of peace, suggested that the country in question belonged to neither the English nor the French, but to the Indians. This was the underlying sentiment by which supplies were withheld.

The New York colony, though more remote from the scene, voted five thousand pounds.

With the advice of the British Secretary of State, Governor Dinwiddie now determined to take decisive steps to secure a foothold on the Ohio by building a fort at the fork where Pittsburgh now stands.

It was proposed to raise two companies for this purpose, as volunteers, one of which was to be raised by Washington, and the other by a Mr. Trent, a noted frontier ranger.

In the spring of 1754, the French line from Presque Isle to the mouth of Le Bœuf Creek (French Creek) became a bustling thoroughfare, along which French scouts with their tawny allies were constantly passing. Ft. Venango was finished at the confluence of this creek with the Allegheny river early in April; but while these forest wilds gleamed with the glitter of French bayonets

and echoed with war-whoops, a quieter and more enduring force was gathering to the rescue, from the Virginia frontier.

Already the Ohio Company had sent a number of men to make a fort and settlement at the fork, among whom were a few families.

This advance, consisting of a caravan of forty-one men and seventeen horses, loaded to their utmost capacity, had been met by Washington on his return. Meanwhile, the military spirit gathered force as the issue appeared to approach a crisis, and it was determined to raise six companies instead of two, and to give the chief command to Joshua Fry, an able officer, while Washington was to hold the second.

Thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder had been received from the king of England, for the defense of western forts. All haste was now made to send forward the forces in time to succor the little band who had gone before them, under Trent; but the heavy roads of spring and the Allegheny mountains, were barriers which bade defiance to speed; and, while these preparations were on foot, a heavy French force, under Contrecœur, glided down French Creek and the Allegheny river, arriving at the strategic spot on the 17th of April.

Here he found the Virginians scarring the leaf clad soil with the foundations for a fort. Trent had returned east to hurry forward reinforcements, and ensign Ward stood in his place. The little band obeyed Contrecœur's summons to leave, backed up as it was by nearly a thousand bayonets. The men gathered up their camp equipage, during which preparation for their retreat Ward took supper with the French commander, by special invitation. This over, the Virginians soon buried themselves in the forest depths, taking their course up the banks of the Monongahela, and left the French masters of the situation. The latter immediately commenced the erection of a fort, which they named Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

Washington was now at the head of a small band of backwoodsmen, armed with axes, about to hew a path through the forest for the artillery to follow. The news of the surrender of Ward's company reached him at Wills Creek. Continuing to press forward, he reached Great Meadows, a place about fifty miles east of the new French fort at the fork, on the 27th of May.

A few miles west of this place, Mr. Gist had settled, the year before, with the intention of making it a permanent home, and still maintained his position amidst the clamors of impending war. Hearing of the arrival of Washington, he visited his camp and gave him information of a body of French under Jumonville, stationed on the waters of Red Sandstone Creek, hard by.

Half-King, the still faithful old Iroquois chief, at the head of

a few braves, also came and offered their services to Washington. He was now far advanced into the wilds, with the Allegheny mountains between him and any hope of reinforcements or subsistence, with an enemy four times outnumbering his force ready to attack him; but he hesitated not to commence the attack. Half-King led the way, and he surprised Jumonville, under cover of night, and took twenty-one prisoners after killing ten men, among whom was Jumonville himself. Washington lost one man killed.

As might be supposed, this opening of hostilities inflamed the resentment of the French to the last degree, as the first acts of positive hostilities always are made the most of to tone up the vindictive spirit of the soldiery on both sides, in any impending war. The French called the killing of Jumonville assassination.

Washington now held his advanced position, contenting himself with watching the movements of the French, till the 28th of June. At this time, he was in Gist's house, and learning that a heavy French force were advancing against him, he commenced a retreat. Having reached Great Meadows, July 1st, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, he concluded to intrench himself and await an attack. On the 3d, the advance of the French were seen at 11 o'clock a. m., nine hundred strong.

The positions of the assailants were quickly taken, and a destructive fire was opened upon Ft. Necessity (the name Washington had given his hastily-built stockade). The fire was returned with all the obstinate courage of backwoodsmen, but their besiegers were beyond its reach, and the only effect it produced was to win the admiration of the foe.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, while a heavy rain was pouring down, the firing ceased, and a signal for a parley was sent to the beleaguered camp from De Villiers, the French commander. Many of Washington's men were wounded and he was out of provisions. Surrender was therefore his only recourse left. The terms were generous and worthy the gallantry of a French captain.* Washington was allowed to depart with drums beating, with the honors of war, taking everything with them except the artillery. He was to give up the prisoners taken May 28th, and no more fortifications were to be erected west of the mountains. Captain Jacob Van Braum and Robert Stobo were to be given up to the French, as hostages to secure the fulfillment of the conditions. The campaign had miscarried and the French were now in heavy force on the head-waters of the Ohio.

On the 4th of July succeeding, 1754, another convention was

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* De Villiers, who was brother of the slain Jumonville, said that, on beholding the wretched condition of Washington's men, after so desperate a defence, pity disarmed his feelings of resentment.

called at Albany, and commissioners from each of the thirteen colonies agreed among themselves on a general plan of defence, the Connecticut colony alone dissenting. Benjamin Franklin was the moving spirit of this convention, and proposed to carry the war into the interior with a vigorous hand. But nothing could be done to rescue the country occupied by the French till the mother country had declared her policy, by substantial aid to help beat back the French.

Conscious that this would be done in season for the next year's campaign, Gov. Dinwiddie took no immediate steps to recover the lost ground on the Ohio, and, as a prudential measure to prevent rivalry as to rank among the officers already commissioned, when new volunteers should enlist, he reorganized the companies in service, so as to leave no officer in command of a higher rank than captain. Washington now sent in his resignation and returned to his home at Mount Vernon.

The Ohio frontier was now quiet. The Assembly of Pennsylvania were still firm in their policy of peace, but in the New England and New York colonies, a plan was proposed to seize upon Crown Point, but not attempted; but the line of Kennebec, east of which was the French settlement of Acadia, was fortified.

No declaration of war had yet been made. On the contrary, the English and French courts were, to all outward appearances, on the most friendly terms; but both countries were preparing for war.

January, 1755, opened with peace proposals from France, by which she offered, as an ultimatum, that the French should retire west of the Ohio and the English east of the Alleghenies.

This offer was considered by England till the 7th of March, when she agreed to accept it on condition that the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches. The French, after twenty days, refused to do this.* But while the fruitless negotiations were pending, both sides were sending soldiers to America.

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* Plain Facts, p. 52.

CHAPTER V.

General Braddock arrives in America—Plan of the First Campaign—Baron Dieskau reaches Canada—Braddock marches against Ft. Duquesne—His Defeat—Expedition to Acadia—Shirley starts to take Ft. Niagara—Johnson's Campaign on the shores of Lake George—Defeat of Dieskau—Lord Loudon appointed Commander-in-Chief of the English forces—Gen. Montcalm appointed to command the French forces—English and French Policy and Diplomacy—Montcalm takes Oswego—London's Expedition starts to attack Louisburg—Ft. William Henry taken by Montcalm—London recalled and Gen. Abercrombie put in his place—Louisburg taken by Admiral Boscawen—Gen. Abercrombie attacks Ticonderoga—Gen. Bradstreet takes Ft. Frontenac—Gen. Forbes' Expedition against Ft. Duquesne—Mission of Christian Frederic Post—Ft. Duquesne Evacuated and taken possession of by Forbes—Gen. Abercrombie recalled and Gen. Amherst put in his place—Ft. Niagara taken by Gen. Johnson—Ticonderoga and Crown Point Evacuated—Quebec taken by Gen. Wolfe—Canada and the West given up to the English.

The spring of 1755 opened with warlike preparations on a grand scale. Gen. Braddock had landed in Virginia on the 20th of February with two regiments, numbering 500 each. Alexandria was his headquarters, and here gathered the leading military spirits of the various colonies, prominent among whom were Dinwiddie of Virginia, Shirley of Massachusetts, Johnson of New York (afterward Sir William Johnson), and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. The approaching campaign was soon planned out.

The first and most important thing to be done was to take Ft. Duquesne. This work Braddock assigned to himself. Gen. Johnson was to attack the French posts on Lake Champlain, and to Gen. Shirley was charged the reduction of Ft. Niagara, at the outlet of Niagara river, on Lake Ontario, while Gen. Monckton was to invade French Acadia, in Nova Scotia. The three latter expeditions were to be composed of provincial troops, except a

few British marines destined to co-operate with the land forces in the invasion of Acadia.

The French had not been tardy in preparations for the war. Early in the spring, their forces, under command of Baron Dieskau, reached Canada, and began to lay plans to defend the far-off wilderness posts which guarded the portals to New France.

Braddock had distinguished himself as a tactician in English warfare, but his machine-like way of manœuvring armies in Europe proved ineffectual in the scouting style of warfare which the savages of America had long since taught both the French and the Anglo frontierers.

At the first onset his captiousness was aroused by the difficulties in the way of getting transportation for the army, and, had not Benjamin Franklin come to the rescue, he might not have been able to begin his march till midsummer. The place of rendezvous was the present site of Cumberland, where his army was gathered about the middle of May. Besides his own regiments, he was reinforced by two independent companies from New York, under command of Capt. Gates—the destined hero of Saratega—and the Virginia regiments originally under command of Joshua Fry (now deceased). Washington, who had retired to private life at the close of the campaign of the previous year, was invited to take a position on his staff, and accepted it, under the title of colonel.*

They crossed the Alleghenies by the road which the Ohio Company had made two years before, and on the 8th of July reached the Monongahela, at a point but fifteen miles from Ft. Duquesne. This was the advance of the main body, consisting of the two English regiments and a part of the Virginia forces, the lesser part of the army following after, by slow marches, with the heavy baggage, under command of Col. Dunbar.

Contrecœur, the commander of Ft. Duquesne, had been apprised of his approach, by means of his Indian scouts, and, alarmed at the formidable appearance and number of the invaders, thought only of flight, and for that purpose ordered out the boats, in readiness to descend the Ohio river. But, during this trepidation, a bold counselor came to his relief, named Beaujeu,† asking consent to waylay the English while yet in the thickets of the Monongahela. It was granted; but to induce the Indians to enlist in the desperate enterprise required con-

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* Said Benjamin Franklin to Braddock, on the eve of his march, "The only danger I apprehend, of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians." "He smiled at my ignorance," continued Franklin, "and replied: 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw militia, but upon the king's regular troops, sir, it is impossible they should make an impression.'" —*Antobiography of Franklin.*

† Nephew to him who, in 1685, had deserted La Salle on the coast of Texas.

summate skill in savage war practice. At first they flatly refused, but appealing to their chivalry by saying he would go alone, they all followed him with a yell of admiration that toned up their confidence to the required pitch.

Taking their course up the Monongahela, they soon drew near the locality of the destined ambuscade, when, with noiseless footstep, each proceeded to his separate place of concealment beside the road over which Braddock was soon to pass. At one o'clock, his advance, led by Col. Gage, (afterward Gen. Gage, of Boston memory), came within close range, when the silence of the forest was broken by a murderous fire into his ranks. It was returned with the usual courage of British soldiers, and not without effect, for Beaujeu was killed on the spot. Dumas, the second in command, now took his place. A tempest of bullets met the English in front and flank. Gage fell back, and although Braddock, with the courage of a lion, dashed to the front, commanding order, confusion was inevitable. Three horses were shot under him in this fruitless labor. No attempt was made by him to charge into the thicket which concealed the foe, but Washington, at the head of a few of his backwoods comrades, left their ranks and fought from covert positions, till a panic had siezed upon the English soldiers, and they fled in confusion.

Here young Washington won his first laurels. Ever in the front, he had two horses shot under him and some shots through his clothes, and at last covered the retreat of the British with admirable skill. Braddock was mortally wounded; 36 British officers were killed and 37 wounded, among whom was Col. Gage; 715 privates were killed or wounded. The French and Indian loss, all told, was less than 50. The fugitives made all haste to Dunbar's camp, where a day of turmoil was spent in arranging for their long retreat. The baggage was set fire to, after reserving provisions enough to last them on their way back, and the discomfitted soldiers resumed their retreat to Virginia, there to tell the tale of their humiliation.

While this disastrous attempt to wrest the portals to the West from the French was in progress, far in the East, on the bleak coast of Nova Scotia, the New England plow-boys were striking a fatal blow against the French possessions of Acadia. This settlement had been made in 1604, three years before that of Jamestown. In 1613, it had been invaded by Argall, of the Jamestown colony, and, from that day forward, an almost unceasing border warfare had existed between the English colonists and the Acadians, to detail which would fill a volume. The fleet entrusted with this expedition sailed from Boston on the 20th of May, under the general command of Monckton, as proposed; but the provincials, 2000 in number, designed as land forces, had been raised by John Winslow, of Massachusetts, and

insisted on being led by him, which request was grantedby Gov. Shirley.

The whole country belonged to the English by treaty stipulations, except Cape Breton island, but the Acadians had erected several forts within its boundaries, under the impression that it would ultimately fall into the lap of France. These forts were easily taken by the invaders, and Acadia became a conquered province. Now came the perplexing question, what to do with the inhabitants. Says Haliburton, "They were not British subjects, inasmuch as they had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and therefore could scarcely be considered rebels. They were not prisoners of war, because they had been suffered for nearly half a cenutry to retain their possessions, and their neutrality had been accepted in lieu of their allegiance." With all, however, they were an offense to the New Englanders. Their civilization had been made of more elastic materials than the tight-twisted woof of Puritanism. Indeed, no great chasm need be bridged over between them and their red allies the Indians, whom they had armed to fight the English colonists, to bring them together on a plane of equality. The colonists were full of bitterness against them on account of old scores, and now their day of vengeance had come. A proclamation was issued for them to assemble in their churches—men, women, and children. The mandate was obeyed. A solid phalanx of soldiers environed them, and thence they were marched between two rows of fixed bayonets on board the English transports. The sails were spread, and the last sight of their evergreen shores soon vanished forever from their view, amid the smoke of their burning houses. The number thus taken was 7000. They were distributed among the English colonists, where most of them died from disease, but the last remnant of them, assisted by the Quakers, crossed the Alleghenies after the war was over, and floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on barges, to the French settlements of New Orleans. Never were pilgrims treated with more compassion than they were by the generous inhabitants of the place. A tract of land was given them on the river bank, on which they settled, and some of their descendants still live there.* Whatever may be the apology for this harsh decree, the maxim follows that—it is dangerous to be neutral.

As might be supposed, the laurels earned by this invasion, tarnished as they were by its closing scenes, had no weight in the question at issue. The French held the West and every avenue to it with a firm grip.

After the Acadian expedition had got under way, Gen. Shir-

* Charlevoix, Raynal, and Haliburton, are the authorities from which this account is taken.

ley, in accordance with the original design of Braddock, set himself about raising new troops to operate against Ft. Niagara. It was late in the season before his army was ready to start, and by the time they had made their way up the Mohawk valley and across the wilds to the mouth of the Oswego river, it was late in the autumn. His route from this point was to be taken along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, by whale boats, but the lake was too boisterous for this. Here he waited thirteen days for the storm to abate, during which time his Indian allies, on whom he had placed great dependence for success, deserted, and the lake was yet too rough for safe navigation. The season was now so far advanced that he wisely deemed it imprudent to advance farther on a mission so dangerous, especially as the French and Indians were so elated with their victory over Braddock, that a countless host of savages would rally around their standard at Niagara.

Before returning, he planned the construction of two forts to be erected at the mouth of the river, and left a part of his command, under Gen. Mercer, to build and garrison them.

We come now to the last of the four expeditions planned for the first year's campaign in the war, of which Gen. Johnson had the charge.

At the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, a narrow but deep and almost currentless strait invites the boatman along its rugged curves, till he finds himself, after a few miles rowing, on the shining waters of Lake George. Its fern-clad headlands, now the study of landscape sketchers and the inspiration of poets, have in times past been slippery with human blood, and every cove indenting its shore has been the hiding-place of war parties crouching for their prey. For a century, the war-whoop, the crack of the rifle, and the groan of the victim, were the oft-repeated sounds that rung from shore to shore over its placid waters. At the head of this lake Gen. Johnson's army lay encamped, leisurely making preparations to attack Crown Point, on the west bank of Lake Champlain.

Baron Dieskau had already formed a plan to make a descent on Oswego, but, learning of Johnson's intentions, he changed this plan and made a hasty march from the waters of Lake Champlain, through the forests which environ its south-eastern banks, with a view of surprising him. On the 7th of September, news came to Johnson that the French were approaching the fort where Col. Blanchard lay encamped with his New Hampshire militia, on the banks of the Hudson, about thirty miles distant. The anxious hours wore on till midnight, when a message came in breathless haste, and informed Johnson that Dieskau was advancing upon his camp instead of Blanchard's. A council of war was immediately held, and it was determined to send a force

of 1200 men, among whom were 200 Iroquois Indians, to meet him in the forests and check his advance, till fortifications could be erected. Early the next morning they took up their march, under Col. Williams, leader of the provincials, and Hendricks, chief of the Mohawks, leader of the Indians. An hour passed, and the sound of fire-arms, muffled through the forest foliage, came to the ears of Johnson and his men. It suddenly grew louder, which showed that the French were driving this advance before them. Another force, of 300 men, were sent to cover their retreat. At 11 o'clock, the defeated provincials began to return and gather within the frail defenses of Johnson's camp. Unfortunately, they had been waylaid, and many of their number killed at the first fire of the ambushed enemy. But, not losing their discretion, they sent back many a fatal shot into the ranks of their pursuers, as they fell back. The Indians, in particular, had distinguished themselves. Forty of their number had been slain, among whom was Hendricks, their distinguished chief. Col. Williams was also among the killed.

Except about 300 Indians, the whole of Johnson's army was made up of troops from the New England States and the State of New York, quite unaccustomed to the dexterous art of fighting, while Dieskau's command was composed of French regulars, disciplined into measured evolutions by service on the Continent. Added to these, also, was the usual complement of Canadian Indians, whose war-whoop had often echoed through the forests of Canada to repel Iroquois invasion, or startled the lonesome borderers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York, on scalping excursions. Before 12 o'clock, the gleam of French bayonets threw its hostile glare into the open spot in the forest where Ft. Henry stood. So little time had been given for its construction, that its walls, which were made of logs, were scarce three feet high; and, to accommodate themselves to these incomplete defenses, the whole army prostrated themselves on the ground, none of them daring to staud erect lest he should be a target for French bullets.

Dieskau approached the place with a caution unusual to the dash of Frenchmen, and opened fire on it at a respectful distance. This style of attack was well suited to the undisciplined soldiers of Johnson, inasmuch as it gave them time to tone up their courage. The attack was kept up till 4 o'clock, with severe loss to the French and but trifling to the besieged. Dieskau's Indians had been startled from their lurking places behind such trees as still remained within range of the fort, by some well-directed cannon shots, and the fire of the French was weakening. At this juncture, Johnson's men rose to their feet, and dashed against the French with an impetuosity which would do honor to veterans. The enemy fled in broken ranks, and Dies-

kau was severely wounded in the vain attempt to rally them. Unable to follow his defeated soldiers, he was taken a prisoner into the American camp. Johnson had also been wounded painfully, but not dangerously, and, while his wound was being dressed, Dieskau was brought into his presence. The shadows of evening were lengthening as the French fled into the forest by the way they had come. Johnson's men did not follow them, and the retreaters traveled along the well-known way toward the banks of Wood Creek, where they were to embark for Lake Champlain and return to Canada.

While the battle at Ft. Henry was going on, a small band of scouts, consisting of 80 men from Col. Blanchard's New Hampshire regiment and 40 men from the New York regiment, left Ft. Edwards and followed the track of the French army, as it had advanced in the morning toward Ft. Henry. At 4 o'clock the scouts came upon a camp in the forest, where the stores of the French army had been left under a small guard. These were easily dispersed, and the camp stores taken. Flushed with this success, the scouts now determined to meet the entire French army on their retreat, and accordingly ambushed themselves in their path. In the gray of the evening, the retreating Frenchmen came up, but they were in no condition to renew a battle. They had been under fire since morning, while their new enemy was fresh, although but a handful, and they sent from their covert a storm of bullets into the ranks of the already defeated fugitives, as they painfully toiled along the treacherous forest path, over which they had passed in the morning in confident zeal. A large number of the jaded Frenchmen were killed in the nocturnal fight, and their whole army fled in the utmost confusion. The Americans lost but six men.* The number engaged in the three battles were about 2000 on each side. The loss of the Americans was about 300, and that of the French double that number.† This brilliant feat of arms, closed the campaign of 1755, which had opened with the appalling defeat of Braddock on the Monongahela.

While the provincial troops were winning the first laurels of the war, the shattered remnant of Braddock's army, instead of remaining near the frontier to hold the Indians in check, had gone into winter quarters in Philadelphia, greatly to the disgust of the border settlers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who were now exposed to the savage raiders, whose council-fires blazed under the French flag in the Ohio country.

Early in the spring of 1756, Lord Loudon was appointed Governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of all the English and

* Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

† Johnson was baroneted and further rewarded with a gift of £5000 by the English court. He was now Sir William Johnson.

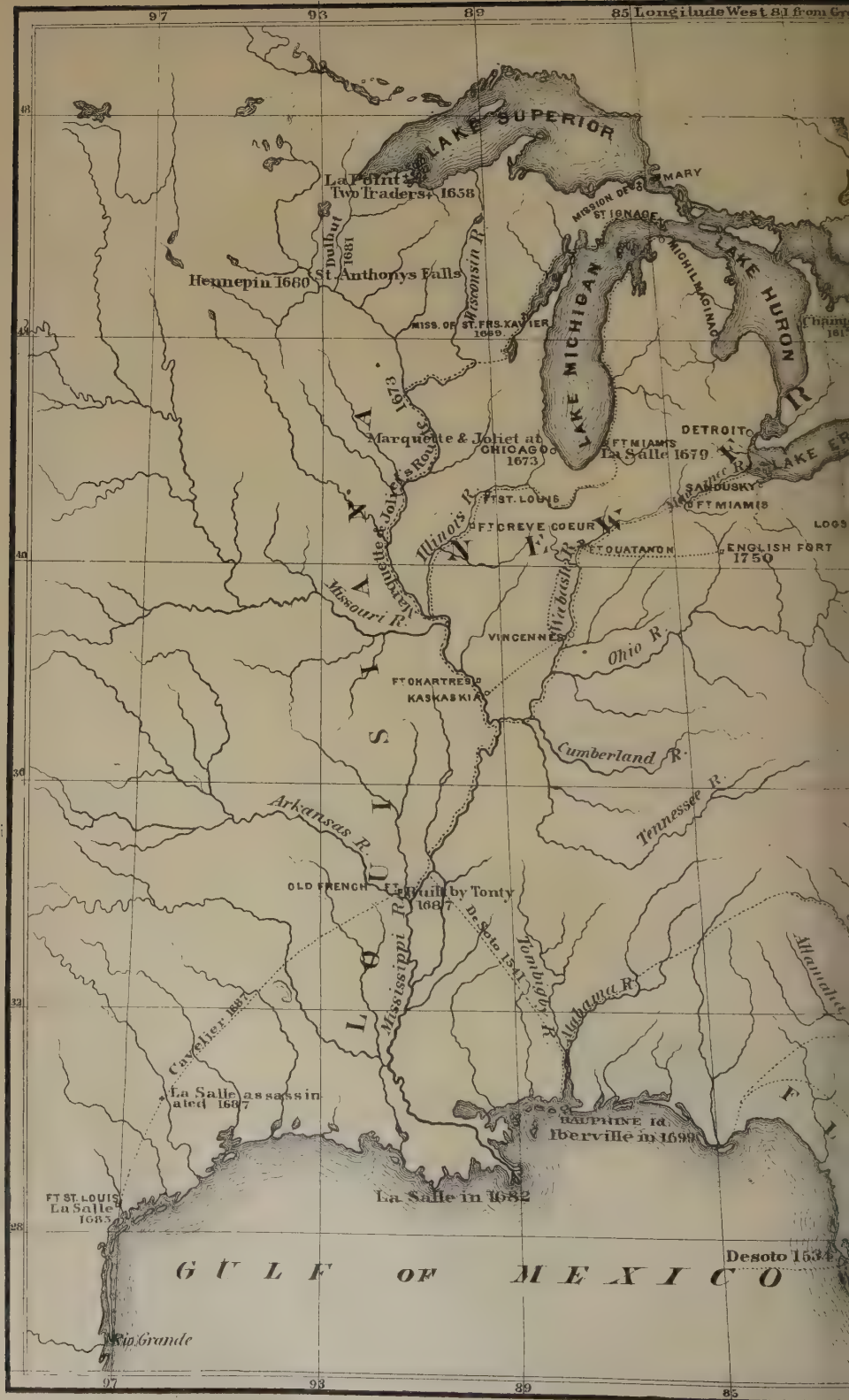
provincial forces in America. Gen. Abercrombie was appointed second in command. He arrived in America on the 25th of June, bringing two regiments with him, and made his headquarters at Albany, where a respectable force of provincials from New York and the New England States were ready for his service. Loudon did not arrive till the 29th of the succeeding month.

Gen. Montcalm had been appointed to take the chief command of the French forces, and had already arrived in the St. Lawrence with fresh recruits for the approaching campaign.

Incredible as it may seem, no declaration of war had yet been made by either England or France, but both nations had been plying their seductive arts of diplomacy, never so sweetly, to secure alliance. France had positive purposes at which she aimed, the chief one of which was to preserve her American possessions, and the means to be used in the achievement of this end were definitely settled upon, which, in brief, were to attack the allies of England on the Continent, by which diversion New France in America was to be made invulnerable against her rival, whose strength must be largely occupied on the defensive at home.

The ultimatum of England was not less clearly defined than that of France, but the means by which it was to be brought about were more complicated. The tenacity with which the American colonists had clung to their political rights at the Albany convention of 1754, as well as the able statesmanship of the Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania Assemblies, not always in harmony with the crown, had awakened a sense of caution in the English court, in their dealings with their trans-Atlantic children, and the question came to the surface whether it was better to drive France entirely out of America, or allow her to retain enough there to become a rival to the English colonists, and thereby insure their loyalty through their obligations for assistance in defending themselves from the French. King George II. shared these apprehensions, while William Pitt had always been in favor of pushing the war in America without fear of adverse consequences.

England and Russia had long been friends, and, as soon as war with France appeared inevitable, she made a treaty with the empress of Russia, by the conditions of which Hanover (England's ally) was to be protected by Russian troops in the event of a European war, for which service England was to pay her. This treaty bore date of September 13th, 1755. A few months later, both France and Prussia manifested dispositions to invade portions of Germany, the French incentive to which was to keep England busy at home, while she (France) made her American possessions secure, as already stated. The Prussian incentive,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93
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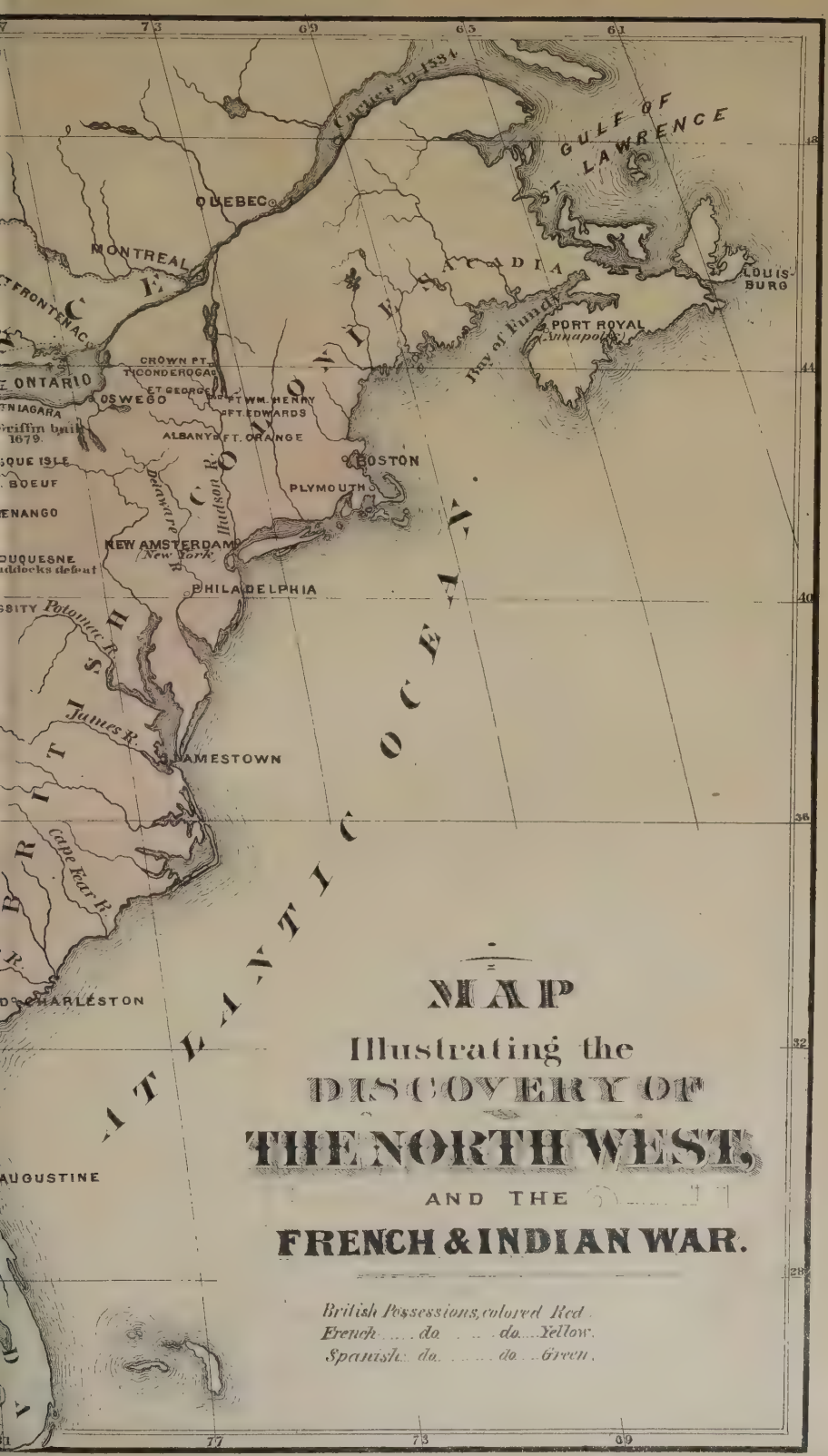
85 Longitude West 81 from Gr
LAKE SUPERIOR
La Pointe 1658
Two Traders 1658
Dulhut 1681
Hennepin 1680
St Anthonys Falls
Wisconsin R
MISS. OF ST. FRS. XAVIER 1669
MISSION DE STE MARY
ST IGNACE
MICHILIMACINAC
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
Marquette & Joliet at CHICAGO 1673
Marquette & Joliets Route 1673
FT MIAMIS La Salle 1679
DETROIT
SANDUSKY
FT MIAMIS
FT ST. LOUIS
FT CREVE COEUR
FT OUIATANON
ENGLISH FORT 1750
Illinois R
Missouri R
VINCENNES
Ohio R
FT OKARTRES
KASKASKIA
Cumberland R
Tennessee R
Arkansas R
OLD FRENCH FT built by Tonty 1687
De Soto 1541
Mississippi R
Tombigby R
Alleghany R
Cavelier 1687
La Salle assassinated 1687
DAUPHINE Id.
Iberville in 1699
FT ST. LOUIS La Salle 1685
La Salle in 1682
GULF OF MEXICO
Desoto 1534
Rio Grande
97
93
89
85


MAP
Illustrating the
DISCOVERY OF
THE NORTH WEST,
AND THE
FRENCH & INDIAN WAR.
British Possessions, colored Red
French ..... do ..... do ..... Yellow.
Spanish ..... do ..... do ..... Green.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
QUEBEC
MONTREAL
ACADIA
LOUISBURG
PORT ROYAL
Annapolis
Bay of Fundy
CROWN PT.
TICONDEROGA
ONTARIO
OSWEGO
NIAGARA
ALBANY
FT. ORANGE
BOSTON
PLYMOUTH
NEW AMSTERDAM
New York
PHILADELPHIA
Potomac R.
James R.
JAMESTOWN
Cape Fear R.
CHARLESTON
AUGUSTINE
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
73
69
65
61
44
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36
32
28
77
73
69

one historian was uncharitable enough to say, was Frederic's ambition to see his name heralded in the gazettes.* Russia was now alarmed lest she might be attacked by Prursia, and, conscious of her inability to fulfill her treaty stipulations with England as to the protection of Hanover, she applied to France for the preservation of the neutrality of that electorate. These accumulating evidences of the rising power of Frederic stimulated England to make an alliance with him, which was done January 16th, 1756, although by this treaty the interests of Russia, as well as those of Hanover, were left unprotected.† The effect was to unite the interests of Russia with France, and also those of Austria with the same power, although the two had long been enemies.

All this plotting and counter-plotting, which, by a paradoxical combination, transposed the friendships and enmities of the great powers of Europe, grew out of the issue between England and France as to which should take possession of the Upper Ohio country, although the fortunes of war ultimately brought into question the patent to the title of Canada itself. It began in a land speculation of the Ohio Company, whose regal title to lands on the Ohio river was not honored by the French court.

England was the first to throw off the plastic but already blood-stained shield of diplomacy and make an open declaration of war, which she did on the 18th of May, 1756. France retorted in kind the succeeding month.

While Gen. Abercrombie was wasting his time at Albany, in the summer of 1756, Montcalm gathered a force of 3000 French soldiers, with a band of Indians, and made a descent on Oswego in August. His heavy artillery soon made the place untenable, and Col. Mercer, its commander, secured a retreat from it across the river, into another fort. Here he was again attacked, but he defended the place with exemplary courage till a fatal shot killed him. His garrison attempted a retreat to another fort four miles up the river, under command of Gen. Schuyler; but the wary Montcalm flanked this movement with too formidable a force to make it possible, and the whole command of 1400 men were obliged to give themselves up as prisoners, together with a large quantity of military stores, among which, however, there was no powder, for the garrison had spent it in their defense. It had not been burnt in vain, as the loss of the French was a proof. Among the killed were 20 Indians, and, to placate their surviving friends, as many American prisoners were given them to be killed, by the unscrupulous, not to say inhuman, leader of the French. The sick and wounded, among whom was Lieut. de

* Secret History of the Court of Berlin.
† Smollet's Hist. of England, vol. 4, p. 178.

La Court, were scalped by the Indians, notwithstanding the terms of the surrender guaranteed their protection.

This closed the campaign of 1756, with a decided advantage to the French and a prodigal waste of military force on the part of the English, which was attributable to the suspense which then hung over the political affairs of the English court. By this time, the popular feeling in England was in favor of pushing the war in America with vigor, and, against his hitherto declared convictions, the king now saw the necessity of adopting the policy of Pitt. Accordingly, this eminent statesman was appointed premier. Even at this early period, one of the foundation stones of American liberty was laid. The landed proprietaries under the original Penn grant objected to have their estates taxed for the support of the war, and their influence was so great in the Assembly that Denny, the governor, dared not oppose them. On this account, Benjamin Franklin refused any political favors from him, but, on the contrary, wrote caustic articles against the sordid injustice of the proprietors. The policy of Franklin prevailed. The estates in question had to bear their share of the taxation. Denny was recalled by Pitt, and Franklin began to be looked upon, even in England, as a statesman of no ordinary capacity. In America, a universal applause greeted him. The Assemblies of Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, appointed him as their agent at the English court, and presented him five thousand pounds. Arriving in London, he sought an interview with Pitt, but that tenacious statesman forebore to let down the dignity of the British nation by holding a colloquy with an American postmaster. Through his secretary, however, he counseled with him in terms of high respect.

Lord Loudon was at this time making himself conspicuous in America for his caustic criticisms of the provincial soldiers, while he was exhausting his resources, not in fighting the enemy, but in planning expeditions never destined to be executed.*

Under his direction, the campaign of 1757 was opened by embarking from New York with a heavy force, to take Louisburg, which place he did not even attack, although his fleet came in sight of it, and contented themselves by giving its garrison a scare.

While this untimely scheme was in progress, the vigilant Montcalm appeared before Ft. William Henry, an important defense which had been built at the southern extremity of Lake George, near the spot where Dieskau had been defeated two years before. He had 10,000 men, consisting of regulars, Ca-

* A Philadelphian said of him, "He reminds me of St. George on a sign-board, always on horseback and never advancing." In a speech he made at Boston, he attributed all the ill success of the English in America to the inefficiency of the provincial troops.—*Graham's Col. Hist.*, vol. IV., p. 2.

nadians, and Indians. About 2300 troops were all that could be opposed to this overwhelming force, 1500 of whom had just been sent by Col. Webb from Ft. Edwards on the Hudson river. While this reinforcement was marching into the fort, Montcalm's advance was seen approaching along the sunlit coast of Lake George, their burnished arms sending its flickering streaks of light before them, while the welkin resounded with a din of yells from his Indians, gaudy with feathers and darkened with war-paint. Col. Monroe held command of the fort, to whom Montcalm sent a summons to surrender, offering him honorable terms, but Monroe, aware of the importance of the position, determined to defend it. The attack commenced on the 3d of August and lasted till the 9th. The guns of the fort had nearly all been burst in their desperate efforts to repel their numerous assailants. Hemmed in on every side, his messengers, sent to seek relief from Ft. Edwards, had been captured, and his weakness thereby made known to Montcalm. To hold the place longer was impossible, and he surrendered. The garrison marched out with the honors of war, and were not to appear again in arms against France under eighteen months unless exchanged. They were to be protected against violence from Montcalm's Indians by a suitable escort of French soldiers, on their way to Ft. Edward, the place to which they had been permitted to retire by the terms of the surrender.

No sooner had they left the fort than the Indians began to gather around them with no good intent. First they commenced robbing the sick and wounded, and next the shining coats of the British regulars attracted their attention. These were pulled from their backs, and whatever of value could be found about their persons was taken. A carnival of blood followed, and several hundred of the unprotected captives fell victims. Jonathan Carver was among the prisoners, but escaped as if by a miracle, with the loss of his coat and covered with wounds. He says that, during the maddening career of butchery, the French soldiers and officers walked about outside of the bloody arena in careless unconcern, without attempting to stay the hands of the destroyers.*

Not long after this atrocity, says the same author, the small-pox broke out among these Indians, who, tormented into delirium, threw themselves into the water to assuage the burning irritation. Death followed in almost every case, and a few mottled-faced savages were the only survivors of this tragedy which sent a pang of grief throughout New England and New York. In justice to the Canadians, it should not be omitted that some of them refused to celebrate the unhallowed victory.

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* See Carver's Travels, pp. 295 to 308.

The fugitives who escaped the slaughter gathered within the walls of Ft. Edwards and thence made their way to their homes, there to tell the tale of treachery and murder that had stained the French faith, and a recoil of righteous indignation arose throughout the country.

The statesmanship of Pitt had already infused its vigor into the heart of England, and now its vitalizing influence was about to cross the Atlantic. He recalled Loudon, and to Gen. Abercrombie was given the chief command.* Next in rank was Major Gen. Amherst, and an additional force of 5000 men was put in the field, with which to open the campaign of 1758.

Gen. Amherst, assisted by Admiral Boscawen, was to attack Louisburg; Gen. Forbes was to march against Ft. Duquesne; while Gen. Abercrombie took upon himself the task of driving the French out of Lake Champlain by an attack on Ticonderoga.

On the 28th of May, the expedition against Louisburg, consisting of 12,000 British regulars and 157 vessels, direct from England, embarked from Halifax, the place of rendezvous, on the coast of Nova Scotia. The fleet soon arrived at the tangent point of land on the Island of Cape Breton, where the fort stood, amidst the noisy desolation of the winds and waves, like a polar bear disputing possession of an iceberg.† The entrance to its harbor was obstructed by sunken vessels, while, far along the wave-beaten shore, the tri-colored flag of France waved in defiance from bastion and tower. In the face of these the troops must make a landing and fight their way to the rear of the town, over uneven ground affording shelter to its defenders. The charge of this difficult task was given to Gen. Wolfe, the same who, the next year, led the British troops up the Heights of Abraham. The soldiers threw themselves into their yawls, and labored at the oar through the surf to gain the shore, amidst a tempest of shot from its defenders. Many were thrown into the sea by the breakers, but the hardihood of the sailors finally prevailed, and a landing in force was made at the mouth of Cormoran Creek, a few miles north of the place. Louisburg was now soon environed with heavy artillery, which poured hot shot into the town, and even set fire to the French war vessels in the harbor, burning all except two. To destroy these, Admiral Boscawen set on foot an adventure, which for daring has few equals in the annals of heroic warfare. Capt. Cook, the same whose wonderful voyages, subsequently made, excited universal attention, was the one to whose charge the enterprise was confi-

* The reason assigned by Pitt for this step was that he could never ascertain what Loudon was doing.—*Graham.*

† This fortress was the great French depot for supplies, from which to reinforce the inland ports of New France, and its harbor was a convenient refuge for French war vessels.

ded. Under cover of night, at the head of 600 men, he silently rowed into the harbor, set fire to one of the vessels, and towed the other away. The English fleet now entered the harbor, and the town being at their mercy, Drucourt, its commander, capitulated on the 27th of July, and once more the key to St. Lawrence was given up to the English.* 5637 prisoners, 221 cannon, 18 mortars, and large quantities of ammunition, were the results of this victory. The war prisoners were sent to England, and the inhabitants of the town, 4000 in number, were, by the inexorable laws of war in those days, torn from their homes and sent to France on English transports. The defenses of the town were then demolished, and the place was left without a solitary inhabitant to mourn over its destruction. The Island of St. John shared the fate of Cape Breton Island, both of which fell under the flag of England at the reduction of Louisburg. This was a grievous blow to the French of the St. Lawrence, as it was from here that they largely drew their supplies to feed their soldiers, both beef and corn being exported from the fertile fields of St. John's Island, even in that early day.

While the siege of Louisburg was in full tide, Gen. Abercrombie was marshaling his forces to attack Montcalm, who had strongly intrenched himself within the walls of Ticonderoga. Early in July, he embarked his troops on Lake George, consisting of 7000 British regulars, a part of whom were Highlanders, 10,000 provincials, and a few companies of Indians. No less than 900 batteaux and 135 whale-boats were required for their transportation. Arriving within a few miles of the fort, the army disembarked on the wooded shore and commenced their circuitous route over hills and valleys shaded by a dense canopy of evergreen foliage. They soon arrived at an outpost of Ticonderoga, which the French evacuated in hot haste and disappeared among the trees. The English kept on their course, but soon their guides became bewildered within the toils of the thicket, when suddenly they came in contact with the company of French soldiers who had just before abandoned their post at the approach of the English. They, too, were lost in the woody mazes, and, after a sharp skirmish, surrendered themselves as prisoners. From them Gen. Abercrombie learned that Montcalm had but 6000 troops at the fort, he having lately sent away a detachment of 3000 men to invade the country on the Mohawk river, but that this force had just been ordered back to assist in his defense. Abercrombie now resolved to assault the fort before their return. Accordingly, the regulars were ordered to charge against the

* An expedition had been planned against the place by Gov. Shirley ten years before the war, when it was taken by New England troops, but restored again to France at the peace of Aix la Chapelle; since which time the French had laid out thirty million livres in strengthening it.

works, which they did with an exalted courage seldom witnessed. The place stood on a spit of land extending into the lake, the approach to which was over a neck of springy soil covered with trees. These had been felled with the tops pointing away from the fort, and covered the ground over which the assailants had to pass with a tangle of brush. 1800 of these brave soldiers were shot in the attempt to force their way through this abattis, when the retreat was sounded by the rash commander, and he returned to his camp on Lake George.

Before marching on this disastrous expedition, Col. Bradstreet had been sent with a force of 3000 provincials, on a heroic adventure far within the enemy's territory, on their main line. It will not be forgotten with how much zeal Ft. Frontenac had been pushed to completion, in the early and ambitious days of La Salle. Located at the point where the St. Lawrence outlets the waters of Lake Ontario, it commanded the communication along the great thoroughfare between Canada and the French posts of Ft. Niagara, Ft. Duquesne, and the Illinois country. If this place could be taken, Ft. Duquesne, toward which an expedition was now renewed by the English, could not be reinforced from Canada. Crossing the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, Bradstreet came upon the unsuspecting tenants of the fort, where a feeble garrison was reveling in a treacherous security behind its walls of stone. They surrendered without attempting a defense, and 60 cannon, 16 mortars, a bountiful store of merchandise and ammunition, to supply the necessities of the forts to the west, were the direct spoils of the victors, but 18 French war vessels on the lake were soon added to the list. Bradstreet destroyed the fort and returned with his force to Oswego, which place Montcalm had evacuated soon after his victory over Mercer.

During the whole season, while the movements against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Ft. Frontenac, had been going on, preparations for the attack on Ft. Duquesne had been in progress, but, ere it could be brought about, prodigious barriers of nature had to be overcome in crossing the mountains.

The Pennsylvanians, more intent on their interests than the public weal, availed themselves of the opportunity to get a road cut from their frontiers to the west at the expense of the military exchequer. While Washington and the Virginians urged the advantages of the old road made by the Ohio Company six years before, and greatly improved by Braddock's engineers two years later, Gen. Forbes, who was the commander of the expedition, was prostrate on a bed of sickness, and to Col. Boquet, second in command, was given authority to decide on the choice of routes. His decision was in favor of the Pennsylvania route, and on this line the army took up its march late in July. Wash-

ington, who held a colonel's commission, now entered cordially into the work, and, as usual, took the front.

While the axe is chopping a new path to the Ohio country for the bayonet to follow, we will take a glance at its tenants.

The Delawares, whose home was originally on the Susquehanna, had ever been at peace with the whites, till the outbreak of the war. William Penn, their loving father, had long been in his grave, and his mantle of charity not having fallen upon his successors, the Delawares had been compelled to give up the fairest portion of their lands.* But in the autumn of 1756, after more than a year of warfare between the whites and the Delawares, who still remained on the Susquehanna, some Quakers, whose broad-brims secured them a safe interview, succeeded in restoring the old chain of friendship. This renewed league, however, did not bind the Delawares who had been driven to the Ohio. These, with the Shawanese, Mingoes, and many other tribes, had been on the best of terms with the French ever since the war had begun. But since the late English successes, the possibility of winning their friendship was considered by the English, and friendly messages were sent to them by the eastern Delawares. The French, meantime, began to send emissaries to the eastern Delawares, inviting them to join their brothers in the Ohio country, under protection of the lilies of France. Autumn was now at hand, and the army of Forbes was still toiling among the mountains toward the fatal fort, liable at any time to be attacked by a host of Indians, and the success of his expedition seemed doubtful. In this emergency, it was deemed all-important to send an able messenger to the hostile tribes of the Ohio, to induce them, if possible, to forsake the waning fortunes of the French.

Prominent among the Moravian (United Brethren) missionaries was a heroic apostle of their ancient faith, named Christian Frederic Post. This remarkable people dated their order back to John Huss, who preceded Luther a century. In 1732, they established a missionary station in the Island of St. Thomas. The next year they are found among the icebergs of Greenland, and the next in Georgia, teaching the savages the elements of Christianity. In 1730, they came to Pennsylvania and set up a tabernacle among the Delawares. So successful had they been here in converting the Indians, that the jealousy of the borderers was aroused lest the Bible and hymn-book should rival the whisky-jug. Post was one of the foremost workers in the missionary cause, and consequently became an object of great aversion to the border ruffians. He was thrown into prison on false charges, and, when liberated for want of evidence, was set upon by a

* Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. II., p. 740.

mob, and narrowly escaped with his life.* He it was who volunteered to be the bearer of an English message to the hostile Indians on the Ohio.

He started from Philadelphia on the 15th of July. A broad belt of debatable territory had to be crossed, which had been traveled only by scalping parties since Braddock's defeat. On the 7th of August, he passed the French post of Venango unharmed, as if a spell had been put upon its tenants. Arriving at the Indian town of Kushkushkee, he met 200 warriors, to whom he made proposals of peace. Their reply was as follows:

"Why do you not fight your battles at home or on the high seas? Your heart is good—you speak sincerely—but there is a large number among you who wish to be rich. We do not wish to be rich and take away what others have. The white people think we have no brains. But remember, when you hunt a rattle-snake, perhaps it will bite you before you see it."†

Passing on to Sunkonk, the Indians at first surrounded him with drawn knives, and the French offered a reward for his scalp; but, fortunately, there were some Delawares present who had listened to his preaching, and, through their influence, a reaction soon began to be manifest, insomuch that they asked him to read his message. While reading it, a French messenger came in from Ft. Duquesne with a belt. The English message had already won over the vacillating Indians, and they refused to receive the French token, but kicked it about as if it had been a snake, says Post's journal. A council was now proposed to be held. Accordingly, on the 24th, it met, and the place chosen for it was across the river from Ft. Duquesne, within the reach of its guns. Eight different tribes attended and made peaceful promises to the English, the French not daring to disturb the grave deliberations, though they dissolved their alliance with all the Indian tribes except the Shawanese and a few others. Post remained till the 9th of September, when he started on his return.

He reached Philadelphia in safety, and his journal was printed. All the while, Forbes' army was slowly advancing on the fort. On the 21st of September, a strong reconnoitering force was sent forward under Major Grant. Arriving near the fort, they were defeated with a loss of 200 men.

While Forbes' army lay encamped at midnight, but a few miles from the place, a deep sound came quivering along the ground. "Ft. Duquesne is blown up!" exclaimed the sentinels, as the distant explosion broke the wild silence around them. The army pressed forward with the first peep of day, when three deserters from the French soon met them and confirmed the sus-

* Heckewelder. † Post's Journal.

picion, and without further opposition the smouldering ruins of the fort were taken possession of on the 25th of November, 1758. Its garrison, deserted by the Indians, had fled, thanks to the hardihood of Post. A new fort was immediately built and named Ft. Pitt, in honor of the great premier, and 200 Virginians were left here to stand guard over the English flag, which now waved in triumph for the first time in the West.

Among both the English and provincial troops composing Forbes' army were surviving relatives of distinguished persons slain in Braddock's defeat, and a desire to visit his battle-field and pay the last honors to their mouldering relics was manifest. Gen. Forbes, though an invalid and carried on a litter, entered heartily into this pious research, and gave the necessary orders for its execution under the charge of Capt. West, brother to the celebrated painter, Benjamin West. Besides his own company, a band of Indians, lately won over to the English interests by Post, were assigned to his command. Among these were several who had assisted in the slaughter.

Major Sir Peter Halket, a member of Forbes' staff, had lost a father and a brother there, and from his description of their appearance to the Indians, one of them assured him that he could point to the spot where they fell, near a remarkable tree. The expedition took up its march along the path through the forest that led to the fatal field, and the Indians, who were deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, led the way with reverential footstep. When the field was reached, the search began around its environs. Skeletons were found lying across the trunks of fallen trees, a proof, in their imaginations, that they had died here in the lingering torments of mortal wounds and starvation combined. In other places, disjointed bones were scattered around, giving evidence that the wolves of the forest had claimed them as their share of the spoils. Following the Indians to the spot where Halket's father and brother were supposed to have fallen, the Indian who saw them fall pointed out the crouching-place he had occupied during the battle and the tree under which they had fallen. Large masses of leaves covered the ground, which the wind had drifted over their bones. These were removed, and two skeletons lay together, one across the other. Tenderly the Indians raised them from the ground, when Sir Peter Halket said, "My father had an artificial tooth; examine his jaw." This was done, and there was the tooth. Sir Peter then exclaimed, "This is my father!" and fell insensible into the arms of his companions. A grave was dug on the spot; the bones of father and son were placed in it; a Highland plaid was spread over them; they were covered with earth, and a salute was fired over their wilderness sepulcher. The In-

dian who pointed them out was not asked who was their executioner.*

We come now to the most interesting part of the war. Even as the whirlwind gathers force as it travels, so did the magnitude of the issue in America enlarge as well as the national ambition to circumvent the French. Whatever misgivings had ever existed in the English court as to the policy of driving the French out of Canada, now vanished in the broad path of national grandeur, and it was determined to attack Quebec itself, to bring about what both England and America demanded, the complete expulsion of the French.

In consequence of the reverse of Gen. Abercrombie before the walls of Ticonderoga, it was deemed expedient to supply his place with another general whose hold upon the public confidence had not been impaired by defeat. Gen. Amherst possessed these qualifications, and was promptly appointed by Pitt to succeed him. Under his guidance, the colonial States put forth renewed exertions to end the war by one more decisive campaign. Connecticut raised 5000 men, among whom was Israel Putnam, destined to a lasting fame. Massachusetts raised 6500, and New Hampshire 1000. The numbers raised by other States were smaller; but all the English forces in the field numbered fully 50,000, about half of whom were British regulars and the balance provincials, any and all of whom had mettle and endurance not to be questioned.

Ere the campaign of 1759 could be opened, a wintry truce must intervene, chaining the hostile arms of both nations with icy fetters, while their respective armies shivered in their barracks, at safe distances from each other, by fitful turns killing the tedious hours with boisterous hilarity or thoughts of home, of which none can think more tenderly than the volunteer soldier fresh from the cornfield.

The English held the inside of the circle, or rather its segment commencing at Ft. Pitt, where a litle band of Virginians stood sentinels at the outer edge of the immense plains of the Mississippi valley. At Oswego, the army of Gen. Bradstreet were reposing on their laurels, after their brilliant feat of taking Ft. Frontenac. At the head of Lake George rested the main body of the English and provincial soldiers. North of them were formidable bodies of French and Canadians entrenched, in confident security, within the walls of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Ft. Niagara was a post of great importance, and a respectable contingent of French soldiers now garrisoned its walls. The small stockades along French Creek had never been anything more than resting places for the French on their way to Ft. Du-

* Galt's Life of West.

quesne; and, as this place was now in the hands of the English, the French only held them with the hope of retaking this strategic point.

While at these various places the armies of the two nations confronted each other during the winter, the salons of Quebec and Montreal were gay with Parisian elegance. The Frenchmen who could crowd the theaters of Paris during the throes of the French Revolution subsequent to this, were of the same spirit as these volatile Canadians, undisturbed as they were by the shadows of an English invasion hovering around their southern border. All the while, visions of future grandeur rose before the eyes of the English, and a rare combination of fortuitous events was destined to verify them.

Gen. Amherst was to attack the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Gen. James Wolfe was to lay siege to Quebec, and Gen. Prideaux, with Gen. Johnson as second in command, was to march against Niagara. This expedition started from Oswego early in July, 1759, making its way in boats along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, where they landed without opposition at the mouth of Niagara on the 6th. The fort originally built here by La Salle, in 1678, had been abandoned by the French in 1688, and again rebuilt by them in 1726, since which time it had been a menace to the Iroquois; but to the western tribes it was a haven of promise, on which rested an assurance of protection from their traditional enemies. To the French it was second in importance only to Quebec, commanding as it did the channel of commerce, which was then carried on by canoes only, along the entire chain of lakes. No sooner had Gen. Pouchot, the commander of the fort, learned of the approach of the invaders, than he summoned to his aid all the spare French troops from Detroit, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango, and as many Indian allies as could be induced to take up arms for the declining fortunes of the French. The number of French thus raised from the distant forts and the Indians combined was 1500; but, ere they could gather within the walls of the fort, Johnson intercepted their path, and they were obliged to fight his army on an equal footing. This battle took place not far from Niagara Falls, on the east bank. D'Aubrey, the leader of the French, dashed against Johnson's well-trained army of provincials and Indians, with desperate resolution; but the fire they met was so fierce that it was like the surprise of an ambuscade. D'Aubrey himself, with 17 officers, were taken prisoners, and many of the French soldiers, while their red allies fled into their native forests to brood over their misfortunes. Gen. Prideaux was pushing the siege all the while, but was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a gun, when the command fell upon Johnson, who, after his victory, summoned Gen. Pouchot to surren-

der. The summons was obeyed, and 607 officers and privates became prisoners. A large quantity of scalping-knives were among the military stores taken. The prisoners were sent to New York, leaving behind them many a romantic reminiscence of a spot in which nature was so prodigal with her gifts, among which the dusky beauty of the forest was not the soonest to be forgotten by the gay French lieutenants.

This blow effectually severed the line of communication between Canada and the Mississippi valley; but since the French had been driven from Ft. Duquesne, little remained then which could offer any serious resistance to the English, scattered as the forts were from Detroit to the far-distant post of New Orleans.

While Johnson had been dictating terms to the French at Niagara, Amherst massed his forces at Albany, crossed Lake George with 12,000 men, and appeared before Ticonderoga on the 22d of July. He immediately began to plant his batteries; but, before the place was environed, the French evacuated, blowing up their magazine behind them, and took refuge within the walls of Crown Point on the 27th. Gen. Amherst promptly followed them to their new retreat; but, at his approach, they again fled down the lake, and entrenched themselves on the island of Aux Noix. The season was now too far advanced to continue operations, and after some skirmishing, in which two French vessels were captured, Gen. Amherst went into winter quarters at Crown Point.

Gen. Wolfe was now before the walls of Quebec. Early in June, he sailed up the St. Lawrence with 8000 men, and made a landing on the island of Orleans, just below the city. He found it planted on the summit of a headland of rock, at the base of which the St. Lawrence, a mile wide, rolled along the surplus waters of the great lakes. Below, the St. Charles and Montmorenci, tributaries from the north, cleft to its base the adamantine bank on which the city stood. Entrenched behind earthworks, on the bluffs of these streams, rested the left wing of its defenders, the right extending to the city. Heavy forests extended far to the north in the rear, affording additional protection. Above the city, the same bank held its undiminished height for miles along the river. Montcalm himself stood behind these defenses with 14,000 soldiers. Before going on with the progress of Wolfe, let us turn back to the days of Ft. Necessity.

When Col. Washington gave up this fort, five years before, it will not be forgotten that Major Robert Stobo was one of the hostages delivered into the hands of the French. He was taken to Ft. Duquesne, where his ready adaption to his situation as prisoner soon won favor among the French soldiers, who have ever been conspicuous in history for their magnanimity toward

a fallen foe. Among the Indians who came and went to the fort without ceremony, was one named Delaware George, who had been a disciple of Post* on the Delaware river. Something in his companionship won the confidence of Stobo, and he sent the converted Delaware through the forests with a letter to Virginia, containing important information. Delaware George quietly left the place without exciting suspicion, and delivered the message. At Braddock's defeat, the document, with all other papers of Braddock's, fell into the hands of the French; but as no one at the fort could translate English, it was sent to Paris. Meantime, Stobo had been sent to Canada, and here the evidence of his spying message overtook him, on the 28th of November, 1756. He was tried and sentenced to be hung, but the numerous friends he had made in Canada, particularly among the fascinating women of Quebec, came to his rescue, and his pardon was applied for at the French court. The king gave it, and once more Stobo was an honored hostage, though a prisoner. He soon afterward made his escape, but a reward of 6000 livres brought about his capture, which was effected on the banks of the Montmorenci, while he was looking for a boat in which to cross the St. Lawrence. This river crossed, he intended to pierce the hostile forests which intervened between Canada and the English frontier. After his unsuccessful attempt to escape, his confinement became more strict and his health gave way. This misfortune redoubled the tenderness of his fair patron who had long befriended him. This true-hearted heroine now used her influence with Vaudreuil, the governor, to mitigate the severity of Stobo's confinement. Her plea was successful, and he was allowed to exercise on the ramparts, anywhere within the lines of the sentinels. Here he soon made the acquaintance of a Mr. Stephenson, a native of New Hampshire, who had been captured from the daring band of Rogers' Rangers. He was a ship carpenter, and being at work for the French in the shipyard, knew all the possible avenues of escape by boat. A plan was soon made up by the two to effect this, and, the first favorable opportunity, it was put in execution, by seizing a yawl and going down the St. Lawrence. Soon as his flight had been discovered, a reward was again offered for him; but the rapid current of the river had left behind all danger of capture.

One stricken heart was also left behind, to whom his empty cell was a painful memorial of unrequited love.

The adventurers, after great privations, reached Louisburg while Gen. Wolfe was there, joined his army, and were with him at the siege of Quebec. While this was in progress, Wolfe wished to communicate with Gen. Amherst, and Stobo volun-

* See Heckewelder.

teered to to take the message to him, across the country, which he succeeded in delivering at his winter quarters at Crown Point. This done, the hero proceeded to his old home in Virginia, where, on November 19th, 1759, the House of Burgesses voted him a bonus of £1000, besides full pay for his services during his eventful captivity.*

The first place attacked by Wolfe, after landing, was the Heights of Point Levi, across the river from Quebec. This he carried with ease, and erected a battery on the spot, from which he opened fire upon the town, reducing the lower portions of it to ashes. Montcalm, trying in vain to dislodge the English from this point, conceived the idea of burning their fleet as it lay anchored below the city. A number of fire-ships were set afloat from above, to accomplish this design; but the English sailors, by great exertion, managed to turn them aside, and they harmlessly consumed below. Wolfe in turn made a direct attack on the left wing of Montcalm's army, as it lay intrenched on the banks of the Montmorenci. A strong detachment of Highlanders and provincials crossed the river in small boats, under cover of a fire from the ships, and, clambering up the steep bank of the river, made an impetuous attack on the French lines, but they were defeated, with a loss of 500 men.

Up to this time, no tidings had come from either Johnson or Amherst, although the French were well informed of what had transpired in the various theaters of the war, and an event soon took place which brought this information to Wolfe. At Chambaud, a short distance up the river, the French had a magazine, defended by a small body of soldiers. Gen. Murray was sent to capture it, which being effected, the prisoners taken gave the first news to Wolfe of the success of the English arms at Niagara and Lake Champlain. The season, however, was so far advanced that no hopes could be entertained of assistance from either Amherst or Johnson, and, smarting under the sting of defeat on the banks of the Montmorenci, he wrote to the Secretary of State, informing him of his defeat and of the difficulties in the way of taking Quebec. A council of war was called on the 3d of September, and by its deliberations it was resolved to transfer the operations against Quebec from the Montmorenci to the banks of the river above the town. The ill success which had thus far attended the enterprise had wrought upon the mind of Wolfe till he was prostrate on a bed of sickness; and, while in this situation, Generals Murray, Monckton, and Townsend, whom he had asked to propose some new plan of operations,

* Until 1854, the British Museum was the custodian of Stobo's letters and manuscript memoirs, and it was from Hume's letter to Smollet that the editor who first published the substance of them. I became aware of their importance. The narrative was at that time published in Pittsburgh, from which this account is taken.

suggested an attack from the Heights of Abraham,* in the rear of the city, possession of which was to be gained under cover of night. Wolfe consented, though difficulties apparently insurmountable, stood in the way. The ascent up the rugged bluffs was almost perpendicular and their summits guarded by French sentinels; yet the desperate character of the enterprise, by dispelling suspicion from the French, might assure success, and orders were given for its execution. On the 12th of September. the English fleet moved up the river, several miles above the spot where the river bank was to be ascended. At midnight the small boats were lowered, 5000 soldiers stepped into them from the vessels, and silently floated down the current, lying close to the north bank. Several French sentinels had to be passed, but fortunately a Scotch officer among them understood the French language, and, when challenged, disarmed their suspicions by appropriate replies in good French. To the last challenge thus made, the Scotch officer's ingenuity in his reply was fully up to the demands of the critical occasion, he having cut off further inquiry by enjoining silence lest the English should overhear them. By the last packet which came from England, a copy of Gray's Elegy, which had recently been published, was sent to Wolfe. Deeply impressed with its poetic beauty, while silently floating down stream to the cove† from which the army were to scale the bank, he repeated to his companions one of its lines—

"The path of glory leads but to the grave."

"Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec," said he. "Perhaps the noblest tribute ever paid by arms to letters, since that heroic era when hostile fury and havoc were remedied or intercepted by respect for the genius of Aristotle, and for the poetry of Pindar and Euripides."‡ About an hour before daybreak, Wolfe was among the first to leap ashore, when, turning his eyes upward to the shelving bank, he observed to an officer near him: "I doubt if you can get up, but you must do what you can." Col. Howe, brother to him killed at Ticonderoga, led the way at the head of the Highlanders, and the whole army followed by a narrow path up the cliff, sometimes laying hold of the young shrubbery to facilitate the steep ascent. When the entire army had reached the summit, it was broad daylight.

The astonished French sentinels quickly conveyed the information to Montcalm. At first, he would not believe it, but supposed the movement to be only a feint to distract his attention from the banks of the Montmorenci, where the real attack was

* Graham's Colonial History, vol. IV., p. 49.
† This has ever since been called Wolfe's Cove.
‡ Graham.

to be made. Farther observation, however, soon dispelled this illusion, and he quit his camp, crossed the St. Charles, and boldly advanced to meet Wolfe and decide the fate of New France on the battle-field.

At nine o'clock, on the 13th of September, 1759, 13,000 French soldiers stood on an elevated plateau, facing 5000 English soldiers. Not a ditch—not a ravine—not a hill, valley, or tree was there between them, to intercept the mortal tornado about to roll into the unprotected ranks of both armies.

No human vision could pierce the future and bring to light the issue depending on the result of the battle. If the French arms had triumphed, the English must have fallen into their hands as prisoners, and Quebec have been reinforced long before the armies of Amherst and Johnson could have reached the place, and the French would have retained the valley of the Mississippi.

On the other hand, the triumph of the English arms was destined to lead to events which, if then foreseen, would have distracted the English army between contending emotions of loyalty and self-protection; for on the result of this battle hung the destiny of a nation yet in her germ-cell—America.

Montcalm advanced to the conflict and commenced the fire. The English waited till but forty rods intervened between themselves and the advancing French; the order to fire was then given, and from their whole front a tempest of shot flew into the ranks of the French, directed by the aim of veterans. The French never recovered from the shock. It was impossible to fill up the gaps made in their front ranks. They attempted to rally, but their lines wavered before the deadly aim of the English, till they fled from the field, pursued by the Highlanders with broadswords.

Early in the action, Wolfe had been wounded in the arm, but bandaged it with his handkerchief. Soon afterward he received a shot in his groin, but, concealing the wound, still pushed on his men, when a third shot brought him down. The command now fell on Monckton, who soon fell wounded, when Gen. Townsend took his place.

Montcalm was mortally wounded, and nearly a thousand of his men had fallen, either killed or wounded. Death spared Wolfe till the shouts of victory ran through his lines—"They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried the dying man. "The French!" replied the officer on whose breast he was leaning. "Then I die happy!" said Wolfe, and ceased to breathe.

Montcalm died the next day. The two commanders were buried beside each other, on the field where they had fought one of the decisive battles of the world.

A third of Quebec had been burned by the fire of the English fleet. Gaiety and wretchedness were indiscriminately huddled

together in squalid tenements; but still they must pack closer yet. The 5000 English soldiers, less the fifty killed in the battle, must have room, and the 500 wounded soldiers must have lint and gruel prepared for them. These knotty problems were soon solved by the stern decrees of war, by which the city had been given up to the English. A recoil from the harshness of these decrees, however, now spread a luster over the scene. A mutual spirit of conciliation was moulded in every face. English and French vied with each other to assuage the calamities of war. The priests no longer prayed for the success of the French, or, if they did, the English cared little as long as the ensign of St. George waved from the watch-towers, and the utmost freedom in religious matters was granted—mere trifles in the estimation of the conquerors compared to the great question at issue.

The fugitives of Montcalm's army had fled to Montreal, where a force fully ten thousand strong represented the forlorn hope of New France.

Spring came. The snowdrifts of the St. Lawrence had melted into its turbulent current, bearing along its swollen waters released gorges of ice. While gazing at these, one day, the English sailors espied a man lying prostrate on one of them. The yawl was lowered, and the victim rescued from his perilous position, almost insensible from exhaustion and cold. When restored, he informed his new friends that he had fallen overboard from the French fleet, and, when questioned as to their movements, he gave such information as gave Gen. Murray no room to doubt that the French were about to make a descent on Quebec.* Preparations were immediately made to meet the unexpected blow. One thousand of Murray's men had died with the scurvy, as many more were in the hospital, and he had but 3000 left. The attack soon came, 10,000 strong. A battle ensued, in which the English were partially defeated, but managed to retain their position till news came that an English fleet was sailing up the St. Lawrence, when the French retreated. By a chance, this English fleet gained the mouth of the river ahead of a French fleet destined for the same theater. A few months later, the English armies, under Gen. Amherst and Gen. Haviland, appeared before Montreal. The place surrendered, and Vaudreuil, the governor, gave up Canada and the West to the English, September 8th, 1760. The war still raged on the Continent, and it was not till February 10th, 1763, that the definitive treaty was signed at Paris. By its stipulations, everything east of the Mississippi river, as far south as the southern limits of Georgia, was ceded to the English.

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* Raynal, vol. VII., p. 124.

CHAPTER VI.

Rogers sent by Gen. Amherst to take Possession of Detroit—He meets Pontiac on the way—Holds a Colloquy with him—Detroit garrisoned by the English, under Capt. Campbell—Discontent of the Indians—Alexander Henry arrives at Michilimackinac—Conspiracy to drive the English out of the Country—Detroit saved from Massacre by an Ojibway Girl—Is Besieged—Massacre at Michilimackinac—Narrow Escape of Alexander Henry—St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami, and Sandusky taken by the Indians—Capture of the Batteau Fleet sent to Succor Detroit—Horrible Massacre of the Soldiers—Detroit Relieved—Arrival of Capt. Dalzell—His Disastrous Sortie—Desperate Defense of a Vessel loaded with Supplies—Pontiac retires to the Maumee Rapids.

The French and Indian war began on the question as to who should own a bit of wild land drained by the tributary sources of the Ohio.

The English went into it with tardiness, and the Americans, with the exception of the Virginia colony, with apathy; not from any indisposition to sustain the national honor, for there was no such issue in the question. Each colony held its own respective territory, and could hardly be expected to fight for more, not knowing who might possess the prize if won.

What had given the Virginia colony so deep an interest in the question, was the munificent donations of the lands on the Ohio to her subjects from the king. The recipients of these favors were the Ohio Company, prominent among whom were the Washington brothers, and this company had taken the first steps in the war by commencing the little fort at the fork of the Ohio, under Trent.

George Washington struck the first hostile blow when he attacked Jumonville. Never in the records of nations did a greater result grow out of an issue so apparently small. The magnitude of the prize was an elephant on the hands of the victors.

To the west were the forests north of the Ohio river, enriched by a thousand autumnal dressings of leaf-mould, through which unnumbered rivers and streamlets took their courses along val-

leys of alluvium. Beyond these were oceans of prairie, luxuriant in grasses harvested each year only by the annual fires that swept over them.

With the exception of the few French settlements mentioned in previous chapters, this immense country was a majestic waste, tenanted by perhaps one hundred thousand Indians. Most of these had always been the allies of the French, but such as were not had been forced into their friendship by the war. Now everything was changed. To the English they must look for a supply of such goods as the elements of civilization had taught them the use of, and without which it was difficult to subsist. The trade in these articles, with furs in exchange, was now to go into the hands of the English; but the first thing to be done was to take possession of such French forts as had not been taken by force during the war.

These were Detroit, Sandusky, Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, Green Bay, the cluster of French villages in the Southern Illinois country, Vincennes and Ouatanon on the Wabash, and Ft. Miami on the Maumee, close by the spot where Ft. Wayne was subsequently built; the whole containing a population not exceeding 6000 French inhabitants.

On the 13th of September, 1760, three days after the surrender of Montreal, Major Robert Rogers was despatched by Gen. Amherst on this mission,* with a force of 200 chosen men, in fifteen whale-boats. His orders were to proceed to Ft. Niagara, where Maj. Walters, the commander, was to deliver into his custody a Mr. Gamelin,† a French prisoner taken at the surrender of that post. He was then to proceed to Presque Isle, and from thence, with a small force, across the country to Ft. Pitt, then under the command of Gen. Monckton.

From him he was to receive such assistance as was necessary in the execution of the work before him, which was to take possession of the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. This done, he was to return with his force to Albany, or wherever the headquarters of the commanding general might be at that time. Arriving at Presque Isle on the 8th of October, in accordance with these instructions, he left his command, and, with only three companions, pursued the well-known French trail to Ft. Pitt, where he was reinforced by a detachment of Royal Americans,

* Rogers had served during the war in the capacity of a Ranger. His field had been on the frontier between Albany and the French forts on Lake Champlain, where his daring exploits at the head of his chosen band of New Hampshire provincials, were the admiration of both friend and foe. He kept a journal of his adventures and wrote a book entitled "Concise Account of North America," published in London in 1765, which forms the basis of this account.

† Mr. Gamelin subsequently became a resident of Vincennes, and acted as mediator between the Americans and Indians.

under Capt. Campbell. Returning to Presque Isle, he received forty oxen from Col. Bryant, under charge of Capt. Monter, who, with the assistance of twenty Indians, was to drive them to Detroit, for the subsistence of the soldiers. About the first of November, the whole command embarked in their boats from Presque Isle. It was an English delegation, composed of Americans, whose superior qualifications for such a dangerous adventure were apparent to Gen. Amherst.

The western Indians had never before seen any other than Frenchmen, unless perchance some of them had been in battle-array against them on the bloody fields of the late war. As yet, the English flag had been saluted with yells of approbation by all the Indians they had met; but these first ebullitions of applause from the red frontierers might prove but a snare to lull them into a fatal security when the interior was reached. But Rogers, bred among the wiles of frontier warfare, had measured its depths of dissimulation, and he was ready for any emergency.

While he is penetrating the country along the southern shore of Lake Erie in his little fleet of whale-boats, in his advanced path a savage hero lay, ruminating in his mind how to receive him. This was Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas. He was yet in the heyday of youth and strength, but a veteran in bush-fighting warfare. He had made himself conspicuous among the subtle spirits who had overwhelmed Braddock on the Monongahela. He had ever since been in the van of the war-path against the English, and his achievements had won for him a singular distinction, which, by common consent, made him the acknowledged chief, not only of his own tribe, but of all the surrounding tribes, who looked up to him as their Moses. His summer residence was on Pechu Island, eight miles above Detroit, and in the winter he lodged in the Ottawa village opposite, on the Canadian shore.* As soon as he heard of the advance of the English into the country, he hastened, with a few of his attendants, to meet them. The first interview was held November 7th, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at its western extremity. Here Rogers, having entered the mouth of a small stream, moored his boats and encamped. An Indian deputation soon waited on him, requesting him to proceed no farther till Pontiac, the king of the country, came up. Shortly afterward he came, and, at the first salutation, demanded how he dared to enter the country without his permission. In reply, Rogers informed him (with naive respect and dignity combined) that he had come, not to injure the Indians, but to remove the French soldiers of the country, who had hitherto been an obstacle to peace between the Indians and the English. This answer disarmed the chief

*Lanman's Hist. of Mich., p. 91.

and modified his demeanor at once. Rogers next proceeded to inform him of the surrender of Canada to the English, which was news to Pontiac, though perhaps not unexpected from the ill success of the French since the fall of Niagara and Quebec several months before.

On leaving, he told Rogers that if he needed anything his country could supply, he would send his warriors for it. He then took his leave, requesting Rogers not to advance farther till a council should be held the next morning. This opened as proposed—the peace-pipe was smoked, and Pontiac promised to protect Rogers on his way to Detroit. This promise he kept in good faith. Had he not done this, Rogers could not have reached the place without a battle with the Indians, who, in heavy force, stood guard at the mouth of the river, to prevent his passage. To these Pontiac gave orders to let the English pass unmolested, and, at the same time, ordered some of his men to assist Capt. Brewer along with the oxen driven from Presque Isle. Besides this act of courtesy, he manifested a disposition to learn the elements of civilization, asking Rogers about the English method of disciplining their forces, and even inquired how cloth and iron were made, and offered to give him a part of the country if he would take him to England on a visit. This offer was accompanied with the conciliatory proposal of paying an annual tribute to the king of England and calling him his uncle. These were the terms on which the English might be permitted to settle in the country and remain as long as they treated the Indians with respect. If they failed to do this, he should drive them out and "shut up the door."*

Rogers now resumed his march toward Detroit, taking care to send Lieut. Brheme, a French war prisoner, in advance, with the following letter to Capt. Bellestre, the French commander:

"*To Capt. Bellestre, or the Officer Commanding at Detroit.*

"SIR:—That you may not be alarmed at the approach of the English troops under my command when I come to Detroit, I send forward this by Lieut. Brheme, to acquaint you that I have Gen. Amherst's orders to take possession of Detroit and such other posts as are in that district; which, by capitulation, agreed to and signed by Marquis de Vaudreuil and Gen. Amherst, the 8th of September last, now belong to Great Britain. I have with me the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters to you, directed for your guidance on this occasion; which letters I shall deliver to you when I am at or near your post, and shall encamp the troops I have with me at some distance from the fort, till you have reasonable time to be made acquainted with the Marquis de Vau-

* Concise Account

dreuil's instructions and the capitulation, a copy of which I have with me likewise. I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"ROBERT ROGERS."

Continuing to advance, Rogers met a squad of Hurons, from whom he learned that Bellestre had detained the messenger sent with his letter, and intended to oppose his entrance into the town.

In order to arouse a spirit of resistance among the Indians, he had erected on a pole an effigy of Rogers, with a crow pecking pis eyes out, as an emblem of the fate in store for him if he attempted to enter Detroit; but the Indians were skeptical as to such a result, and, notwithstanding the shallow device, accepted the wampum belt from Rogers, who represented, in their estimation, and correctly, too, the rising star of power, to whom they must now look for favors.

The impossibility of holding the town against the English soon became evident to the French commander, and he began to conciliate. First, he despatched a messenger to Rogers with a letter, to inform him that he had put the inhabitants, and particularly the Indians, on their guard to prevent being plundered by the Indians who had joined the standard of the English, and also to preserve the English themselves from a like disaster when government of the town should change from French to English hands. Rogers replied as follows:

"SIR:—I acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, both of which were delivered to me on yesterday. Mr. Brheme has not yet returned. The inclosed letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil will inform you of the surrender of all Canada to the king of Great Britain, and of the great indulgence granted to the inhabitants; as also of the terms granted to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty. Capt. Campbell, whom I have sent forward with this letter, will show you the capitulation. I desire you will not detain him, as I am determined, agreeable to my instructions from Gen. Amherst, speedily to relieve your post. I shall stop the troops I have with me at the hither end of the town till four o'clock, by which time I expect your answer. Your inhabitants will not surprise me; as yet I have seen no other in that position, but savages waiting for my orders. I can assure you, Sir, the inhabitants of Detroit shall not be molested—they and you complying with the capitulation, but be protected in the quiet and peaceable possession of their estates; neither shall they be pillaged by my Indians, nor by yours that have joined me. I am, &c.,

"R. ROGERS.

"To Capt. Bellestre, commanding at Detroit."

Having despatched this letter, without waiting a reply, Rogers pushed his boats up the river, and landed within half a mile of the place. Here a messenger soon came to him from Bellestre, with his compliments, signifying that he awaited his orders. Lieuts. Lefflie and M'Cormick were now sent with 36 American troops to take possession of Detroit.

The first item in the formula was to lower the French flag and elevate the English flag in its place. This was done, and a burst of riotous applause rent the air from the gutteral voices of 700 Indians, while the French beheld the humiliation with silent and painful emotions, such as have never yet been felt in the breast of an American citizen.

It was now the 29th of November, and Rogers, with his accustomed promptness, set about the execution of his still unfinished work. The French militia were disarmed and the oath of allegiance administered to them. The regular soldiers, with their commander, Bellestre, were sent as prisoners of war to Philadelphia, under the escort of Lieut. Holmes and thirty men.

A party of 20 men were sent to take possession of the posts of Ouatanon,* on the head-waters of the Wabash and Miami, at the bend of the Maumee. These had been the extremes of canoe navigation on the two rivers—a portage connecting them by a well-frequented Indian trail, which had been in existence from time immemorial. After the French had settled at Vincennes, this thoroughfare to the lakes became an important one to them; hence the erection of the post of Ouatanon, at the head of canoe navigation on this stream. Ft. Miami was also designed to facilitate the same end,† and its early possession by the English was necessary, in order to command the respect of the Indians and establish the fur trade among them along their highway to the lakes.

Capt. Campbell was now left in command of Detroit, while Rogers, with a small force, started toward Michilimackinac to establish the English standard at that important post. After a vain attempt to force his way along the icy and boisterous shore of Lake Huron, he was obliged to return to Detroit, and, on the 21st of December, started with a few attendants across the country to Ft. Pitt, arriving there on the 23d of January, 1761. He passed through Sandusky on his way, says Perkins' Western Annals (p. 111), but does not inform us whether he left a garri-

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* Rogers called this *Gatanois* in his Journal, p. 229.

† According to Brice's History of Fort Wayne, p. 12, Ft. Miami was built in 1733. Volney, in his Researches, dates the building of Vincennes in 1735; but Law's date of 1710 is more consistent with 1733 as the date of Miami. Ft. Ouatanon probably bears a similar date. Late researches by H. W. Beckwith, of Danville, Ill., show that it was built on the west side of the Wabash, instead of the east, as indicated by the current histories. It is pronounced We-au ta-non.

son there or not. The next summer, Michilimackinac, Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior, Green Bay, and St. Joseph, were taken peaceable possession of by a detachment sent from Detroit by Capt. Campbell. The French towns of Southern Illinois and Vincennes on the Wabash, had hitherto been disturbed only by war's alarms from afar. Their country had changed from French to English rule, but distance had yet and was still destined to give them a few more years under the lilies of France, though severed from the parent stem by the tornado of war, like a limb of a tree broken from the trunk.

The Indians had always loved the French, because they met them on terms of social equality. Their ideas of chivalry were well suited to the savage imagination. Both were dashing and impetuous. A liberal sprinkling of blanched cheeks, whose mothers were the honored wives of Frenchmen, were so many pledges of that friendship which forest-life had charmed into being. Before the Anglo-Americans and English had set foot into the great West, the French had been there a century, and, instead of attempting to deprive them of their lands, had often held out inducements to them to amalgamate the two races and inherit the country together. This course made any especial promise of friendship unnecessary, or, if made, gave it consistency.

During the French and Indian war, both sides had vied with each other in their excess of zeal to preserve the rights of the Indians. Unhappily for them, the side they had taken had been beaten, and now their first care was to set themselves right before the conquerors, which accounts for Pontiac's assistance to Rogers in conducting him safely to Detroit. But beneath this friendly exterior there lurked, at least, doubt and misgiving, if not feelings of deadly hate.

The English, on their part, had formed too low an estimate of the ability of the Indians to oppose them, in the event of hostilities. They had conquered them and the French combined, and the savage, single-handed, was but a pigmy in their estimation.

Under this impression, the English fur-traders hastened forward among the lodges of the wilderness, to renew the trade begun before the war, and appropriate that which the French had hitherto held exclusively along the lakes. With this intent, Alexander Henry started for Michilimackinac early in the spring succeeding the English possession of Detroit. Ere he had reached Detroit, he witnessed abundant signs of discontent among the Indians.

No pains had been taken by the English or Americans to win their favor by means of presents or those fulsome professions of good fellowship so essential to fill the measure of savage eti-

quette. But these omissions were not the greatest cause of complaint. Blows had been inflicted on some of the Ottawas at a trading station, by some indiscreet traders,* for which indignity retaliation was only deferred. In consequence of these causes of disaffection, Henry was obliged to make his way from Detroit to Michilimackinac in the disguise of French costume. Having reached his destination, he was soon waited upon by a tenacious advocate of Indian rights, supposed to be Pontiac himself, who addressed him the following terse words:

"Englishmen, you know that the French king is our father. He promised to be such, and we in return promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

"Englishmen, it is you that have made war with this our father. You are his enemy; and how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

"Englishmen, we are informed that our father, the king of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he has fallen asleep. During this sleep, you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring and inquiring for his children the Indians; and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly.

"Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, are left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef; but you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains.

"Englishmen, our father, the king of France, employed our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare many of them have been killed, and it is our custom to retaliate until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways: the first is, by the spilling the blood of the nation by which they fell; the other, by covering the bodies of the dead, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

"Englishmen, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us; wherefore he and we are still at war; and until he does these things, we must consider that we

* Cass' Discourse; Rogers' Account.

have no other father or friend among the white men than the king of France. But for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured among us in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war. You come in peace to trade with us, and supply us with necessaries of which we are in much want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippewas. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe to smoke."*

Matters went on during the next two years with increased dissatisfaction. Frequent ominous rumors of Indian uprising had been current; but little importance had been attached to them, especially by Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who still held military command of the whole country.

During all this time, no definitive treaty of peace had been negotiated between England and France, and, through some dreamy illusion of the Indians, a pleasing theory had obtained currency that the king of France had been asleep, and the English had taken the advantage of his slumbers to conquer the country—that he would soon awaken and utterly destroy the English. Fortified by their faith in this visionary hope, the Indians throughout the country north of the Ohio river and and east of the Mississippi, conspired with Pontiac to bring about this desired result.†

After these alliances had been secured, he plied his seductive arts of diplomacy to the different tribes of the Iroquois, and won over the Senecas to his cause; but the other five tribes, owing to the influence of Sir William Johnson, remained true to the English.

Some of the French residents, either through national pique to the English or personal attachment to the Indians, were fast friends to the latter, although the better portion preserved a neutrality at least by mental reservation, as they would not have

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* Henry, p. 43.

† Carver relates a phenomenon which, among the timorous-minded habitants of Detroit, foretold the Indian outbreak. It is worth recording for its meteorological merits, if not its supernatural. It runs as follows: "In the year 1762, in the month of July, it rained on this town and the parts adjacent, a sulphureous water of the color and consistence of ink; some of which being collected into bottles and wrote with, appeared perfectly intelligible on the paper, and answered every purpose of that useful liquid. Soon after, the Indian wars, already spoken of, broke out in these parts. I mean not to say that this incident was ominous of them, notwithstanding it is well known that innumerable well attested instances of extraordinary phenomena happening before extraordinary events, have been recorded in almost every age by historians of veracity; I only relate the circumstance as a fact of which I was informed by many persons of undoubted probity, and leave my readers, as I have hitherto done, to draw their own conclusions from it"

dared to oppose the schemes of Pontiac, had they been informed of them.

The French population of Detroit at that time occupied about 100 houses in the town and 50 farm-houses along the river, above or below it.* The walls of these were built with logs and the roof covered with bark or thatched straw. Their fences were constructed with pickets. Wheat was sowed in drills and cultivated by hand. They had no potatoes till the English brought the seed. Their horses had been obtained from Ft. Duquesne, descended from the English stock captured from Braddock's defeated army.† The Ottawas, Wyandots, and Pottowattomies, had villages close by, which, with the French population, gave to the place a metropolitan character, to which no other spot in the whole country could be compared; consequently, its conquest was undertaken by Pontiac himself. But, before the first blow was to be struck, a council was convened. This was summoned to meet early in the spring, on the banks of a small stream near Detroit. Here were assembled chiefs from all the principal tribes of the country,‡ each supposing himself to be sapient in the savage policy of the times; but at that moment, could they have known the real power of the English colonists, they would have kicked the war-belt from their midst and flung themselves at the feet of the English, claiming their friendship with the eloquence of savage metaphor. Of this, however, they had no conception, and entertained no doubt that they could kill off the English garrisons in the entire country and bar the door against the entrance of any more. This was the aim of Pontiac, and it met the approval of his red brethren, without a dissenting voice in the council. Plans were laid to attack each English fort in the country at a coming change of the moon in the month of May.‖

True to the time-honored custom of Indian warfare, treachery was the chief instrument to be used in taking them. In the attack of Detroit, Pontiac's plan was to gain admittance to the fort with a chosen band of his warriors, under the semblance of friendship, and, at a given signal, fall upon the unsuspecting garrison with their weapons, which were to be concealed under their blankets, and kill them before they had time to seize their

* Lanman's Mich., p. 98.

† Manuscript Doc. of J. R. Williams; see Lanman's Mich., p. 99.

‡ The Ottawas, Miamis, Chippewas, Wyandots, Pottowattomies, Shawanese, Outagamies, and Winnebagoes, composed the council; but there were other tribes from remote places, as well as smaller tribes near by, who were friendly to Pontiac's cause, while it is evident that a few deliberate thinkers had not full faith in his schemes.

‖ These consisted of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Ste. Marie, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami, Ft. Pitt, Venango, Le Bœuf, Presque Isle, and Sandnsky. Ft. Niagara was not to be attacked, its great strength and remoteness being looked upon as insurmountable obstacle to be overcome.

arms. The success of this undertaking required preparation. Their guns had to be shortened by several inches being taken from the muzzles, in order to reduce them in length sufficiently for concealment under their blankets.* This was done with files and saws borrowed from the French inhabitants, who lent them these tools in ignorance of the purpose for which they were to be used. While this was going on, the Indians kept up their friendly visits to the fort as usual; but one afternoon there came in a young Ojibway girl who had previously been employed to make a pair of Indian shoes for Major Gladwin, the commander. She delivered them to him, and the major was so pleased with the neatness with which they were made, that he proposed to her to make more of the same kind, and for that purpose gave her the remainder of the elk skin from which the first pair had been made. This done, he paid her for making the pair delivered, and dismissed her. Instead of directly leaving, the girl lingered about in a dreamy air of sadness, till she attracted the attention of the sentinels, who asked her the cause; but she was silent. Meantime, her pensive mood did not escape the observation of Gladwin. She was recalled to his presence, and revealed to him the plans of Pontiac, under a promise of secrecy.†

The next morning was the appointed time for the culmination of the treachery, and Gladwin set himself about the work of preparation to meet it. The strength of the garrison was about 300, while double that number of Indians hovered around them, hungry for their blood. Every man was immediately placed under arms, in readiness for the expected visit; and, in addition to these precautions, says Carver, "he sent round to all the traders to inform them that, as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel every attempt of that kind."

At an early hour the next morning, an unusual stir was apparent among the Indians, and, at ten o'clock, Pontiac himself, at the head of sixty chiefs, with wooden-clad immobility stamped upon their faces, approached the fort. The gates were thrown open and they entered; but what was Pontiac's astonishment to see the entire garrison armed with swords and pistols? He saw at once that his plot had been discovered, but, with complete composure, concealed the emotions that were inwardly consum-

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* A French citizen named M. Beaufait had been shown a shortened gun and informed of the plot, in advance. He afterward assisted Pontiac by his counsel.

† Carver, who visited Detroit in 1766, only three years after the siege, is the authority for this tradition of the Ojibway girl. Parkman quotes other traditions, attributing the disclosure of Pontiac's treacherous designs to others, but certainly with less plausibility; for who would be so likely to turn apostate to their own people as a young girl whose eyes might be dazzled with the glitter of epaulets?

ing him, and made a speech. The scene that followed is best described by Carver, whose words are here quoted:

"The governor in his turn made a speech; but, instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and, as a proof that they were well acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped toward the Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside his blanket discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

"He then continued to tell them that, as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces. Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him."

Thus baffled in their attempt, Pontiac and his band left, and with a full appreciation of the courage of Gladwin, as well as a conviction that treachery could play no part in taking the fort. The next day, the first attack was made with great fury, but was repulsed by the well-directed fire of the garrison. The post was soon completely environed, and while the besieged are economising their stinted resources to hold it against the audacious foe, the fate of the other English forts in the western wilderness will be told.

The style of warfare practiced by the Indians, though sanguinary, was defective, inasmuch as they were ignorant of any method by which to abridge private rights, even for the public good. Every one was his own master, amenable to no tribunal except public opinion. Against the French they cherished no resentments, and at first, with considerate charity, allowed them to take a neutral position; nor did they object to their visiting the English forts, for the rights of neutrals, about which England and America have lately drawn hair-splitting theories, was a sealed book to their barbarous subtleties. This slipshod military practice gave the French who were favorably disposed toward the English an opportunity to do much to assist them.

After the siege of Detroit had progressed a month, there came to the place a reverend Father from Michilimackinac, named Jonois, who presided over a mission among the Ottawas at that

place. On his arrival, he first paid his respects to Pontiac, and the next day rapped at the gate of the fort. He was admitted; but he bore unwelcome news. Major Etherington, the commander of Michilimackinac, had intrusted him with a letter to Gladwin, which he delivered. From it as well as from the worthy Father himself, who had been an eye-witness, Gladwin learned of the sad fate of Michilimackinac. The Indians had taken the post by stratagem, a game of ball being the instrumental means. First they obtained permission for a number of their squaws to enter the fort. These had weapons concealed under their blankets. The ball was then batted over the palisades of the fort, as if by chance, and permission being granted to go inside after it, a pack of savages rushed in at the opening of the gate. The squaws quickly acted their part in the bloody work, by passing their concealed weapons over to the warriors, and the butchery inside the fort began. At the same moment, the attack on the soldiers outside was made, where about half the garrison were watching the treacherous game.

The whole number of the garrison was ninety-three, all told. About seventy were killed, and, vengeance being sated, the remainder became subjects of savage mercy. Major Etherington, the commander, some months before had been admonished of danger by a French resident of the place, named Laurent Ducharm; but, instead of heeding the timely warning, he snubbed the informant tartly, and threatened to send the next officious bearer of such a message to Detroit as prisoner.* The self-reliant major was among the few spared, but his soldiers paid dearly for his impervious resolution.

Alexander Henry, the trader already mentioned, then a resident of the place, had been warned the year before of the uprising, by Wawatam, a Chippewa chief, who had conceived a strong friendship for him as the result of some favor. This "spiritual seer" had received a message from the happy land, urging him to protect Henry and adopt him as a brother. He informed him of the revelation, and made him a generous present. Henry accepted the fraternal tie, gave him a present in return, and the chief departed for his winter hunt. On the 2d of June, two days before the massacre, he returned and urged Henry to go with him and his family to the Sault. Henry graciously declined the invitation, when Wawatam left with his family, a few tears dropping from his eyes as he took his leave.† On the 4th of June, two days afterward, Henry beheld from the window of his trading station, his comrades shrieking under the strokes of the scalping-knife, at the revelry of blood of which Wawatam had warned him, when he fled from the place and took refuge in the

* Smith's Wis., vol. I., p. 134.

† Smith's Wis.

house of a Frenchman named Langlade. An inoffensive Pawnee slave, unbeknown to the owner, secreted him in a garret. The infuriated Indians soon entered the very room he was in, but in their delirious excitement failed to discover him, packed away as he was among a pile of bark vessels; but the mistress of the household, on learning of his presence, feared the consequences of concealing him, and when she thought of her children she no longer hesitated, but led the savages to the place of Henry's concealment. The wretched man was dragged out by a painted demon, who raised his weapen to kill him, but hesitated, and finally sent him away with a portion of the other captives.

The ultimate fate of all of them was yet subject to many capricious conditions, all of which are related in Henry's Travels.* Through the influence of Wawatam, Henry was saved with the rest, partly through the instrumentality of Indian eloquence and partly by means of presents; but grave counsels were held as to the fate of the whole, and at last it was determined to send them to the French at Montreal, where they arrived in the succeeding August, together with 17 captives from Green Bay, with Lieut. Gorrell, their commander.†

Ere this, St. Joseph, Ouatanon, Miami, and Sandusky, had all been taken by the Indians, but, to the credit of the captors be it said, with less atrocity than had been practiced at Michilimackinac. From Sandusky, the commander, Ensign Pauly, was taken to Detroit, where his manly form attracted the attention of a squaw whose husband had been slain in battle. In him the bereaved widow beheld her consolation, and saved his life by marrying him—but he proved a faithless lover. Through the medium of a Frenchman, he soon sent a letter to Gladwin, and a few weeks later found means to desert his bride and take refuge in the fort.

After the fall of Michilimackinac and Sandusky, Pontiac received reinforcements, and the situation of the garrison at Detroit became daily more critical, and the place must have fallen into the hands of the infuriated bands of Pontiac if some of the French inhabitants had not secretly, under cover of night, sent supplies to the fort to prevent starvation, which was now more to be feared than the attacks of the enemy. The fort was only a wooden stockade, made of piles driven into the ground, and lest it might be set fire to by the besiegers. Gladwin had, by means

* This interesting pamphlet has been reprinted in several of the early histories of the country.

† Owing to the good offices of the Indians around the place, the whole garrison had been spared, they merely evacuating the post and joining Etherington in his captivity. The fort at Ste. Marie had been evacuated previous to the massacre at Michilimackinac, whither the fugitives had taken refuge, and perished at the massacre.

of hot shot, burned every hut near it which might conceal an Indian. Pontiac, destitute of anything but small arms with which to breach its walls, again had recourse to treachery to gain it.

When Rogers left Detroit in 1760, Major Campbell assumed the command, and retained it most of the time till Gladwin had been appointed to the chief command, while he held the second. During Campbell's administration, he had won the esteem of both the French and the Indians, and Pontiac sent him a message requesting him to come to his camp, and terminate the war by a friendly council. The message was brought by two estimable French citizens, who, deceived by the fair exterior of Pontiac, advised the granting of the interview. Gladwin's consent was reluctantly obtained by the too confiding Campbell, who was willing to go; and, not without misgiving on the part of Gladwin, he went, accompanied by Lieut. McDougall. He was received with courtesy by Pontiac, but, contrary to his pledges, was not allowed to return except on condition that the fort should be given up.* McDougall made his escape, but the unfortunate Major Campbell, more closely guarded, was reserved for a cruel test of warring emotions, against which the world has put the seal of abhorrence.

The time was now near at hand when the annual supplies for the western forts were due from Ft. Niagara, and Gladwin, in order to hurry them along, on the 21st of May sent the smallest of the two vessels which lay in the river beside the fort to meet them. Ere she had reached the mouth of the river, while lying becalmed, a fleet of canoes rapidly approached the vessel, filled with Indians intending to board her and kill the crew. Lashed to the bow of the foremost was the unhappy captive, Major Campbell, who had been put there under an impression that the English would not fire on them, for fear of killing their own countryman. "*Do your duty!*" commanded the brave old officer,† whose whitened locks lent pathos to the last order he ever gave to his soldiers. At that moment, a breeze filled the sails of the vessel, and she sped away, lifting a heavy burden from the hearts of the gunners, but reserving the noble captive for a crueler fate. Balked of their prey, the savages returned with their prisoner; but he was soon afterward tomahawked by an Ottawa savage, in revenge for the death of an uncle killed at Michilimackinac. Pontiac was enraged at this base act, and the miscreant who did it fled to Saginaw to escape his vengeance.‡

Unremitting watchfulness on the ramparts, on the part of the inmates of the fort, and eccentric spasms of vengefulness

* Lanman's Mich., p. 110.
† Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I., p. 261.
‡ Lanman, p. 111.

on the part of the Indians, continued till the 30th of May, when a sentinel shouted forth tidings that the expected supplies were in sight coming up the river. All eyes were turned in that direction, where the batteaux were visible in the distance, and a burst of exultation rent the air. As the batteau fleet drew nearer, the forms of the men became more visible. The rowers toiled along in silence, till a closer view revealed the painful situation. Lordly Indians stood erect in the boats while the English soldiers were rowing. In the foremost were three savages armed with tomahawks and four captives. Nearing the vessels beside the fort, they called out to the sailors for aid, and the three Indians who guarded them leaped into the water, one of them dragging a soldier with him, both of whom were drowned in their grapples with each other. The three remaining soldiers in the batteau escaped to the shore under a hot fire from the Indians, both from the Canada shore and the batteaux, wounding one of them.* All the while, the vessel discharged her cannon at the savages in the batteau fleet, and drove them back; but they landed on the east side of the river, and took their captives, over sixty in number, to their camp above. The escaped captives, now within the walls of the fort, told the tale of disaster which had befallen them.

Early in May, Lieut. Cuyler, with a detachment of Green's Rangers, numbering 97 men, with twenty batteaux, embarked from Ft. Schlosser† with the annual supplies for Detroit Taking his course along the northern shore of Lake Erie, they arrived at Point Pelee, just east of the mouth of the Detroit river. Unconscious of danger, they landed to gather fuel, when a band of Wyandots in the service of Pontiac attacked them so suddenly that all but thirty, who escaped in their boats, were taken prisoners. To the inmates of the fort at Detroit the fate of the thirty soldiers was uncertain, but a well-grounded hope consoled them that they would reach Niagara, the place from whence they had started, and give information of the catastrophe by which their attempt to bring relief had miscarried. Fortunately this was the case. They arrived safely at Ft. Schlosser, the place where the vessel lay at anchor which had been sent to meet them, but, passing them unobserved, had kept on her course. All haste was now made by Major Wilkins, the commander of Ft. Niagara, to send succor to the beleaguered garrison. Thirty soldiers were added to the thirty fugitives, and the whole em-

* Of the various versions of this encounter, the one bearing the strongest marks of consistency has been chosen. Cass is the authority for it. See Lanman's Michigan, p. 111.

† Ft. Schlosser was only a sub-post of Ft. Niagara—a kind of starting-place above the Falls, for supplies taken from Ft. Niagara by a porterage around the Falls.

barked under command of Cuyler, who was one of those who had escaped. While they are pressing sail for Detroit, let us take a view of the situation there.

The appalling spectacle of over sixty English soldiers being dragged by the fort by the hands of the savages, was the darkest hour of the siege. Yells of delight burst from their throats as they gathered them into their camp, determined to make the most of them in the way of revenge. First, they were stripped naked and set up for target practice with their arrows, in which the warriors indulged to their hearts' content. But the women and children must have a chance at them before the vital spark became extinct, and their flesh was punctured with the ends of burning sticks by these ingenious tormentors. The tomahawk and scalping-knife finished up the unhallowed work. Their blood was drank as it ran in warm streams from their lacerated veins. Parts of their flesh were made into soup and eaten, and their bodies thrown into the river.

The summer twilight had died away and the sentinels were pacing their nightly vigils, when two French inhabitants came to the fort and brought tidings of this massacre. The silence of death pervaded the place at its recital, till the silence was broken by speculations as to the time when relief could come. The next day the bodies of their tortured fellow-soldiers came floating down the river.

Eighteen days of suspense now hung over the garrison, when a rumor came that a sail had been descried. This was June 19th. On the 23d the news was confirmed by M. Baby, a French inhabitant of Detroit, whose discreet friendship had already rendered essential service to the garrison, without compromising his influence with Pontiac. The vessel did not arrive till the 30th, so great was the caution of Cuyler, the commander, to avoid the toils and ambuscades of the Indians along the channel of the river, as it curled among the cluster of islands just above its mouth. Notwithstanding his caution, however, an attempt was made by them to board his vessel as she lay at anchor in the night, but an unexpected discharge of cannon and musketry made them pay dearly for their temerity.

The fort, now recruited with an ample store of provisions and sixty men, they could breathe freer.

On the 23d of the previous month, Pontiac summoned a convention for the purpose of enlisting the French in his cause. According to the usual custom, mats were spread on the green for the accommodation of the notables, who had been invited to take places of honor at the grave sitting. Said Pontiac, in his speech:

"Until now, I have avoided urging you this subject, in the

hope that, if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe you would take part with them. You will say you are not with them. I know it; but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You will tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English, we declare war against you."

To this argument the French replied that their king had tied their hands against injuring the English, when he made peace with them, and, as a proof, produced a copy of the capitulation. "Untie this knot and we will join you." The perplexed orator was silent, but his unconquerable will won a few private recruits from the savage transcendentalism that always exists in border life, and constitutes a class defiant and aggressive, as it is regardless of consequences. These neophytes in savage warfare were received with appropriate honors by Pontiac, who patronizingly extended his hand to them and presented the pipe with gravity, and the council was dismissed.

Pontiac next conceived the design of burning the two English vessels that lay beside the fort, by means of fire-rafts, and to this end tore down some stables belonging to the French, for materials out of which to make them. The rafts were freighted with a plentiful supply of tar and pitch, fired, and started afloat above the vessels, under cover of a dark night. When the blazing crafts came toward the vessels they turned aside and passed harmlessly down the river, thanks to the preparations Gladwin had made for their not unexpected visit.

On the 29th of July, a fresh arrival came to the fort. It consisted of 22 barges and 280 men, commanded by Capt. Dalzell, an able officer who had been a companion of Israel Putnam.* Major Rogers was also one of the officers of the reinforcement, who commanded a few veteran Rangers, for which service he had attained a high reputation. Capt. Dalzell was for immediately taking the offensive, and an expedition was planned to march against Pontiac's camp and strike a decisive and unexpected blow.

The following account of the unlucky sortie is copied from Lanman's Michigan:

"On the morning of the 31st of July, about two o'clock, Capt. Dalzell, with a force of 247 men, marched up the Detroit river, toward Pontiac's camp; while two gun-boats in the river were

* Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I., p. 308.

pushed against the stream to cover the retreat and take off the wounded and dead. Information of this contemplated attack had been in some mode communicated to the Indians, and they removed their women and children, and prepared for the reception of the British troops. A party of warriors was stationed behind the pickets upon a neighboring farm,* and another at Bloody Run, which is about a mile and a half from Detroit on the main road. Here they were concealed in the high grass behind pickets and heaps of cord-wood.† The British party had reached the bridge, when a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from the cord-wood and the grass. This threw them into the utmost confusion. At the first fire Dalzell fell. The British fought with desperation, but were attacked on all sides, and a vigorous charge was made by the bayonet upon the positions of the Indians; but a scattering fire was kept up by the savages from every place that could furnish them a cover. At length, finding that their situation was perilous, the British were ordered to retire, which was effected without serious loss, under the direction of Capt. Grant, aided by Major Rogers.‡ This retreat was covered on the shore of the Detroit river by the armed gun-boats, and the whole party arrived at the fort about 8 o'clock. It was effected by driving the Indians from house to house and field to field, until a line of defense could be made toward the fort. In this action, according to the official returns, there were 19 killed and 42 wounded. The place of its occurrence is called Bloody Run."

Pontiac lost no time in sending the news of this victory to his allies far and near, to rekindle the war-spirit afresh, and new recruits soon came in, sufficient to supply the places of such as had deserted. Gladwin was therefore still forced to maintain a heroic defense, without the least relaxation of discipline. They were ever on the watch, for but a brief cessation of their vigils might bring destruction to the entire garrison.

As autumn drew near, Gladwin sent one of his vessels to Niagara for supplies for the winter; and on her return, while lying one night in the river, only nine miles below the fort, a large body of Indians approached her in their canoes, and so dark was the night that they were close by before they were seen, although a vigilant watch was kept up. The order to fire was immediately given, which was obeyed; but the next moment the Indians were in the act of boarding the vessel. The crew, only ten in

* That of Mr. Dequindre.

† Consult Cass, Drake, and Thatcher.

‡ A bottle of brandy was at one time sent to Pontiac by Col. Rogers, and his warriors cautioned him not to taste it, lest it might be poisoned. Pontiac, however, rejected their advice. "He cannot take my life," said the Ottawa chief; "I have saved his."

number, assailed them with hatchets and spears, killing them as fast as their heads appeared above the railing. Still, the Indians, with desperate resolution, pressed against the deck of the little schooner with increased force, apparently determined to capture her at any sacrifice. Some of them had now clambered over the railing and already gained the deck, when the captain, wisely choosing death from explosion, to Indian torture, called out—"Blow up the vessel!" Startled at this desperate resort, the Indians leaped into the river, diving under the water as a screen from the expected flying missiles of the exploded vessel, while those in the canoes by her side pulled away in hot haste. The Indians, not caring to be blown to pieces, made no farther attempts to capture the vessel, and she reached the fort the next morning. The captain and one of the crew were killed and four others wounded. The six uninjured survivors, among whom was Jacobs, the mate, as they appeared before Gladwin to relate the circumstances of the encounter, bore the marks of its fierceness on their garments, sprinkled as they were with the blood of their foes, while their spears and hatchets were stained like butchers' tools.*

The season was now so far advanced that that no farther supplies or reinforcements could be expected till the next summer, and the garrison must make the most of the provisions just brought them by the heroic crew, though barely sufficient to sustain them through the winter. Meantime, the Indians began to run short of provisions as well as ammunition, and of the new recruits who had recently swelled the ranks of Pontiac none remained through the winter, while most of those who had borne the brunt in besieging the place from the first, were compelled by necessity to take to the distant forests for subsistence. Some of these sent in treacherous peace proposals to Gladwin, who accepted them for what they were worth, but placed no confidence in their stability. Even Pontiac broke through the line of his incarnate hatred to the English, sent a peace message to Gladwin, and retired to the Maumee rapids to spend the winter. Comparative quiet thus restored, the garrison rested while they watched through the succeeding winter.

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* Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. I., pp. 320, 321.

CHAPTER VII.

Ft. Pitt Besieged by the Indians—Fate of Fts. Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango—Col. Bouquet marches to the Relief of Ft. Pitt—Battle of Bushy Run—Gen. Amherst resigns his position as Commander-in-Chief, and Gen. Gage is appointed his successor—Sir Wm. Johnson calls an Indian Convention at Niagara—Gen. Bradstreet marches to the Relief of Detroit—Col. Bouquet invades the Indian Country on the Muskingum River—Holds a Council with the Indians—Demands the Rendition of Captives—Passionate emotions of forest life—Preliminaries of Peace—The army returns to the frontier settlements in Pennsylvania with 206 returned captives.

On the head-waters of the Ohio the French and Indian war began. It terminated in Canada, as far as the French issue was concerned; but the overthrow of the French armies brought the Anglo-Americans into close relations with the Indians of the interior, and on the head-waters of the Ohio the two rival elements met each other. Here stood Ft. Pitt, amid the desolations of savage warfare. To the west, a continent spread out its vast extent, yet unknown; and even to the east, for one hundred and fifty miles, the savage foe had ranged the country in triumph, and killed or led into captivity the hapless settlers along the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. More than a thousand families had fled before these merciless invaders, to save themselves from the fate of the first victims of their vengeance.

Capt. Simeon Ecuyer, an able officer, of Swiss nationality, held command of Ft. Pitt. Its garrison numbered 300 men. During the interval between the close of the French and Indian war and Pontiac's renewal of war on savage account, twenty or thirty families had settled around the fort, under protection of its guns; but as soon as the war-whoop again rang through the forests, the few Indian traders of the Ohio country who had escaped the tomahawk, took refuge within its walls, and with them the families adjacent.*

* Loskiel, the Moravian historian, a co-worker of Heckewelder and Post, on page 99, relates a plot of the Indians to capture the traders in the vicinity of Sandusky, which challenges a parallel for audacity. The traders were told that the

On the 22d of June, the first attack was made, but was evidently premature in its conception. The fire was kept up throughout the day and the succeeding night, killing two men in the fort. The next morning, a parley ensued, in which a Delaware chief, under the guise of friendship, told Ecuyer that all the western forts had been taken, and if he wished to save the lives of his soldiers, as well as his women and children, he must leave the fort at once and retreat to the English settlements; otherwise they would all be killed by the great army of Indians who were marching against the place. Ecuyer thanked the chief for his good intentions, to which he also retorted that as a friend he would advise him to instantly retreat into the forests, as a large English army were on their way to the place. This information, gravely told as it was, nonplussed the chief, and the Indians betook themselves to the forest, thinking it might be true.

Four days after this riddance, there came to the fort a fugitive from Presque Isle, bringing the first positive tidings of the progress of the war. The place had been taken, and all but himself killed, was the news he brought.* The same day, eight soldiers, almost dead with hunger, came in from Ft. Le Bœuf. The whole number of their garrison was but thirteen, under charge of Capt. Price. They had defended the place with heroic valor till its walls were half consumed by the flames, when, by a secret exit, they made their escape under cover of night, unbeknown to the savages. Pushing their way down French Creek to Venango, with the intention of helping to defend it, they found the place already burnt to ashes, while the bones and half-consumed flesh of its garrison, which lay scattered around, admonished them of the fate they had escaped. Thence they continued their course down the Allegheny river, and finally reached Ft. Pitt.

The next day, two more fugitives came in, who had lagged behind for want of strength to travel, having been accidentally separated from their companions. The fate of the three remaining soldiers never became known.

Ft. Pitt, now severed from all communication with the outer world, kept a vigilant watch for the foe, who was daily expected,

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tribes to the west were about to make war on the English, with the determination to kill every one of them. This fate could be averted if the traders would become their prisoners, by which condition they could claim protection. Of course, their arms must be given up; and, to make the deception complete, they had better be bound. The credulous traders consented, submitted their muscular limbs to the thongs of the savages, when they were killed with little ceremony, and their goods taken.

* This informer had fled before the fate of the garrison was known. Christie, the commander, was taken a captive to Detroit, and soon escaped from custody and joined Gladwin. The fate of the soldiers has never been brought to light, leaving little doubt that they were killed.

but did not come till the 26th of July, when the adjacent woods again became animated with warriors, tented outside of the range of its guns, hungry for revenge. Before commencing hostilities, they wished to hold a council. Shingis, the famous old Delaware chief, was the orator, and the following is a part of his speech:

"Brothers, we wish to hold fast the chair of friendship—that ancient chain which our forefathers held with their brethren the English. You have let your end of the chain fall to the ground, but ours is still fast in our hands. Why do you complain that our young men have fired at your soldiers, and killed your cattle and your horses? You yourselves are the cause of this. You marched your armies into our country and built forts here, though we told you again and again that we wished you to remove.

"My brothers, this land is ours and not yours. If you leave this place immediately and go home to your wives and children, no harm will come of it; but if you stay, you must blame yourselves alone for what may happen."

Ten years before, he had conferred with Washington on this very spot, and had rendered him essential service when he came to warn the French out of the country. Since that time, however, Shingis had been forced into an alliance with the French by the war-cry of his tribe; but since the peace with France, he had again been an advocate for peace with the English, but, withal, a tenacious defender of Indian rights. For this he challenges our respectful memory.

Ecuyer's reply to his inadmissible but not unreasonable request (if the savages had not forfeited their natural rights), was unnecessarily harsh. He told him the forts were built for the benefit of the Indians, to supply them with clothing and ammunition, and threatened to blow him to pieces if he ever appeared again before him. The chief, with accumulated feelings of resentment, left the council with Turtle's-Heart and his other associates, and immediately set about environing the fort. It occupied a sharp tongue of land at the confluence of the two rivers, which unite here. Its walls had been built by Gen. Stanwix in 1759, at so great an expense that it was regarded as a monument of British power in the wilds of America, worth commemorating in the archives of the British Museum, where drawings of it are still preserved. Of course, any attempt of the Indians to take it was rash; but, nevertheless, they crept under its walls, along the river, in the night, buried themselves in holes in the earth, like ground-hogs, and kept up a brisk but ineffectual fire on the place for three days. Twenty of their number being killed, they withdrew in the night, and the serenity of the fort was again restored, as the last echo of savage bedlam rang from the high

bank across the river. Only one man was killed in the fort and six wounded, among whom was Ecuyer slightly.

To send an army to the relief of the place, but more especially to the relief of the border settlements, was the first pressing necessity, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst, whose headquarters were still at New York, had already set about doing this in June, the previous month. He had formed too low an estimate of the power of the Indians for mischief, and had been slow in his preparations to meet the emergency, but, fortunately for the country, the men employed in the service had made up in effectiveness for the tardiness of the commanding general.

To Col. Bouquet was given the command of the expedition for the relief of Ft. Pitt. He was an able Swiss officer, who had served during the French and Indian war. In accordance with his instructions, after leaving Carlisle, he took up his march for Ft. Pitt, at the head of 600 men. This place reinforced, the whole Pennsylvania border would be rescued from the merciless forays of the Indians.

On the 5th of August he arrived at a place called Bushy Run, twenty-five miles from Ft. Pitt, and a less distance from the fatal field of Braddock. Here he was attacked by an army of savages, about equal to his own in numbers, and it is not too much to say that the annals of Indian warfare furnish no record of a more sanguinary battle. For two days the contest raged. Charge after charge was made by the Indians and repelled, till at last the victory was decided by a retreat on the part of Bouquet, by which timely piece of strategy the Indians, in their headlong pursuit after what they supposed to be a defeated army, were brought within a flanking fire of Bouquet's veterans. A decisive victory followed, and Bouquet reached Ft. Pitt on the 10th, without further molestation.

Never did the red cross of St. George shine with more resplendent luster than when, borne aloft by the triumphant victors, it suddenly emerged from the forest path into the open glade that environed the fort. The wounded soldiers were tenderly nursed, and the garrison felt an assurance that no farther trouble need be feared from the enemy.

The next spring Amherst resigned his position as commander-in-chief, and Gen. Gage, a more practical man, was his successor. However well he was qualified to command large bodies of men, he had failed in the minor details of the late Indian campaign.

While Gladwin had enough to do to keep his savage besiegers from breaking over his frail defenses at Detroit, Amherst had ordered him to garrison the forts that had been taken at Michilmackinac and other places. He further showed his mistaken notions of the situation by offering a reward of one hundred

pounds to any one who would kill Pontiac. Instructions to this effect were sent to Gladwin August 10th, 1763,* but there is no evidence that he ever fulfilled the indiscreet measure; had he done which, the resentment of the Indians would have been stimulated to a higher pitch than ever.

The borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania were still in the breach, and it was determined to send an expedition into the interior beyond the Ohio, to set at rest any future apprehension of invasion. The command of it was to be given to Col. Bouquet. It was equally important to relieve Detroit, and an expedition was to be sent for that purpose, under Gen. Bradstreet.

The mistaken policy of Gen. Amherst, by which he had refused the offer of provincial troops for the service, had been sufficiently demonstrated by the tardy progress of the war for the past year, and it was now determined by Gen. Gage to raise a sufficient force of colonial troops to make the two expeditions planned for the campaign of 1764 a success.

On the 30th of May, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a resolution to raise 1000 men; New York was called upon for 1400; New Jersey for 600; and New England for her proportionate number. Virginia was only required to defend her own borders; but, besides doing this, she generously raised 300 men to fill the deficiency of Pennsylvania deserters from the ranks after her quota had been filled for Bouquet's expedition. The Quakers were the cause of this delinquency. They were in favor of conciliation with the Indians, rather than war; but at the same time there was a ruffian element in that State, whose persistent practice in the other extreme went beyond the bounds of humanity. Many peaceful Indians, against whom no evidence of disloyalty could be brought, had been murdered by these men.†

Of the two expeditions planned for the campaign of 1764, Bradstreet's was ready first. Late in June, at the head of 1200 men, he started from Albany; thence up the Mohawk river he took his course, crossed Oneida lake, and went down the river connecting it with Lake Ontario at Oswego. From this place Ft. Niagara was soon reached. Here his boats were drawn up the bank, and the whole army tented under the friendly guns of Ft. Niagara.

Sir William Johnson had summoned a grand Indian council to meet here, and the red delegations had already begun to assemble. Even to the far distant tribes along the upper waters of the Mississippi and on the Ottawa river of Canada, the trusty Indian messengers of Johnson had carried invitations to meet the English Father at Ft. Niagara and listen to his speech. Had this

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* Bancroft, vol. V., p. 132. † Loskiel; Heckewelder

convention been called the year before, no notice would have been taken of it, and the messengers who carried the invitation would have been lucky to have escaped alive from the Ottawas or the Shawanese, and would have been received in no friendly manner by any of the western tribes; but now the situation was changed. The war had been persisted in for over a year and the Indians were nearly destitute of ammunition, as well as such other elements of civilization as their fur trade for the past century had rendered indispensable to their existence. Under this duress, all the tribes of the country responded to the call, though the Ottawas, Shawanese, Ohio Delawares, and Senecas, came with reluctance.

The object of the council was to secure the friendship and confidence of such as were wavering in their loyalty to Pontiac, and these now constituted the majority of the entire Indian population. Over two thousand warriors were present, all told. To each tribe, Sir William, with consummate skill, addressed a few words, calculated to turn their wills in favor of the English. A judicious distribution of presents and a moderate dispensation of tobacco and whisky did the rest. All that was expected now being accomplished, the different delegations separately withdrew, and the tumult that had reigned around Niagara for weeks finally died away, as the last savage band took up their march for their distant lodges in the wilderness, each with an increased respect for the English.

The way was now clear for the advance of Gen. Bradstreet's army, and, reinforced by 200 friendly Indians and a few companies of Canadian French, he embarked from Ft. Schlosser, above the Falls, on the 8th of August.* Coasting along the southern shore of Lake Erie, in accordance with his instructions from Gen. Gage to act against the Ohio Indians, he first landed at Presque Isle. Here a delegation of Shawanese and Delawares came to his camp with peace proposals. The occasion was untimely for a treaty, and the little band who proposed it by no means represented the policy of their tribes. Bradstreet, however, waived the ordinary conventionalities of savage diplomacy and made a treaty with them, based on the conditions that they should deliver up their captives. No harm could have come from this, had the conditions been fulfilled; but on the arrival of Bradstreet at Sandusky, the place assigned for the delivery of the captives, instead of doing this, the wily redskins amused him further by promising to conclude a definite treaty on his arrival at Detroit. By this clever ruse, the Ohio tribes had averted the vengeance of the English for a time; but ere long they

* Alexander Henry had been redeemed with other captives, after being taken to Montreal, joined Bradstreet's army at Niagara, and returned as far as Detroit with him.

were destined to answer to another officer, and be forced to fulfill the conditions which as yet they had evaded.

The summer was now well-nigh spent, and Bradstreet took his departure from Sandusky, and, continuing his ceurse along the lake shore, arrived at Detroit, his final destination, on the 26th of August. His force was too formidable for even the most hostile Indians to think of attacking, and his passage up the river was greeted with cheers from the Wyandots, who, the year before, had taken sixty captives from Cuyler's detachment, and had doubtless eaten their full share of the soup made of their flesh; but now they were ready to make peace, not because they were at heart better reconciled to the English, but because they were unable to protract the war for want of means.

The garrison were in transports as boat after boat pulled up to the landing opposite the fort, to supply their places with fresh men. The tedium of fifteen months isolation from the freedom of the surrounding country was now relieved. Confinement, even in a palace filled with luxuries, soon becomes irksome. The glitter of its garnished walls palls upon the senses—the bounties of the board cloy the appetite—elastic cushions lose their comfort—and downy beds refuse rest. How, then, must the heart of the soldier rebound when released from his pent-up and comfortless barracks, and he is again allowed to go forth without the fear of being shot by the first one he meets?

After the first effusion of military courtesies was over, Bradstreet set about the business of the campaign; but, in truth, there was little to be accomplished. Pontiac, the moving spirit of the war, was at the Maumee Rapids, surrounded by a sort of forlorn hope of unrelenting spirits like himself, who were not yet cultured into a submissive frame of mind. The year before, Pontiac's confidence in the ability of the Indians to drive the English out of the country was unshaken; now he was a fugitive, and time was required to make a bridge of reconciliation over the intervening chasm—or, in other words, to come down to the practicable, and make the best of the situation. As he could not yet do this, he refused to attend a council to which he had been invited by Bradstreet, to be held at Detroit on the 10th of September. The Ottawas were, however, represented by Wasson, the chief who, in a fit of revenge, had slain the estimable Col. Campbell the previous year. The other belligerent tribes, except the Delawares and Shawanese, were represented by their respective chiefs; but the convention, lacking the true Indian spirit of reciprocity, was a tame affair.

Bradstreet demanded that they should become subjects of the king of England and call him father, to which the Indians assented, without comprehending the nature of the obligation. Wasson made a speech that, but for its brevity, might have been

uttered by the Bishop of London: "Last year, God forsook us. God has now opened our eyes. It is God's will our hearts are altered; it is God's will there should be peace and tranquility over the face of the earth and of the waters." Such were the words of the sentimental savage, who appears to have been the orator of the day on the part of the Indians.

When the council was over, Bradstreet sent a suitable force, under Capt. Howard, to take possession of and garrison the posts of Michilimackinac, Green Bay, and Ste. Marie—all of which was accomplished without opposition.

He now started on his return, stopping at Sandusky on his way, to enforce the fulfillment of the slip-shod treaty he had made with the Shawanese and Delawares on his outward passage. These tribes, however, were too cunning to be easily brought to terms. After wasting his time in procrastination till the season was too far advanced for warlike measures, Bradstreet hastily departed, without securing the rendition of a single captive or any other substantial marks of submission. For this inefficient conduct he was justly censured by Gen. Gage.

Let us now return to Ft. Pitt, from which the expedition under Bouquet was to penetrate the savage realms of the Indians, in places hitherto held sacred to barbarism, if the expression is admissible. It had been the intention of Gen. Gage to have Bradstreet at Sandusky, fighting the Wyandots and Delawares, while Bouquet was attacking the Indian towns on the Muskingum; but this strategic co-operation miscarried, owing to the hindrances in getting the forces into the field, destined for the interior service under Bouquet. It was not till the 5th of August that Bouquet's army were ready. Carlisle was its place of rendezvous. It consisted of the Pennsylvania provincials, 200 friendly Indians, and the 42d and 60th regiments of British regulars. On the 13th the army reached Ft. Loudon. Here Gen. Boquet received a despatch from Gen. Bradstreet, dated Presque Isle, August 14th, informing him of the treaty he had made at that place with the Delawares and Shawanese; but his quick penetration readily saw that Bradstreet had exceeded his instructions in making the treaty, and that it had no binding force with the Indians, and he pressed on with the campaign.

On his arrival at Ft. Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the opposite bank of the river, wishing to have a talk with him; but when boats were sent to ferry them over, only three ventured to go. These not giving a consistent account of their good intentions were detained as spies. On the 20th of September he tested the fidelity of one of them, by sending him to the Delawares and Shawanese, reminding them of certain hostile acts they had committed since they had signed the treaty with Bradstreet. This message delivered, he was to proceed to Detroit

and deliver another at that place; in default of the faithful performance of which, the two remaining comrades of the messenger still in the custody of Bouquet, were to be put to death.

On the 3d of October all were ready, and the first white army of Americans that ever penetrated the interior of the West took up its march toward the heart of the Indian country. It numbered 1500 men, besides teamsters and a goodly number of mothers whose children had been taken captive by the Indians, while among the soldiers were not a few whose wives had been abducted into savage captivity. On the 5th, the army reached Logstown, the place rendered memorable as the spot where Washington had held council with Half-King eleven years before. On the 6th, continuing its course westwardly, it passed a village built by the French and deserted by them when Forbes took Ft. Duquesne. On the 14th, while encamped in the valley of the Muskingum, the Indian messenger despatched from Ft. Pitt with letters to Bradstreet, came in. He had been detained by the Delawares till Bouquet's army had penetrated the country, and, not desiring to keep him any longer, they had despatched him back to Bouquet, to inform him that they would soon send in peace proposals.

Bouquet was now in the heart of the Indian country, and could easily descend upon the various Indian towns and destroy their crops, in case they should not comply with his demands. Of this the Indians were well aware, and, on the 17th, a large delegation of Seneca, Delaware, and Shawanese chiefs came in with peace proposals. The Delawares had violated their treaty made with Bradstreet at Presque Isle, and were at their wits' ends to know how to frame a plausible apology · but they made the best of the situation, smothered their pride, and asked for peace. To these overtures Bouquet, in stern language, reminded the Indians of their treachery and of the feeling of just resentment which filled the hearts of mothers, brothers, sisters, and husbands of captives now in their possession. These aggrieved relatives were on the spot to receive them; and he closed by saying, "I give you twelve days to deliver into my hands, at Wakatamake, all the prisoners in your possession, without exception—Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children, whether adopted in your tribes, married or living among you under any pretense whatever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions, and horses to carry them to Ft. Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

The day of humiliation for the Indians had now come, from which there was no escape, and they made haste to do the bidding of Bouquet. Eighteen captives were immediately brought

in by the Delawares, and the other tribes made preparations to fulfil the required conditions, though the Shawanese, in their despair, were tormented between hope and fear, and at one time formed the cruel resolution to kill all the captives in their hands, under an impression that the English had come to destroy their whole tribe. Happily, however, this mistaken idea was corrected, and, on the 12th of the succeeding month, nearly all the captives had been brought in, and the final conference was held, a few miles distant from the place first appointed.

The number of captives brought in was 206, of whom 32 males and 58 females were from Virginia, and 49 males and 67 females from Pennsylvania. Many of them were children who had never known any other but Indian mothers, and were in no wise different from other children of the forest, except a slight distinction in the color of the skin, and even this had been darkly shaded by the sun and wind. They were now brought into the presence of their own mothers, from whose breasts they had been savagely torn during the French and Indian war; and many a mother's heart was filled with joy at the restoration of a long-lost child, whose uncertain fate had, ever since its capture, been a painful image of despair, relieved only by dreams of hope. Other mothers, who looked in vain among the captives for their lost children, were doomed to a redoubled sense of grief, as conviction was forced upon them that they had fallen victims to the tomahawk. No small amount of tender persuasion was required to reconcile the redeemed waifs to their natural mothers, and, when the parting scene came, their adopted mothers gave vent to tears and lamentations, which measured the depths of their affection for these objects of their care. Among the youth who still retained recollections of their native homes, many were unwilling subjects of rendition. Some of them had to be bound and brought in by force, and after they had been returned to civilized society, took the first favorable opportunity to escape from their kindred into savage life.

Among the adult captives, some of the young women had married Indian braves, and were living in harmonious marital relations with their lords, contented to do the drudgery of the lodge like good squaws. An example of fidelity on the part of a Mingo chief to a young female captive from Pennsylvania, whom he intended to make his wife, is recorded, which, in constancy and devotion, ought to satisfy the most exacting coquetry of courtly etiquette. With melting tenderness, he parted from the object of his affections at the camp where the captives were received, on the banks of the Muskingum, and, impelled by those emotions that lovers can understand better than the pen of History can describe, he hung about the camp, with no reasonable hope of ever seeing her again, and every day brought some choice bit

of food for her. When the army of Bouquet withdrew, he followed it all the way to the frontiers, continuing his daily supply of choice game for the benefit of the mistress of his affections. Had he entered the settlements, he would have been shot at sight. Of this he was amply warned by the soldiers, and, just before reaching them, he reluctantly lingered behind, while the receding columns of the army that bore away his mistress vanished forever from his sight, when he retraced his long and lonesome path to the wilderness lodges of his people.

Bouquet left his camp on the 18th of November, and arrived at Ft. Pitt on the 28th. Here he left a garrison of regulars and withdrew with the volunteers and captives to the settlements. The succeeding January, 1765, the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted him a resolution of thanks for his efficient services. Virginia did the same soon afterward. The next year he went to Pensacola, where he died.

In vain may the records of progress in civilization be searched for a parallel to the episode presented at the rendition of these captives. Here two extremes came into rivalship with each other, unshackled by the influences which stimulate lazy intellects and feeble purposes by emulation in the world of culture and education. Savage life imposes no restraint upon the individual except what might come from a loose estimate of social standing. A number of scalps taken from an enemy are essential to the reputation of a warrior, and a bountiful supply of game secures fame as a hunter. These honors are hedged in by no monopoly or intricate theories based on precedent, and it is no marvel that the simple child of the forest, whether a renegade from white settlements or an Indian, should stand appalled before the labyrinthian mazes through which a high niche may be attained in the great temple of civilization, and shrink from entering the lists for rivalship for a place in this temple, which appears like a sealed mystery to him. Under this forlorn duress, he buries himself in the forest and studies the physical features of nature, with no possible clue to its grander beauties revealed by science. His wants are measured by nature's demands only—blind to the unfathomable depths of educated longings for more. Eccentric philosophy peculiar to frontier life sometimes prefers the savage state, rather than brook the ills of what, with no impropriety, may be called the loose screws in our civilization, which time may tighten up and perfect the beneficent fabric held together by them, into a great leveler of all distinctions not based on merit.

[NOTE.—Immediately after the return of Bouquet to Philadelphia, a book was published, giving an historical account of his expedition, which had excited universal emotions of gratitude. It was reprinted in London by T. Jefferies, shortly afterward, bearing date of 1766 It forms the basis of the foregoing account.]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Illinois Country—Slavery—The Lead Trade—LaClede's Grant—Ft. Chartres—Settlement of St. Louis—Louisiana ceded to Spain—The English under Major Loftus, attempt to penetrate to the Illinois Country by way of the Mississippi—Are repulsed—Geo. Croghan—He advances to the Illinois Country—Is taken prisoner—Is released—Holds a Council with his Indian captors, and brings them to terms favorable to the English—Items from his Journal—The Illinois Country taken possession of by Captain Sterling—Proclamation of Gen. Gage—Early Governors of the Illinois Country—Pontiac in Council with Sir William Johnson—He resigns his ambitious designs—His death and its consequences—Chicago, the Indian Chief.

At the extreme verge of settlements in the great Interior the French villages of the Illinois country still nestled in quietude among the vine-clad bluffs of the Mississippi. Ever since 1720 the lead mines of Galena had been worked by individual enterprise, in which branch of industry the Indians had been sharers with the French. Philip Francis Reynault had been the prime mover in this trade; the same who in 1720 had introduced slavery among the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the adjacent villages, to work the mines under the impression that the country abounded in mineral wealth. The lead trade, besides the trades in peltries and furs, had been turned toward New Orleans since Fort Frontenac had been taken in 1758, during the height of the late war, and now that it had terminated in despoiling the French of all their American possessions east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, it was in the natural course of events that they should by every means in their power exert themselves to secure the trade of the Upper Mississippi to themselves, by making New Orleans, which was still a French port, a commercial outlet to the sea, for the still immense possessions of France west of the Mississippi river.

With this end in view, Pierre Ligueste La Clede, in 1763, obtained a grant for trading in the upper country, from M. D. Abbadie, the French Governor of Louisiana, which territory embraced the entire country on the immediate west bank of the Mississippi, of which New Orleans, on the east bank, was the metropolis. He immediately organized a company under the style of La Clede, Maxon & Co., purchased a stock of goods, and starting up the river, reached a small missionary station named St. Genevieve, on the third of November. Here he would have fixed his headquarters, but as he could find no place to store his goods, he crossed the Mississippi and established himself at Ft. Chartres. Though the place was still in French possession, it was liable at any time to be shadowed by an English flag, according to the treaty of peace, and to establish himself permanently under French rule, he determined to lay out a town on the west bank of the river, as a grand commercial center to which the trade of the Upper Mississippi should tend. Everything was made ready on the fifteenth of February, 1764, and this was the date when the ground was first scarred for his trading post, where the city of St. Louis now stands. Shortly afterwards, he laid out streets from which began the great city whose marvelous growth has found no rival in the whole interior, except Chicago; nor did its rivalship begin until a late period, even within the memory of many of her present citizens.

Its name, after Louis XIV., is a monument grand as it is enduring, of early French power in America. That the site was well chosen, her future greatness has proved. Here the hydraulic forces of nature, if rivers may be called such, gather their tributary waters from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains to a common center, not distant from the site of the city, while below the mouth of the Ohio, not a spot could be found above New Orleans which could command extensive connections by navigable waters, with any large amount of territory.

Many of the inhabitants of the Illinois country crossed the river and joined La Clede's settlement, in order to remain under the rule of their native land, but, alas for their loyalty to the Lilies! The French King had already, on November second, 1762, by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, ceded Louisiana to Spain, and ere a year's residence, they were astonished by the publication of the treaty which made them subjects of Spain—a country which they despised.

When the news came, it was received in New Orleans with a storm of indignation—tasking the utmost efforts of the officers of the French crown to suppress a rebellion on the spot, rather than come under Spanish rule. Abbadie, the governor, was in feeble health, and the universal discontent weighed heavily upon

him, when, as if to add to the general turmoil, an importunate delegation of Indians came to him from Pontiac, begging assistance wherewith to renew the war against the English. These could not be turned away without a respectful hearing which was granted, and a softened reply made by the amiable official who survived the accumulated agitation but two or three days, passing away with his mind distracted by the vanishing fortunes of French power in America.

The destinies of the immense interior, with its forests and prairies, its rivers and its lakes, spread out in a mysterious expanse on the face of nature, were now, by the fortunes of war, secured to the English; but how to take possession of them was yet a problem not fully solved. In 1764 the English took possession of Florida by virtue of a treaty with Spain of the preceding year,* and from thence an English post was established on Bayou Manchæ, on the Mississippi river. From the latter place Major Loftus was ordered to push his way up the Mississippi with a force of three hundred men, to take possession of the Illinois country.

While laboring against the current on his way, with his lumbersome barges, he was suddenly attacked by the Tunica Indians, who poured a volley of shot among his men, first from one side of the river and next from the other, when he immediately retreated to Pensacola; and the scheme of reaching the Illinois country by the way of the Mississippi was indefinitely postponed, or rather substituted by a more direct approach to it by the way of the Ohio,† and up the Mississippi when it was reached. This route would bring the English direct to Ft. Chartres, the stronghold of the French, without a wilderness march among a people whose love for them had become a passion.

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*During the American Revolution in 1781, the Spaniards wrested Florida from the English, and at the Peace of Paris in 1783, it was guaranteed to that power, and retained till it was ceded to the United States by Spain, in 1818.

†In a letter from James Rivington, of New York, to Sir Wm. Johnson, dated February 20, 1764, the following passage occurs, which is inserted to show the forlorn character with which any attempt to penetrate the Interior at that time was regarded: "The 22nd Regiment, consisting of 300 Men under Majr. An. Loftus, is gone up the Mississipi to take post (if they can) at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois Country. Query, how many will return to give accounts of the the rest?" At the close of the letter, speaking of Gen. Amherst, he says: "The ship New Hope arrived from England on Saturday morning; in her came an officer who affirms that there is an extreme great outcry against General Amherst, wch is supported by all the army that served in America now in England & that Col. Lee of ye 44th is now employing himself in writing upon the conduct of that officer during his command in this country."

Mss. papers of Sir William Johnson; see Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II., p. 809.

It evident that the glorious termination of the war was due more to the soldiers than to the leadership of Amherst, whose Procrustean rules were ill adapted to bush fighting.—[Author.

The situation was complicated by a triple combination of adverse influences, and required the utmost discretion on the part of those entrusted with the service of overcoming the obstacles in the way of establishing English authority in this remote frontier, where a unanimous feeling went against it. The year before Pontiac had been there and exhausted his powers of savage rhetoric to enlist the French in his desperate cause, and renew the attack on the English. The discreet St. Ange, who held military command of the country, was at his wits' end to know how to answer the importunate hero whose schemes were as impracticable as his popularity was universal, but by dint of much circumspection managed to preserve his good fellowship with the Indians by a very respectful demeanor towards Pontiac, while he declined any aid to his cause. The irresponsible traders, however, did not share this wise policy which would bring no grists to their mill, whatever it might do for the public good; for when the English came, they would have to either take a subordinate interest under them, or quit their calling. Under this contingency they did their utmost to inflame the minds of the Indians against the English.

Even in those primitive times commercial rivalship between the northern route to the sea, by the way of the Ohio, in competition to the already established thoroughfare of the Mississippi, was not without its influence, and a double precaution became necessary in the next attempt to penetrate these outermost bounds of French settlements, which had as yet enjoyed an uninterrupted peace during the past ten years of sanguinary war. Sir William Johnson, who was Superintendent of Indian affairs, had in his employ an able officer named George Croghan, who acted as his deputy at distant points beyond his reach, and he was selected by Gen. Gage as the fittest person known to advance into the country still held by the French and influence both them and the Indians in favor of the English, as a preparatory step to pave the way for the force which was soon to follow. Fort Pitt was the place from which he was to embark on his dangerous mission, but he was detained here a month to receive the last installment of captives from the Shawaneese, which had been promised to Bouquet the year before, and who could not be delivered to him at that time on account of their absence on a hunt. Meantime, inauspicious news came to hand from the interior, which admonished Croghan that the sooner he arrived among the conquered but vacillating subjects of the King in the Illinois country, the less difficult would be the task of reconciliation. In his command was a celebrated frontierer named Fraser—the same who had pushed across the mountains in 1753, and established a trading station on the Alleghany river. He vol-

unteered to start in advance of Croghan, as an emissary of English power at the place in question, and with a hardihood seldom equaled, pushed his canoe, with a few attendants, down the Ohio river to Ft. Massac; thence he made his way across the country to the French villages of the Illinois country. He was well received at first, but he had not remained long till the French traders conspired to take his life by means of exciting the Indians against him, and would certainly have accomplished their purpose, but for the interposition of Pontiac, who was there, and whose potent influence was barely sufficient to save him from being tomahawked.

Early in May, true to their agreement, the faithful Shawaneese brought in the promised captives, and delivered them to Croghan at Ft. Pitt; and all things now being ready, he embarked on the 15th, 1765, with a few white companions and a "number of friendly Indians," says his journal.

On the 19th, while on his way down the river, he sent a message to the Shawaneese villages to order them to bring the French traders who were among them to the mouth of the Scioto river, as they could no longer be suffered to trade there without a permit from "His Excellency," Gen. Gage. On his arrival at the place, which was on the 26th, the Indians were promptly on the spot with the traders, seven in number, for the lesson Bouquet had taught them the year before was too impressive to be soon forgotten, and they dare not disobey. After delivering the Frenchmen into the custody of Croghan, they declared that nothing should be left undone on their part to convince the English of their sincerity in the interests of peace. Having satisfactorily arranged his official business with the submissive Shawaneese, he proceeded on his way and arrived at the mouth of the Wabash river on the 6th of June, where he made a halt for some prudential purpose.

No English delegation had ever before penetrated so far down the river, except Fraser's party, and he soon found that the Indians in these deep recesses of the forest, had not yet been tempered into that submissive frame of mind that had but recently manifested itself among the Shawaneese. Here he remained encamped till the 8th, when he was attacked at daybreak in the morning, by eighty Kickapoo and Musquatamie warriors.

Five of his men were killed, three of whom were his Shawaneese allies, and he himself was slightly wounded. He had with him an amount of gold and silver, which, with his goods, was taken by his captors. The Indians were released, but Croghan with his men were taken to Vincennes. They arrived there on the 15th, where was a French village of eighty houses, and an Indian village of the Pyankeshas close by. Here, for half a cen-

tury, the two races had been living in loving relations with each other in this wilderness, recluse under the dense shades of the beech, sugar, oak and elm, forest trees that attain unusual heights in the rich bottoms of the Wabash, shutting out the rays of the sun from the black alluvial soil. Here he found old acquaintances among the Indians, who, aware of his official position, severely reprimanded his captors, though his journal does not inform us that either the goods or money of which he had been robbed were restored; but though a captive, he was treated with respect. Wishing to write to St. Ange, who held command of the Illinois towns, he applied to the French inhabitants of the place for paper, which they gave him, but not till the consent of the Indians had been obtained. After writing the letter and dispatching it by an Indian messenger, his Indian friends, in whose custody he now was, conducted him up the Wabash river to Ouatanon, arriving there on the 23d. Here he found more Indian acquaintances, who were very civil with the distinguished captive. But on the first of July a Frenchman arrived from the Illinois villages with a belt and speech from an unrelenting Shawaneese savage, who, instead of submitting to the peace his tribe had made with Bouquet, had fled to this distant post in the vain hope that he was out of the reach of the English. The substance of the speech was that the prisoner should be burnt. But instead of listening to such counsels they immediately set him at liberty, with assurances that they despised the message. The liberated captive now held counsels with the various Indian tribes of the country, including those who had captured him, and obtained their consent for the English to take possession of any posts in the country held by the French. On the 18th he set out for the Illinois villages, but on the way met an important delegation of Six Nation and Shawaneese chiefs, among whom was the distinguished Pontiac. The whole party now returned to Ouatanon, and Croghan succeeded in explaining everything to the entire satisfaction of all the chiefs, Pontiac himself not dissenting from the all-prevailing sentiment in favor of submission to the English.

It appears from various items in his journal that some of the inconsolable French of the country had told the Indians that the English intended to take their country from them and give it to the Cherokees, but Croghan happily succeeded in dispelling this mistaken apprehension; and notwithstanding the unpropitious beginning of his mission, it proved a decided success, and owing to his able method of influencing the savage mind, he managed to turn his defeat to a good account, as the result of that natural recoil which is shown alike in the savage and the cultured mind, when inconsiderate and hasty action has gone be-

yond the medium line of a just or a practicable policy. He now wrote to Gen. Gage, Sir William Johnson, and Major Murray, who then held command of Fort Pitt, informing them of the pacific temper of the Indian mind, and on the 25th set out for Detroit, arriving there on the 17th of August. Here he met two Frenchmen named Dequanu and Waobicomica, with a deputation of Indians from Sir William Johnson, as the bearers of messages to Pontiac and the western tribes. Col. Campbell, who now held command of Detroit, convened a council of various tribes, whose representatives were already on the spot in obedience to council belts which had been sent to each tribe in the country by Bradstreet the year before, while on his mission to relieve the place from siege.

Complete submission to the English was the universal policy now. The Miami Pyankeshas and Kickapoos begged to be forgiven for the inconsiderate action of their young men, and hoped their English Fathers would have pity on their necessities and give them a little clothing and a little rum to drink on the road, as they had come a great way. The Wyandots asked for no rum or any other favors, but with a commendable spirit of statesmanship, exhorted the western tribes to behave well towards their "English Fathers, who had taken them under their protection," and by so doing, become "a happy people;" that "all nations towards the rising sun had taken them by the hand, and would never let slip the chain of friendship so happily renewed."

The following items in the journal of Croghan are inserted *verbatim*, as no other words could be chosen of equal historic value, to show the situation at that time:

"24th. We had another meeting with the several nations, when the Waweotonans, Tawightwis, Pyankeshas, Kickapoos, and Musquatamies, made several speeches to Colonel Campbell and me, in presence of all the other nations, when they acknowledged themselves to be the children of the king of Great Britain; and further acknowledged that they had, at Weotonan, before they came here, given up the sovereignty of their country to me for his majesty, and promised to support his subjects in taking possession of all the posts given up by the French, their former fathers, to the English, now their present fathers; all which they confirmed with a belt.

"25th. We had another meeting with the same Indians, when Colonel Campbell and I made them several speeches in answer to theirs of the 23d and 24th. Then delivered them a road belt, in the name of Sir William Johnson, baronet, to open a road from the rising to the setting of the sun; which we charged them to keep open through their country, and cautioned

them to stop their ears against the stories or idle reports of evil minded people, and continue to promote the good works of peace; all which they promised to do in a most sincere manner.

"26th. Colonel Campbell and I made those nations some presents, when, after taking leave of us, they set off for their own country, well satisfied.

"27th. We had a meeting with Pondiac and all the Ottawa tribes, Chippewas and Pottewatemies, with the Hurons of this place, and the chiefs of those settled at Sandusky and the Miami river, when we made them the following speeches—"

The speeches are brief, and relate chiefly to their keeping the peace in sincerity and good faith. On the following day, or the 28th August, they had another meeting with the Indians, when Pondiac made the following speech, which is worth preserving, as coming from so celebrated a man:

"Father—We have all smoked out of this pipe of peace. It is your children's pipe, and as the war is all over, and the Great Spirit and Giver of Light, who has made the earth, and every thing therein, has brought us all together this day for our mutual good, to promote the good works of peace, I declare to all nations that I have settled my peace with you before I came here, and now deliver my pipe to be sent to Sir William Johnson, that he may know I have made peace, and taken the king of England for my father, in presence of all the nations now assembled, and whenever any of those nations go to visit him, they may smoke out of it with him in peace. Fathers, we are obliged to you for lighting up our old council fire for us, and desiring us to return to it; but we are now settled on the Miami river, not far from hence; whenever you want us, you will find us there ready to wait on you. The reason why I choose to stay where we are now settled is, that we love liquor, and to be so near this as we formerly lived, our people would be always drunk, which might occasion some quarrels between the soldiers and our people. This, father, is all the reason I have for our not returning to our old settlements; and where we live is so nigh this place, that when we want to drink, we can easily come for it. [Gave a large pipe with a belt of wampum tied to it.]

"Father—Be strong and take pity on us, your children, as our former father did. It is just the hunting season of your children. Our fathers, the French, formerly used to credit his children, for powder and lead to hunt with. I request, in behalf of all the nations present, that you will speak to the traders now here, to do the same. My father, once more, I request that you tell your traders, to give your children credit for a little powder and lead, as the support of our families depends upon it. We have told you where we live, not far from here, that whenever

you want us, and let us know, we will come directly to you. [A belt.]

"Father—You have stopped up the rum barrel, when we came here, until the business of this meeting was over. As it is now finished, we request you may open the barrel, that your children may drink and be merry."

There were present at this treaty about thirty chiefs and five hundred warriors. A list of the tribes is given, and the names of the chiefs. This was the last public transaction, in which Pondiac was engaged with the English.*

"29th. A deputation of several nations set out from Detroit for the Illinois country, with several messages from me to the Wyandots, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanees, and other nations, in answer to theirs, delivered to me at Weotonan.

"30th. The chiefs of the several nations who are settled on Ouabache, returned to the Detroit, from the river Roche, where they had been encamped, and informed Colonel Campbell and me they were now going for their own country; and that nothing gave them greater pleasure than to see, that all the western nations and tribes had agreed to a general peace, and that they should be glad how soon their fathers, the English, would take possession of the posts in their country, which had formerly been in possession of their late fathers, the French, to open a trade for them; and if this could not be done this fall, they desired that some traders might be sent to their villages, to supply them for the winter, or else they would be obliged to go the Illinois, to apply to their old fathers, the French, for such necessaries as they might want.

"They then spoke on a belt, and said: Fathers, everything is now settled, and we have agreed to your taking posssession in our country. We have been informed that the English, wherever they settle, make the country their own; and you tell us that when you conquered the French, they gave you this country. That no difference may happen hereafter, we tell you the French never purchased a foot of our country, nor have they a right to give it to you. We gave them liberty to settle, and they were always very civil to us, when they had it in their power; but as they now are become your people, if you expect to keep those posts as your own property, we will expect to have equivalent made us, for such parts of our country as you may want to possess. [A belt.]

"September 2nd. The chiefs of the Wyandots, or Hurons, came to me and said they had spoke last summer, to Sir William

*An historical error of Hildreth, the editor of Croghan's Journal. Pontiac attended a convention at Oswego, the next year, called by Sir William Johnson. —[Author.

Johnson, at Niagara, about the lands on which the French had settled near Detroit, belonging to them, and desired I would mention it again to him; that they never had sold it to the French, and expected their new fathers, the English, would do them justice, as the French was become one people with us. [A belt.]

"4th. Pondiac, with several chiefs of the Hurons, Chippewas and Pottewatemies, likewise complained that the French had settled part of their country, which they never had sold to them, and hoped their fathers, the English, would take it into consideration, and see that a proper satisfaction was made to them; that their country was very large, and they were willing to give up any part of it that was necessary for their fathers, the English, to carry on trade—provided they were paid for it, and a sufficient part of the country left for them to hunt on. [A belt.]

"6th. The Saginaw Indians came here and made a speech on a belt of wampum, expressing their satisfaction on hearing that a general peace was made with all the western nations and with Pondiac. They desired a little powder and lead, to enable them to hunt on their way home, and a little rum, to drink their new father's health." [A belt.]

N. B. The transactions of the 9th and 11th are written with such poor ink, and so faded, that they cannot be deciphered.

"12th. The grand sauton, and a party of Ottawas and Chippewas, from Chicago, sent me word they would come in the morning and see me.

"13th. The grand sauton came, with his band, and spoke as follows:

"Father—You sent me a belt from the Miami, and as soon as I received it I set off to meet you here. On my way, I heard what has passed between you and the several tribes that met you here. You have had pity on them; and I beg, in behalf of myself and the people of Chicago, that you will have pity on us also. It is true we, have been foolish, and listened to evil reports and the whistling of bad birds. We red people are a very jealous people; and, father, among you white people there are bad people also, that tell us lies and deceive us, which has been the occasion of what is past. I need not say much on this head. I am now convinced I have been wrong led for some years past. But there are people that have behaved worse than I and my people, and you have pardoned them. I hope you to do the same to us, that our women and children may enjoy the blessings of peace, as the rest of our brethren, the red people; and you shall be convinced, by our future conduct, that we will behave as well as any tribe of your children in this country. [A belt.]

"He then said, the St. Joseph Indians would have come along with me, but the English prisoner, which their fathers want from them, was some distance off a-hunting. As soon as they could get him, they would deliver him up, and beg forgiveness of their fathers, as they did at present.

"14th. I had a private meeting with the grand sauton, when he told me he was well disposed for peace last fall, but was then sent for to the Illinois, where he met with Pondiac; and that then their fathers, the French, told them, if they would be strong, and keep the English out of the possession of that country by this summer, that the king of France would send over an army next spring to assist his children, the Indians; and that the king of Spain would likewise send troops, to help them to keep the English out of the country; that the English were a bad people, and had a design to cut off all the Indian nations in this country, and to bring the southern Indians to live and settle there. This account made all the Indians very uneasy in their minds; and, after holding a council among themselves, they all determined to oppose the English, and not suffer them to take possession of the Illinois; that, for his part, he behaved as ill as the rest to the British officers that went there this spring; but since, he has been better informed of the goodness of the English, and convinced the French told them lies for the love of their beavers. He was now determined, with all his people, to become faithful and dutiful children to their new fathers, the English, and pay no regard to any stories the French should tell him in future.

"15th. Colonel Campell and I had a meeting with the grand sauton, at which we informed him of everything that has passed with the several nations and tribes; and told him we accepted him and his people in friendship, and would forgive them as we had the rest of the tribes, and forget what was past, provided their future conduct should convince us of their sincerity. After which we gave them some presents for which he returned thanks, and departed very well satisfied.

"19th. I received a letter from Colonel Reed, by express, acquainting me of Captain Sterling setting out from Fort Pitt, with a hundred men of the forty-second regiment, to take possession of Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country.

"20th. I sent off Aaron Andrew, express to Captain Sterling at the Illinois, and with messages to the several nations in that country, and those on the Ouabache, to acquaint them of Captain Sterling's departure from Fort Pitt for the Illinois country.

"25th. The chiefs of the St. Joseph Indians arrived, and addressed themselves to Colonel Campbell and me, as follows:

"Fathers—We are come here to see you, although we are not acquainted with you. We had a father, formerly, with whom we were very well acquainted, and never differed with him. You have conquered him some time ago; and when you came here first, though your hands were all bloody, you took hold of us by the hands, and used us well, and we thought we should be happy with our brethren. But soon an unlucky difference happened, which threw us all into confusion. Where this arose we do not know, but we assure you we were the last that entered into the quarrel. The Indians of this place solicited us often to join them, but we would not listen to them. At last they got the better of our foolish young warriors, but we never agreed to it; we knew it would answer no end, and told them often, they were fools, and if they succeeded in killing the few English in this country, they would not kill them all, because we knew you to be a great people.

Fathers—You have, after all that has happened, received all the several tribes in this country for your children. We from St. Joseph seem to be the last of your children that came to you to beg mercy. We are no more than wild creatures to you, fathers, in understanding; therefore we request you to forgive the past follies of our young people, and receive us for your children. Since you have thrown down our former father on his back, we have been wandering in the dark, like blind people. Now you have dispersed all this darkness, which hung over the heads of the several tribes, and have accepted them for your children; we hope you will let us partake with them the light, that our women and children may enjoy peace. We beg you to forget all that is past. By this belt we remove all evil thoughts from your hearts. [A belt.]

"They added further: Fathers—When we formerly came to visit our fathers, the French, they always sent us home joyful, and we hope you, fathers, will have pity on our women and young men who are in great want of necessaries, and not let us go home to our towns ashamed.

"Colonels Campbell and Croghan made them a favorable answer, and added presents of powder, lead, vermillion, clothing, and two kegs of rum, ending the interview with these remarks:

"Children—I take this opportunity to tell you that your fathers, the English, are gone down the Ohio from Fort Pitt, to take possession of the Illinois, and desire you may acquaint all your people of it on your return home; and likewise desire you to stop your ears against the whistling of bad birds (meaning the French), and mind nothing but your hunting to support your families, that your women and children may enjoy the blessings of peace.

"26th. I left Detroit and arrived, October 3d, at Niagara. Here I met some Senecas with whom I had a meeting, and informed them of my transactions with the several nations, and desired them to inform their people of it on their return home, which they promised me they would.

"October 11th. Set off from Niagara, and arrived the 17th at Ontario, where I met the Bunt and several sachems of the Onondagas, with whom I had a meeting, and informed them what had passed between me and the western nations.

"19th. I set off from Ontario, and arrived at Fort Stanwix the 21st."

Col. Croghan's Report to Sir William Johnson, Supt. of Indian Affairs:

"Sir—Having now returned from the services I was sent upon by his Excellency General Gage, namely, the obtaining the Indians' consent to our possessing the important posts at the Illinois, I present your honor with a journal of my transactions with the several nations and tribes in that country, for your perusal.

"In the situation I was placed at Weotonan* with great numbers of Indians about me, and no necessaries, such as paper and ink, I had it not in my power to take down all the speeches made by the Indian nations, nor what I said to them, in so particular a manner as I could wish; but hope the heads of them, as I have taken them down, will meet your approbation.

"In the course of this tour through the Indian country, I made it my study to converse in private with Pondiac and several of the chiefs of the several nations, as often as opportunity served, in order to find out their sentiments of the French and English. Pondiac is a shrewd, sensible Indian, of few words, and commands more respect among his own nation than any Indian I ever saw could do among his own tribe. He and all the principal men of those nations seem at present to be convinced that the French had a view of interest in stirring up the late difference between his majesty's subjects and them, and call it a beaver war; for neither Pondiac, nor any of the Indians I met with, ever pretended to deny that the French were at the bottom of the whole, and constantly supplied them with every necessary they wanted as far as in their power. And notwithstanding they are at present convinced that it was for their own interest, yet it has not changed the Indians' affection for them. They have been bred up together like children in that country,

*This name should be spelled Ouatanon. It is pronounced We-au-ta-non, which doubtless was the cause of Croghan's incorrect way of spelling it; he probably never having seen it written.—AUTHOR.

and the French have always adopted the Indian customs and manners, treated them civilly, and supplied their necessities generally, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians, and commanded their services, and enjoyed the benefits of a very advantageous fur trade. They well know if they had not taken these measures they could not enjoy these advantages.

"The French have in a manner taught the Indians in that country to hate the English, by representing them in the worst light they could, on all occasions; in particular they have made the Indians there believe, lately, that the English would take their country from them, and bring the Cherokees there to settle and enslave them; which report they easily gave credit to, as the southern Indians had lately commenced a war against them. I had great difficulty in removing this suspicion, and convincing them of the falsity of the report, which I flatter myself I have done in a great measure.

"It will require some time, and a very even conduct in those that are to reside in their country, before we can expect to rival the French in their affections. All Indians are jealous, and from their high notions of liberty, hate power. Those nations are jealous and prejudiced against us, so that the greatest care will be necessary to convince them of our honest intentions by our actions.

"The French sold them goods much dearer than the English traders do at present. In that point we have the advantage over the French, but they made that up in large presents to them, for their services, which they wanted to support their interest in the country; and although we want none of their services, yet they will expect favors, and if refused, take it in a bad light, and very likely think it done to distress them, for some particular advantage we want to gain over them. They are by no means *so sensible a people as the Six Nations*, or other tribes this way; and the French, for their own advantage, have learned them a bad custom; for, by all I could learn, they seldom made them any general present, but as it were, fed them with necessaries just as they wanted, tribe by tribe, and never sent them away empty, which will make it difficult and troublesome to the gentlemen that are to command in their country, for some time, to please them and preserve peace, as they are a rash, inconsiderate people, and do not look on themselves as under any obligation to us, but rather think we are obliged to them for letting us reside in their country.

"As far as I can judge of their sentiments, by the several conversations I have had with them, they will expect some satisfaction made them by us, for any posts that may be established in their country for trade. But you will be informed better by

themselves next spring, as Pondiac and some chiefs of every nation in that country, intend to pay you a visit.

"The several nations on the Ouabache and towards the Illinois, St. Josephs, Chicago, La Baye, Saginaw, and other places, have applied for traders to be sent to their settlements. As it was not in the power of any officer to permit traders to go from Detroit, or Michillimackinac, either English or French, I am of the opinion the Indians will be supplied chiefly this year from the Illinois, which is all French property; and if trading posts are not established at proper places in that country soon, the French must carry the best part of the trade over the Mississippi. This they are determined to do, if they can; for I have been informed that they are preparing to build a strong trading fort on the other side of the Mississippi, about sixty miles above Fort Chartres, and have this summer, in a private manner, transported twenty-six pieces of small cannon up the river for that purpose.

"I am with great esteem and regard, your honor's most obedient and most humble servant,

"GEO. CROGHAN.

"To the Honorable Sir William Johnson, General, his Majesty's sole agent for Indian affairs."

This letter has no date, but was probably written soon after Colonel Croghan's arrival at Fort Stanwix, which was October 21st, 1765; as it is attached to his journal of transactions.

In accordance with the original plan, as soon as the success of Croghan's mission became known, the military commission which was to follow it, embarked from Ft. Pitt in the autumn of the same year—1765. It consisted of about 120 men from the 42d Regiment of Highlanders, under Capt. Sterling. They arrived at Ft. Chartres, by the way of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, late in the autumn, and for the first time, the Lilies of France fell from the flagstaff, and the Cross of Saint George rose in its place on the banks of the Mississippi. This was the last official act in the great drama which had despoiled France of her transcendent aspirations on the American continent.

NOTE.—Col. Croghan's journal has been published in the last edition of Butler's History of Kentucky, but is not as correctly rendered as in Hildredth's Pioneer History, from which the foregoing is taken. He took it from the original manuscript preserved among Col. Morgan's papers, who was subsequently appointed Indian Agent.

The following proclamation from Gen. Gage was issued by Capt. Sterling, on his arrival:

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Brittanic majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon, we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

"That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada; he has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman church, in the same manner as in Canada;

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants, or others, who have been subjects of the most christian king, may retire, in full safety and freedom, wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana, although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty; and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts or of criminal process;

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king;

"That they are commanded, by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Sterling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose;

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding by a wise and prudent demeanor all cause of complaint against them;

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the posts, and order be kept in the country; by this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at Head-Quarters, New York. Signed with our hand, sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our Secretary, this 30th December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE, [L. S.]

"By His Excellency,
G. MATURIN."

This proclamation quieted the apprehensions of the French, some of whom had fled to St. Louis on the arrival of the English. Capt. Sterling died three months after his arrival, and early the next spring the English troops went down the Mississippi, and took a vessel from Pensacola for Philadelphia, arriving there on the 15th of June, leaving the place without a garrison.*

Major Fraser† succeeded Captain Sterling as military governor, who, after a short term, was succeeded by Col. Reed. The latter made himself odious to the French inhabitants by an oppressive system of legislation, ill-suited to the former subjects of the benevolent St. Ange. The next in command was Col. Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia September 5th, 1768. On the 21st of November following, he received orders from Gen. Gage to establish a court of justice. Seven judges were immediately appointed and the first English court ever convened in Illinois, held its sessions at Fort Chartres, December 9th, 1768. It is not known how long Wilkins remained in office, or what English governor succeeded him. It is known, however, that St. Ange returned from St. Louis, and again acted as Governor of Illinois, after having acted in a similar capacity over the Spanish town across the river.‡

Pontiac attended the great Indian Peace Council, convened at Oswego in 1766, by Sir William Johnson, agreeable to his promise made to Croghan at Detroit.

Here with eloquence he resigned his mighty ambitions to the "will of the Great Spirit, who had decreed that his race should be friends to the English," and put the seal of sincerity upon his words, with a large belt of wampum. Leaving the council he started in his canoe for his home on the Maumee, loaded with presents from Johnson to take to his wives. Three years later he appeared in St. Louis, clad in the full uniform of a French officer, which had been presented him by the celebrated Montcalm ten years before. Thus accoutered, he crossed over to the Illinois

*Col. Records of Pa., Vol. IX., p. 318.

†Both Peck and Brown erroneously give this commandant's name as Farmer. It should be Fraser, the same who first advanced to the place from Ft. Pitt.

‡Reynold's Hist. of Ill., p. 60.

shore to attend a social gathering at Cahokia. Here he joined in the tumultuous gaiety of frontier life, to which the whisky bottle contributed its full measure of influence. He soon became intoxicated, when a miscreant of the Illinois tribe stealthily crept up behind and despatched him with a hatchet. St. Ange, at this time Governor of St. Louis, conveyed his body over the river and buried it with the honors of war, beside the fort.

A barrel of whisky was the reward which the assassin received for the bloody deed, and an English fur trader, named William son, was the infamous giver and instigator of the disgraceful work, probably under an impression that he had lionized himself in the estimation of the English, whose rule had but recently begun here. The Illinois tribes approved the act under a similar misapprehension, but they soon paid dearly for it. The northern tribes, to whom the name of Pontiac was still dear, were stung to madness and nearly exterminated them in the fearful vengeance which was soon visited upon their heads. The horrors of Starved Rock grew out of this vengeful war; where, as tradition has it, a large band of Illinois took refuge for safety, but were hemmed in on all sides till the whole band died with the lingering torments of starvation.

The Illinois tribes never recovered from this blow, especially as their potent allies, the French, could no longer protect them as they had done ever since 1685, in the days of LaSalle and Tonty, a period running through three generations. In 1736, when the Illinois tribes were in their glory under their alliances with the French, D. Artagutte, the dashing Canadian, applied to them for assistance in their war against the Chickasaws, in the far-off regions of the present State of Mississippi, between whom and the French of New Orleans a sanguinary war was raging.

Chicago, the sapient chief, who was named long after the Chicago portage, was known by the same honorable appellation, entered heartily into D. Artugette's plans, and at the head of 500 braves followed him to the country of the Chickasaws, where they were to join their force to that of Bienville, to act in conjunction against the formidable enemy. Bienville failed to reach the destined place appointed for the junction, but the undaunted Illinois, with the fifty French soldiers who accompanied them, led on by Artagutte, succeeded in taking two Chickasaw forts, but on attacking the third and last, Antagutte fell wounded, and was taken prisoner. Thus repulsed, Chicago led his men back to the Illinois,* and the victorious Chickasaws bore in triumph savage trophies of their victory to Oglethorpe, the Governor of Georgia, with whom they were in alliance.

*Monettes Miss. Val. Vol. I., P. 286, 287.

CHAPTER IX.

The English attempt to prevent Settlements beyond the Ohio River—Early Commercial Policy—The Northwest Annexed to Canada—Battle of Point Pleasant—Logan—Revolutionary Sentiments on the Frontier—Girty, Elliot and McKee—The Continental Congress—The Issue among the Indians—Expeditions against St. Joseph—George Rogers Clark—His Expedition against the Illinois Country and Vincennes—Indian Council at Cahokia—Father Gibault—Francis Vigo—War Declared Between England and Spain—Its effect on the Illinois Country.

With nations as with individuals, a sudden accumulation of power or wealth bewilders the senses at first, till time can reduce the accelerated force applied to the driving wheels, or, in other words, restore tranquility to the overstimulated brain. Though England has never been conspicuous for such infirmities, yet she was not proof against them, and when her crown became enriched by the acquisition of the Valley of the Mississippi, her first determination was to prevent any settlers from appropriating any part of the acquired territory, and to this end King George III issued the following instructions:

"GEORGE, R.

[L. S.] Instructions to our well beloved John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of our Province of Pennsylvania, in America, given at our Court of St. James, the 24th day of October, 1765, in the Fifth year of our Reign.

Whereas, it hath been represented unto us that several persons from Pennsylvania and the back settlements of Virginia have migrated to the westward of the Alleghany mountains, and these have seated themselves on lands contiguous to the river Ohio, in express disobedience to our Royal Proclamation of October, 1763, it is therefore our Will and Pleasure, and you are hereby strictly enjoined and required to use your best endeavours to suppress such unwarrantable proceedings, and to put a stop to these and

other the like encroachments for the future, by causing all persons belonging to the province under your government who have thus irregularly seated themselves on Lands to the westward of the Alleghany mountains immediately to evacuate those settlements, and that you do enforce, as far as you are able, a more strict obedience to our commands signified in Our Said Royal Proclamation, and provide against any future Violence thereof."

"G. R."*

What ambitious end England had in view through this impracticable scheme has never been brought to light, but it is no far-fetched deduction, that in her overweening care to provide for her nobility by birth, as well as those knighted for services to the State, she intended to parcel out the fairest portions of the acquired territory for their benefit. But if such a dream had ever entered the brain of any loyal representative of English power, the illusion was soon dispelled by the wide-spread and irrepressible pioneer spirit of her Colonial subjects along the Atlantic coast. Had these been tempered after the pattern of the Canadian French, such a scheme could have been made a success, but destiny never decreed them to become the willing instruments of their own subordination to any power above that of their own creation, and the allurements of the forest soon became irresistible to the ambitious spirits of young Anglo-Saxon blood, chafing to distinguish themselves by a bold push into the wilderness.

Spain now held Louisiana, which consisted of New Orleans and the west bank of the Mississippi, and an effort to bring the trade of the Illinois country into northern channels was now contemplated by General Gage and Sir William Johnson, who together represented the head-centre of political power.† But the extra expense of transportation by the northern routes presented insurmountable obstacles in the way, and was destined still to do so for the next half-century.

Meantime, the American Revolution was beginning to cast its shadow before its coming, even on the extreme borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and clearly manifested itself in the English policy with the Indians. While these issues were coming to the surface, the French towns of the Illinois again reposed in quietude.

On the 2nd of June, 1774, the British Parliament passed an act which extended the limits of Canada, so as to include all the

*Note.—Besides the Royal Proclamation referred to above in 1765, a Proclamation was issued by Gov. Gage as late as 1772, of similar import, which may be found in Dillon's Ind. p. 86. The proclamation to Gov. Penn here quoted is taken from The Colonial Records of Penn. Vol. IX, p. 331.

†Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II, pp. 340-342.

territory north of the Ohio River to the lakes. This extraordinary measure was regarded by the English Colonies as a bid for Canadian loyalty, in the event of an open rupture. But it was soon followed by other British measures, which gave convincing proofs that in such an event the British intended to make the most out of an alliance with the Indians that their services could bring to the cause.

Early in 1773, Lord Dunmore, the last Colonial Governor of Virginia, withdrew the troops from Fort Pitt. The next year, owing to some cold-blooded and unprovoked murders, committed by Cresap, Greathouse and others against peaceable Indians, the war-whoop again rung along the border, and a large army was raised to protect the frontier against the exasperated savages. A large detachment of it were ordered to advance down the Ohio river, under command of Col. Lewis. Reaching Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanhaway, while the army lay encamped, October 10th, 1774, it was attacked by a heavy force of Indians, under the celebrated Chiefs Cornstalk, Red Hawk and Logan. The battle raged from sunrise to one o'clock with unflinching courage on both sides. The loss of the whites was double that of the Indians, but the desperate resolution of the former finally prevailed, and the Indians, mostly Shawanese, withdrew during the succeeding night.

The family of Logan were among the murdered victims of Cresap, which fired the resentment of the hitherto peacable hero to desperation, and drew from him the speech that gave him imperishable fame.

The following extract from the *American Pioneer*, gives the speech *verbatim*, together with the circumstances connected with its immediate reception:

"In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Greathouse, leading on these parties, surprised, at different times, traveling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen

among the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should be disturbed, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

"'I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.'"

Mr. Jefferson wrote his Notes on Virginia, as he states, in 1781–2. They were first published in Paris, and afterwards in the United States. In 1797, great excitement was raised against him by the Cresap interest, in which it was, among other things, insinuated that he wrote the speech himself. Mr. Jefferson defended himself in an appendix to his Notes.

The Indian towns were now at the mercy of the victors, especially when the main body advanced across the Ohio, under Dunmore himself. But instead of pushing the defeated Indians to extremities, he convened a council and made peace with them on generous terms.

At Fort Gower, near the mouth of the river Hockhocking, on the 5th of November, 1774, the officers of Dunmore's army held a meeting, at which one of them spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen: Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just rights and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods, without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates from Philadelphia.* It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our country may be jealous of the use such a

*The Continental Congress, which convened on the 5th September, 1774.

body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air, without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves, us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis." The following resolutions were then adopted by the meeting, without a dissenting voice, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette.

"*Resolved*, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, while his majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachments to the real interests and just rights of America, outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the supporting of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous, and tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

These words may be taken as a representative type of the backwoods feeling which two years later declared itself in an open declaration of Independence, but yet there were among these headstrong borderers a few men, intensified in their hatred to civilized society, who cast their lot among the Indians as a choice, and allied themselves to the English cause, not from principle, but as a means wherewith to ventilate their spite against anything that stood in the way of their low-bred ambition. Simon Girty, George Elliot and Alexander McKee were noted examples of this kind of nondescript waywardness, destined to exert a potent influence in the coming struggle.

In 1774 the first Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia. The next year, 1775, Gen. Gage, awakening one morning in his quarters in Boston, beheld with astonishment the heights of Bunker Hill fortified. A fierce battle followed. Canada was invaded the same year by Arnold and Montgomery.

The same year, while the Continental Congress was holding its second session in Philadelphia, Commissioners were appointed to occupy Fort Pitt for the purpose of making treaties with the

Indians in favor of the forthcoming government. To offset this policy, the British inaugurated a similar one for their own benefit from Detroit. As a result, two prominent Delaware Chiefs, Buckongahelas and White Eyes, took the stump among the denizens of the forest as exponents of the rival claims of the belligerants to savage support. Buckongahelas, the friend of the English, spoke first, as follows :

"Friends! listen to what I say to you! You see a great and powerful nation divided! You see the father fighting against the son, and the son against the father! The father has called on his Indian children to assist him in punishing his children, the Americans, who have become refractory. I took time to consider what I should do—whether or not I should receive the hatchet of my father to assist him. At first I looked upon it as a family quarrel, in which I was not interested. However, at length, it appeared to me that the father was in the right, and his children deserved to be punished a little. That this must be the case, I concluded from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed, from time to time, on his Indian children, in encroaching on their land, stealing their property, shooting at and murdering, without cause, men, women, and children. Yes, even murdering those who, at all times, had been friendly to them, and were placed for protection under the roof of their fathers' house—the father himself standing sentry at the door at the time.* Friends! often has the father been obliged to settle and make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done us by his refractory children, yet these do not grow better. No! they remain the same and will continue to be so as long as we have any land left us. Look back at the murders committed by the Long-knives on many of our relations, who lived peaceable neighbors to them on the Ohio. Did they not kill them without the least provocation? Are they, do you think, better now than they were then?"

To this speech White Eyes, the friend of the new government, then without a name, replied:

"Suppose a father had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but, growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him, and, making up a small pack, bade him carry it for him. The boy cheerfully takes the pack, following his father with it. The father, finding the boy willing and obedient, continues in his way; and, as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack in proportion larger —yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so

*Alluding to the murder of the Conestoga Indians.—See GORDON'S HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 405.

without grumbling. At length, however, the boy, having arrived at manhood, while the father is making up the pack for him, in comes a person of an evil disposition, and, learning who was the carrier of the pack, advises the father to make it heavier, for surely the son is able to carry a large pack. The father, listening rather to the bad adviser than consulting his own judgment and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the hard-hearted adviser, and makes up a heavy load for his son to carry. The son, now grown up, examining the weight of the load he is to carry, addresses the parent in these words: 'Dear father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry—do, pray, lighten it. I am willing to do what I can, but I am unable to carry *this* load.' The father's heart having, by this time, become hardened, and the bad adviser calling to him, 'whip him, if he disobeys and refuses to carry the pack,' now in a peremptory tone orders his son to take up the pack and carry it off, or he will whip him, and already takes up a stick to beat him. 'So!' says the son, 'am I to be served thus for not doing what I am unable to do? Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father—and it is to be decided by blows whether or not I am able to carry a pack so heavy—then I have no other choice left me but that of resisting your unreasonable demand by my strength; and so, striking each other, we may see who is the strongest.'"

This absurd metaphor was considered worth preserving by both governments, as models of that gushing style of logic wherewith to influence the Indian mind. Buckongahelas' speech was printed by officers in the British Indian Department, and White Eyes' speech was printed by a committee appointed by the Continental Congress on the 13th of July, 1775.*

The British had strong garrisons at Detroit and Michilimacinac at this time, and a small garrison at St. Joseph, to preserve their interests at the Southern extremity of Lake Michigan, for even in that early day this locality was regarded with favor. But St. Joseph was looked upon as a place of more promise than Chicago, on account of the superiority of her river as a harbor.

While the brains and the muscle inherited from the ancient Briton's were laying the dimension stone on the Atlantic coast for a new nation, the French inhabitants of Vincennes and the Illinois country, in blissful ignorance of the ruling policy of the country, were cultivating their fields in common, and sharing the harvest of a summer's toil with the harmony of bees. By the year 1777, however, one year after the Declaration of Independence, an erratic emigrant from Pennsylvania, named Tom

*American Archives, 4th S. Vol. II, p. 1880.

Brady, who had settled at Cahokia, planned an expedition against the British post of St. Joseph. The place was garrisoned by 21 soldiers, but Bardy's party, relying upon the prestige of a surprise, felt confidence in their ability to take it, although their own force numbered but 16 men. Accordingly they took advantage of night to come upon the place, when the astonished garrison gave themselves up as prisoners. On returning, the invaders had proceeded no further than the Calumet river, when they were attacked by a party of British and Indians, numbering 300. Two of Brady's party were killed, and Brady, with the remainder of his party, taken prisoners. Not long afterwards, he managed to make his escape, and threaded the forest back to his native place in Pennsylvania. Subsequently he returned to Cahokia, where he became Sheriff of St. Clair county in 1790.*

Early the next spring a daring Frenchman named Paulette Maize, enlisted a force of 65 men from the French towns of the Illinois, and from St. Louis, and marched against the same place, to re-take it. The expedition was successful, and all the furs and peltries in the fort were taken from the British as the spoil of war. Many of the most prominent citizens of Cahokia were in this expedition.†

Returning to the frontier of English settlements, we find such dauntless spirits as Dr. Walker, Boone, Kenton, Zane, Harrod, McAffee, and others, pushing into the wilderness realms of Kentucky, building stockades and making settlements, while the forest was infested with British emissaries, urging the Indians to take up the tomahawk against the Americans.

Prominent among these pioneer spirits was Col. Geo. Rogers Clark, a native of Albemarle county, Va. All these backwoodsmen were conspicuous for their loyalty to the cause of American Independence, and the field they had chosen wherewith to bring aid to that cause, was adapted to their frontier accomplishments, and proved effectual, both as a diversion and a palliation, to diminish the force of Indian invasion on the frontier. This was the immediate incentive of Clark, in a plan of which he was the first projector, to take possession of Vincennes and the Illinois villages, and set up the authority of the new government in those distant posts, as a nucleus of power round which the Indians could gather. The infant settlements of Kentucky were then begun, and Clark was among them, but left for Virginia on the first of October, 1777, for the purpose of laying his plan before

*Western Annals, p. 696. Reynold's Hist. Ill. p. 68.

†Western Annals, p. 697.

Patrick Henry, the Governor. On the 10th of December he had an interview with him, and laid his plans before him.

After several interviews, Governor Henry gave his consent, and immediate preparations were made to put them into execution. The utmost secresy was necessary to its success, for had it been known in advance, the English could have sent a sufficient force from Detroit to take the whole party prisoners ere they arrived on the ground. As a blind to the real destination of the expedition, Governor Henry first gave Clark instructions to proceed to the Kentucky settlements with his force, for the purpose of defending them against Indian attack. These were published, and gave rise to some murmurs among the revolutionary spirits of the border that soldiers should be sent on such an errand when they were needed in the front to fight the British.

The expedition embarked from Pittsburgh, "shot the falls," as Clark expressed it, at Lowisburg, on the 24th of June, kept on down the river to a little above Fort Massac, fifty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and from thence they marched across the country to Kaskaskia.

On the 4th of July, 1778, when night had shed its gloom over river, grove and prairie, the people of Kaskaskia were startled by the cry, "*If any one enters the streets, he shall be shot!*" The terrified inhabitants remained in their houses during the fearful night, and when morning came a few of the principal citizens were seized and put in irons. Every avenue of escape was cut off, and the wretched inhabitants, who had been told by their British Governor Rochblave, that the Longknives (Americans) were barbarous and cruel to the last degree, began to think their barbarity had not been overrated, nor were their fears quieted on beholding the uncouth motions of their conquerors, so different from the graceful manners of the French, who had brought with them the blandishments of Paris to be reproduced in the American wilderness.

Under these painful forebodings, Gibault, the Priest, and others, with deep humility, approached the General who commanded the rough band, at whose feet the town lay prostrate. The very first attempt to parley with him was embarrassing, for on entering his quarters, among the muscular backwoods officers who were around him, there was no distinction in etiquette or dress, and the perplexed Priest was obliged to ask who the commander was. On being informed, a painful pause ensued for the want of words wherewith to frame the requests he was about to make. The suspense over, Gibault, in an attitude of supplication, begged the privilege that his people might depart in peace, without being separated from their families, and hoped a small allowance of provisions might be retained by them for their im-

mediate wants; which mild request was accompanied with an assurance that many of the inhabitants had frequently expressed themselves in favor of the Americans in their contest with the mother country.

Up to this moment Clark had wrought upon their fears only. Now came the sunny side to the front, and never did the nobility masked beneath a rough exterior, in the bosom of the forest ranger, show to better advantage. In brief words he informed them that the Americans came not to deprive them of their liberty, or to interfere with their religion, or to plunder them of their property. The shackles were now taken from the captives and freedom proclaimed to all. The people were now in transports. The bells were rung and the streets were vocal with song, and gayety reigned throughout the town.

On the 6th of February France had acknowledged the Independence of the United States. The news came to Gen. Clark while on his way down the river, in a letter from Col. Campbell, at Fort Pitt. Nothing could have been more timely for Clark, as he depended on an accession to his number from the French in order to complete his plans for the conquest of the country, and this news would help his cause. He therefore lost no time in proceeding to business, and opened recruiting quarters at once. The ranks for a company were soon filled with newly enlisted Frenchmen, eager to serve in a cause that had already been espoused by their country. Cahokia and all the other French towns acquiesced in the new order, and contributed their quota to fill the ranks of Clark's little army.

The success which had thus far attended Clark was but the first steps in the work before him. The whole country was full of Indians who had been conquered by the English in the recent war, and were now reconciled to them, all the more as they were dependent on them for supplies.

During the progress of the American Revolution thus far, the English traders and agents had been busy in the forests, inflaming the minds of the Indians against the Americans by the most absurd falsehoods, impressed upon their savage sensibilities by forest eloquence. To overcome this influence was all important, and Clark set about the business with masterly skill. The most influential Indian chief in the whole country was The Grand Door, so called because his influence was so potent over the tribes along the Wabash river that no one would presume to enter its valley on an important mission, without first consulting him. To Capt. Helm, one of Gen. Clark's officers, was entrusted this delicate business. The first thing to do was to explain to The Grand Door the nature of the contest between the Americans and the English in such a manner as to leave no doubt in

his majesty's savage instincts as to the justice, and, especially, the ultimate success of the American cause—the latter point being no less important in Indian diplomacy than in civilized.

With these instructions Capt. Helm started for the headquarters of the Grand Door, located in a Piankeshaw village close by Vincennes. Arriving safely at the latter place, he was well received by the French inhabitants, there being no English garrison there at the time. The Door was then sent for, and on his arrival a letter was given him from Gen. Clark. He received it with becoming dignity, and promised to lay its contents before his people. For several days they held council over the matter, when the chief returned to Vincennes and announced to Capt. Helm that he was now a Big Knife, meaning that he had espoused the cause of the Americans. The evening was spent in merriment suited to the occasion.

No sooner was it known that The Grand Door had become a "Big Knife," than all the other tribes of the country visited Capt. Helm's quarters at Vincennes, and gave in their adhesion to the Americans. The news of this accession of strength was promptly sent by an Indian messenger to Gen. Clark, at Kaskaskia. Meantime, it was soon spread among the tribes throughout the entire Illinois country. A council was convened at Cahokia, with their representative chiefs, to whom Gen. Clark, after explaining to them the nature of the contest between the Americans and the English, made the following speech to them :

"You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one; take which you please. Behave like men: and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumblingblocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything that you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening: and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."

The next day the chiefs returned, and before the Council fires, which were still burning, presented Clark the sacred Pipe, after waving it toward the heavens and the earth, an impressive way of calling heaven and earth to witness their bond of peace and alliance with the Big Knives. News of these successes were now sent to Gov. Henry, of Virginia, when, at a session of the General Assembly, an act was passed laying out a county called Illinois county, which embraced Vincennes, as well as the French villages of the Illinois. But before suitable officers could arrive on the ground to carry the act into effect, Henry Hamilton, the British Lieut. Governor of Detroit, came down upon Vincennes with 30 British regulars, 50 French soldiers enlisted at Detroit, and 400 Indian Warriors.

He arrived at the place on the 15th of December. Soon as he was within hailing distance Capt. Helm, who was still there, cried out "Halt!" This stopped the advance of Hamilton, who in turn demanded a surrender of the garrison. "On what terms?" demanded the tenacious defender. "The honors of war," was the reply. The fort was surrendered, with its garrison of one soldier, named Henry, and one officer, Helm himself!*

Capt. Helm was held as prisoner, and the French inhabitants having already taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, were disarmed. The news of this untoward event soon came to Clark at Kaskaskia, who saw at once his peril. A British army lay in the path of his retreat, backed by a confederacy of Indians who would doubtless turn against him at the first check he might receive.

While his fertile genius was on the rack for expedients wherewith to sustain himself, a Spanish trader, named Francis Vigo, came to his quarters with news from Vincennes. He informed Clark that Hamilton, being under no apprehension of an attack, had sent away the largest portion of his force to blockade the Ohio, and cut off his retreat, and with the first opening of spring an attack was to be made on the Illinois villages. His resolution was immediately taken. Vincennes, the head-center of these machinations, must be captured. "If I don't take Hamilton, Hamilton will take me," said Clark.

It was now the 29th of January, and so prompt were the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia to assist the Americans, that by the 4th of February everything was ready. The artillery and stores for the expedition were placed on a light draught vessel, under command of one of his officers named John Rogers, to be transported down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio and Wabash rivers, to the destined field of operation against the post.

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*Butler's Kentucky, p. 80.

The next day Clark himself, with 175 men, a part of whom were French recruits, took up their march across the country for the same destination. On the 17th they reached the banks of the Wabash, but how to gain the opposite bank of the river, where the fort stood, was a problem more difficult of solution in the mind of Clark, than how to take the fort after he had crossed, for the late rains had flooded the broad intervals along the river, and far above and below a forest rose up through the swollen waters, mirroring its leafless branches, inverted into a picturesque mirage.

The morning gun of the fort was heard as the perplexed invaders took up their tents, after a night's rest. Rafts were now made, and a few trusty Frenchmen dispatched across the mysterious waste, to steal boats from their moorings, outside of the unsuspecting town. This hazardous adventure proved a success after three days, during which time the army of Clark had been toiling through the flooded intervals of the Wabash, along the shallowest portions, endeavoring to gain its immediate bank.

On the 21st the army crossed the turbulent stream in the boats stolen by the scouts, and now its labors were redoubled. The ground in advance was now reconnoitred in a canoe, and the depth of the flood sounded, by Clark himself. This done, he blackened his face with powder, and gave the war-whoop, as if he had been an Indian, and marched into the water without saying a word. His comrades followed, under the inspiration of a war song, which was joined in along the whole line. Far along to the left a ridge rose above the waste of waters, where some open sheds had been built for a sugar camp. Here they spent the night, and the next day resumed their watery march towards the fort. For three days they had fasted, but on arriving at Vincennes the French stealthily brought provisions to the camp, and the siege began.

The resistance was determined for awhile, but the courage and audacity of the beseigers knew no bounds, and after a spirited parley, Hamilton surrendered the fort, with its garrison, numbering 79 men, on the 24th of February, 1779, and with this surrender the Northwest passed out of English hands into the immediate possession of the Americans, except the posts which the former still held along the lakes.*

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* NOTE.—The following from Law's History of Vincennes is copied as but a just tribute to the patriotism of Gibault and Vigo: Pierre Gibault, Parish Priest at Vincennes, and occasionally performing his apostolic duties on the Mississippi, was at Kaskaskia in 1778-9, when Gen. Clark captured that place. The services he rendered Clark in that campaign, which were acknowledged by a resolution of the Legislature of Virginia, in 1780—his patriotism, his sacrifices,

Here the British power still lingered. On the 27th the vessel arrived with the stores, its hero-commander mortified and inconsolable that he had not been able to reach the scene of operations in time to ferry Clark's army across the river, and bring to his gallant soldiers the provisions they so much needed during their three days of fasting. Among the prisoners taken at Vincennes were some young Frenchmen, enlisted by Hamilton at Detroit. These were released, on their taking an oath that they would not fight again against the Americans during the war, and were sent home, with abundant supplies to serve their wants on the way.

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his courage and love of liberty, require of me a fuller notice of this good man and pure patriot, than I have been enabled to give in the published address. Father Gibault was a Jesuit missionary to the Illinois at an early period, and had the curacy of the parish at Kaskaskia when Clark took possession of that post; and no man has paid a more sincere tribute to the services rendered by Father Gibault to the American cause, than Clark himself. It was a matter of deep importance, especially after the arrest of Rochblave, the commandant at Kaskaskia, for Clark to conciliate, if possible, the ancient inhabitants residing at Kaskaskia. This he effectually did through the agency of Father Gibault. Through his influence, not only were the French population of Kaskaskia induced to supply the troops with provisions and other necessaries, but to receive the depreciated *continental* paper currency of Virginia at par, for all supplies thus furnished, Vigo adding his guarantee for its redemption, and receiving it dollar for dollar, not only from the soldiers, but from the inhabitants, until it became entirely worthless. Father Gibault, but especially Vigo, had on hand at the close of the campaign, more than twenty thousand dollars of this worthless trash (the only funds, however, which Clark had in his military chest,) and not one dollar of which was ever redeemed, either for Vigo or Father Gibault, who, for this worthless trash, disposed "of all his cattle, and the tithes of his parishoners," in order to sustain Clark and his troops, without which aid they must have surrendered, surrounded as they were, by the Indian allies of the British, and deprived of all resources but those furnished by the French inhabitants, through the persuasion of Vigo and Father Gibault. But more than this. Through the influence of these men, when Clark left Kaskaskia for the purpose of capturing Hamilton and his men at post Vincennes, a company of fifty young Frenchmen was at Kaskaskia, who joined Clark's troops, under the command of Captain Charlevoix, who shared in all the perils and honors of that glorious campaign, which ended in the capture of the Post, and the surrender of Hamilton, an event more important in its *consequences* than any other occurring during our revolutionary struggle.

It was entirely through the means of Father Gibault that Hamilton released Col. Vigo, when sent by Clark to ascertain the true situation of affairs at Vincennes. He was captured by the Indians and taken to "Fort Sackville," where he was kept a prisoner on parole for many weeks, and released, entirely by the interference of Father Gibault, and the declaration of the French inhabitants at Vincennes, who, with their priest at their head, after service on the Sabbath, marched to the fort and informed Hamilton "they would refuse all supplies to the garrison unless Vigo was released." Of that release, and the important effect of Vigo's information to Clark on his return to Kaskaskia, in reference to the capture of the post by Hamilton, I have already spoken. Next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are indebted more to Father Gibault for the accession of the States, comprised in what was the original North-Western Territory, than to any other man."

The records of this benevolent man are still preserved in the church at Kaskaskia.—[AUTHOR.

On their arrival at Detroit, they did good service to the American cause by congratulating themselves that their oath did not bind them not to fight for the Americans, if a chance offered.

A large convoy of stores and provisions were on their way from Detroit to Vincennes when the Americans took it, which was intercepted on the way by a detachment under command of Capt. Helm, who by the late capitulation of the place was now released from the bonds of a war prisoner, and again an officer in Clark's little army. The amount of clothing, provisions, etc., was more than sufficient to supply all the wants of the garrison, and stinted rations and rags were now substituted with plenteousness and comfortable garments. On the 7th of March Clark sent Colonel Hamilton, with eighteen of his principal soldiers, to Virginia, as war prisoners, under an escort of 25 men. Soon after their arrival, Hamilton was put in irons, and confined in a dungeon, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded from all communication with any one except his keeper. This was done to punish him for having offered premiums to the Indians for white scalps. For this offense he was ever afterwards called "The hair buyer."* The severity of his sentence was soon afterwards mitigated by order of continental court-martial.

Early in 1779 a war broke out between England and Spain, which was subsequently followed by an acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States by that power, though with a bad grace, as if dragged into the reluctant admission by the force of circumstances. Withal, however, the hostile attitude of the two nations, England and Spain, was not without its influence in preserving the conquests achieved by Clark, inasmuch as it secured the alliance of the then Spanish town of St. Louis to the American cause, and interposed a weighty obstacle in the way of any attempt on the part of the English to retake the Illinois country or Vincennes, while St. Louis was their ally.

Instead of this being attempted, St. Louis took the offensive herself as an ally of America. On the 2nd of June, 1781, Don Eugenie Pierre, a Spanish officer, marched from St. Louis with 65 men against the British post of St. Joseph. The place was taken, and with overreaching ambition the commander went through the forms of taking possession of the country in the name of Spain, but retired shortly afterwards to St. Louis.

By virtue of this insignificant conquest, Spain subsequently attempted to establish a claim to the country intervening between Lake Michigan and her own territory west of the Mississippi.

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*Jefferson's Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 455.

While these events were transpiring in the West, the armies of England and America were brandishing their battle-blades in each other's faces, with stubborn courage on both sides, and when fighting ceased, among other issues settled, the conquests of the West and its consequent destiny, were not forgotten.

At this time the population of St. Louis, according to Hutchins, was 800 white and 150 colored people, and being a Spanish town, it was legal plunder for the English. Accordingly, an expedition was set on foot against it from the British post of Michilimackinac, estimated at 1,500 men, most of whom were Indians.

While Clark was waiting at Kaskaskia, says Stoddard in his sketches, "The commandant of Michilimackinac in 1780 assembled about 1,500 Indians and 140 English, and attempted the reduction of St. Louis. During the short time they were before that town 60 of the inhabitants were killed, and 30 taken prisoners. Fortunately, Gen. Clark was on the opposite side of the Mississippi with a considerable force. On his appearance at St. Louis with a strong detachment, the Indians were amazed. They had no disposition to quarrel with any other than the Louisianians, and charged the British with deception. In fine, as the jealousy of the Indians was excited, the English trembled for their safety, and secretly abandoned their auxilaries and made the best of their way into Canada. The Indians then retired to their homes in peace. This expedition, as appears, was not sanctioned by the English court, and the private property of the commandant was seized to pay the expenses of it, most likely because it proved unfortunate."

This account has been quoted by able historians, and is doubtless correct, except as to the assistance credited to Gen. Clark as offering to help defend the town. This was impossible, as he had left the country previous to that time, but, without doubt, the respect with which his gallant conduct had inspired the Indians of the immediate country around had its effect on the Indian force from Michilimackinac, and, besides saving St. Louis, prevented them from attacking the towns of Southern Illinois, which then were in a hostile attitude to British rule, either as French or American towns, both of which countries were at war with England.

Auguste Chouteau says that Clark rendered the town no assistance. This settles the point as to the question, for he was one of the original settlers under Laclede's grant, and must have been an eye-witness. The shameful conduct of Leyba, the Lieutenant-Governor at the time, was an excess of treachery seldom equalled. Previous to the attack he sent all the powder away, but fortunately a trader had eight barrels of this precious specific, which the defenders appropriated for the occasion. Not content with this dereliction, he spiked some of the cannon of the defenders; but despite these obstacles, the courageous soldiers stood to their places, and beat back their numerous assailants with a courage seldom equalled. The storm of indignation which the traitor Leyba met after the battle, was too much for him to live under, and he sickened and died shortly afterwards, tradition says from poison administered by his own hand. This account is taken from Stoddard, Hall, Martin, and the Western Annals, neither of which appear to have details as full as could be desired, especially as it is the only siege or battle that ever occurred at St. Louis.

CHAPTER X.

Moravian Settlements on the Muskingum—Premonitions of the American Revolution—British Emissaries Among the Indians—Forts McIntosh and Laurens Built—Desperate Attack on the Latter—The Siege Raised by Hunger—The Moravians Removed—Mary Heckwelder's Account—Horrible Slaughter of the Exiles—Crawford's Expedition Against Sandusky—The Enemy Encountered—Crawford Taken Prisoner—His Awful Death by Fire—Peace—Complex Diplomacy at the Treaty of Paris—Firmness of Jay Triumphant.

The few sparse settlements in Kentucky already made, still maintained their ground, although constantly menaced by Indians on the war-path, while the Alleghanies interposed serious barriers between them and any succor from the parent State in case of an attack.

No attempt had yet been made at settlement on what might with propriety then have been called the Indian side of the Ohio, except the Moravian settlements. These had been in progress on the Muskingum river since 1762. Christian Frederic Post (the same who in 1758 executed the heroic mission to Fort Pitt,) and his co-worker, John Heckwelder, at that time set up a tabernacle there for worship. The missionary spirit was the incentive to their enterprise, but to facilitate their work in this direction, they purchased small parcels of land of the Indians, made an opening in the forest, planted fields of corn, and soon they were surrounded with plenty. The celebrated David Ziesburger joined them in a few years, and the towns of Shoenbrun, Gnadenhutten and Salem, were built within an area of ten miles, near the present site of New Philadelphia, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio.

This could not be called a white settlement, yet it represented Christian civilization, as developed by the teachings of the Moravian missionaries, whose heroic faith had been inherited from the martyr Huss. Since that remote period this remarkable people had been disciplined by a school of three centuries of

persecution, during which time their courage had become the admiration of the Protestant world. They had ever been in its van breaking up the fallen ground, ready to be tilled by more effeminate Christians.

Their attempts on the Muskingum had thus far been a success, but unhappily for them they still held to the doctrines of non-resistance, with unshaken faith, that God's Providence would safely lead them through the dangers that surrounded them.

However plausible or practicable such a theory might be in times of peace, it became a fatal illusion when the fires of revolution kindled along the Atlantic should shake the border into fury, as was soon to be the case. When the centre is disturbed, how much more is the circumference agitated.

The borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia were now daily becoming more exposed to dangers, as the British emissaries among the Indians excited them to take the war-path, and the Continental Congress passed a resolution to send a force into the interior, with a view of taking Detroit, the western supply depot, where the Indians obtained the means wherewith to keep up the war.

In May, 1778, while the expedition of Clark was about starting on its mission, Brigadier General Lachlin McIntosh, of the Continental Army, was placed in command of the Western Department, with his head quarters at Ft. Pitt. The following October, at the head of a small force of regulars and militia, he descended the Ohio and built a fort thirty miles below Fort Pitt, which was named Fort McIntosh. This was the first stockade ever built by Americans on the Northern side of the Ohio.

For prudential reasons, probably for the want of means, the Continental Congress now instructed him to abandon the original design against Detroit, but in lieu thereof, to make an incursion into the interior for the purpose of overawing the Indians. With this intent he took up his march at the head of 1,000 men, intending to attack Sandusky, but on reaching the Muskingum he encamped, and concluded to defer the attack against the objective point till the coming spring. Here he built Fort Laurens, so named in honor of the President of the Continental Congress. He left Colonel John Gibson in command of the post with 150 men, and returned with the main body to Fort Pitt.

All these movements were reported to the English commander at Detroit, who, as might be expected, at once laid his plans to capture the audacious Americans, who had dared to make a stand in the heart of the country.

It will be remembered that Francis Vigo, the Spanish trader of St. Louis, who arrived at Kaskaskia in January, brought information to Clark that Hamilton had weakened his forces by

sending away large detachments against the frontiers, and that Clark, taking advantage of this incautious movement, had marched against Vincennes and taken it. It may therefore be inferred that Fort Laurens was the decoy duck which gave Vincennes to the Americans.

Late in January, 1779, the threatened attack was made on the fort, and kept up till March with desperate resolution. The garrison successfully resisted every assault of their besiegers, though they environed the post by means of their numbers, and gave them no respite either by night or day.

Starvation soon began to threaten them, but, happily for the besieged, the besiegers were in a similar predicament, and the sanguinary contest now became a rivalship, not of courage and muscle only, but a trial of endurance under the pangs of hunger. While the enemy were thus beset with perplexity, how to obtain provisions till they could press the siege to a successful issue by starving out the garrison, while they themselves were gaunt with hunger, they proposed to Gibson, the commander, to raise the siege if he would give them a barrel of flour. The offer was promptly accepted, as a device to conceal the desperate straits to which the garrison was reduced. The flour was sent outside the palisade, and some meat with it, which the hungry Indians and their companions devoured like a pack of wolves, and vanished in the forest, taking their course for Detroit.

The last savage yelp soon died away with the retreating foe, and silence took the place of the bedlam of war-whoops that had echoed about the place for two months. A runner skilled in woodcraft was now selected to hasten to Fort McIntosh with all possible dispatch, and obtain supplies. With the shyness of a fox venturing from his lair, the bold ranger left the fort and safely reached his destination, a distance of fifty miles, through an unbroken wilderness, when a band of scouts were immediately sent with provisions for the relief of the hungry garrison, in their frontier hermitage. Here they remained till the following August, when the fort was evacuated.

Fort McIntosh was evacuated soon afterwards, which left no representation of American interests between Vincennes and Fort Pitt. With the exception of a part of the Delawares, all the Indians of the country now became active allies of the English. The Moravians, or praying Indians, as they were sometimes called, were, in accordance with their faith, neutral.

Their villages laid in the war-path of their savage brothers, and when a hostile war party were returning from a successful incursion into the white settlements, dragging their wretched captives into their distant lodges in the wilderness, they often quartered on these apostate savages, who durst not refuse them

shelter. On these occasions the griefs of the captives were always mitigated as far as possible by acts of kindness from their hosts, if such a name may be applied to the dispenser of an enforced hospitality.

Colonel Depuyster then commanded in Detroit as the successor of Hamilton, and seeing the danger of these people, he mercifully interposed between them and the subtile hostility by which they were victimized by their neutrality from both sides, and ordered their removal to the neighborhood of Sandusky. This decree was enforced upon the unwilling Moravians by two hundred Wyandottes under the command of British officers. Their crops were left standing in the field, ready for the harvest, when they were forced away from their homes, to find new shelter and a precarious subsistence for the coming winter among their unfriendly brethren, who were only restrained from open hostility against them by the British officers.

Among the evil geniuses of the forest at that time, was Simon Girty, a native of Western Pennsylvania. When a boy he had been taken captive by the Indians, and adopted into the Seneca tribe. Among them he had won distinction as a forest ranger, and would gladly have spent his life with them, but when Bouquet made his successful expedition to the Muskingum, Girty, with other captives, was returned to civilization. The next year he rose to the rank of a commissioned officer in the Pennsylvania militia, but two years later deserted to the British, and joined the hostile Indians of the forest with Elliot,* a tory of equal notoriety. Both of these became prominent leaders among the savages, Girty rivaling them in ferocity. His spite against the Moravian converts was unmeasured. While these unhappy exiles were being conducted from their homes on the Muskingum to Sandusky, some care had been taken to mitigate their woes, which so enraged Girty that it was with difficulty he could be restrained from assaulting them with a tomahawk after their arrival.†

*Commodore Elliot of the U. S. Navy was his nephew.

†The following account of the affair is copied from the *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 224 and 225, as a contribution to that valuable work by Mary Heckwelder, daughter of the celebrated Moravian missionary and historian. She was the first white child born in Ohio.

"*Bethlehem, Pa., February 24th*, 1843.

"J. S. Williams, Esq.

"*Dear Sir*:—Yours of the 31st ult., to Mr. Kummen, post master at this place, has been handed to me. I have not been in the habit of making much use of my pen for a number of years; I will, however, at your request, endeavor to give you a short account of the first four years of my life, which were all I spent among the Indians, having since lived in Bethlehem nearly all the time. My acquaintance or knowledge of them and their history, is chiefly from books, and what I heard from my father and other missionaries.

"I was born April 16th, 1781, in Salem, one of the Moravian Indian towns, on the Muskingum river, State of Ohio. Soon after my birth, times becoming

Here they remained till February, when permission was given to a part of them to return to their homes on the Muskingum, to harvest their corn, which was still standing.

While engaged in this labor on the 6th of March, a company of borderers came to them in an apparently friendly spirit, and proposed to them to remove to Pittsburg for safety, and with oily words enticed them to give up their arms and go into two houses to remain for the night. This done, Williamson, the leader of the band, took counsel with his comrades as to the fate of the entrapped victims.

All in favor of sparing their lives were ordered to step forward.

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very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties, and from an encampment of warriors near Gnadenhutten; and finally, in the beginning of September of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shoenbrun. About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of everything they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they at last consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

"After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for sometime, they were set at liberty again; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goshachguenk to the Walholding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapped in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in the midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

"Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen everything both from missionaries and Indians, on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, oftentimes very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture.

"After living in this dreary wilderness, in danger, poverty, and distress of all sorts, a written order arrived in March, 1782, sent by the governor to the half king of the Hurons and to an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detroit, but with a strict order not to plunder nor abuse them in the least."

* * * * * *

"Respectfully yours,

"Mary Heckewelder."

Of the 90 men who composed the party, only 18 stepped forward, leaving 72 in favor of killing them.

This decision was immediately made known to the unhappy victims, when the unexpected decree was replied to with earnest entreaties that their lives might be spared, but lamentations and supplications were unavailing to the iron-hearted scouts. They however, postponed the execution of the sentence till morning, to give them time to prepare for death in their accustomed spirit of devotion. The night was spent by the victims in prayer and singing, while their executioners stood guard outside to prevent escape. In the morning all was ready on both sides. The Moravians were tranquil, and their executioners unrelenting, and the work began.

Through apertures in the walls of the building the muzzles of the guns were pointed, and the shooting was continued till the last faint groans of the victims had died away in silence, and all were prostrated, as was supposed, into a pile of lifeless corpses. But beneath the ponderous weight of dead bodies a youth of sixteen managed to find his way through an aperture in the floor, and escaped thence into the woods. Another boy also escaped after being scalped, and both lived to tell the tale of woe which had whelmed 94 of their countrymen in death.

To the credit of our government be it said, that Williamson's band were not in the continental service, and that their bloody work was execrated throughout the country.

Border life, in those days, furnishes inexhaustible material for romancers and poets, as well as historians, for extremes in the bent of the human mind were brought into contact there, untrammeled by the restraints of law, or even of society, and if examples of man's noblest nature were nurtured into being by the severe discipline of frontier privations, it is not strange that corresponding extremes of evil purposes should also be brought to the surface by the extremities resorted to to accomplish required results.

The war was contested with a stubborn courage on the part of the English, more for what the country was destined to be than for what it then was, and no means were left untried to secure the inheritance of nature which opened before their prophetic vision to the West. This disposition was contagious, and the roughest side of border life gathered force like a tornado when the innocent Moravians were murdered.

Here were unmeasured forests bespangled by a thousand streams, and further beyond them oceans of wild prairie, all waiting the magic touch of civilization to re-produce the wonders of Europe on an improved plan. To accomplish this, was worthy the ambition of the English, who with characteristic confidence

in themselves thought they could do it better than their rebellious children. The ultimate fate of the Indians was not considered. That would take care of itself. Meantime, if their irrepressible dash, or even their ferocity could be extemporized into use in order to bring about the desired result, the end justified the means in their estimation, though it brought desolation and cruel death to the borders of American settlements.

During the revolution the borderers had been wrought up to such a pitch of excitement, that long after the army of Cornwallis had surrendered, and fighting had ceased between the American and British armies, the war was continued with unremitting severity on the frontiers.

Throughout the Western portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, every man, and even every boy, could handle a rifle with a dexterity seldom equaled by the trained soldiers of regular armies. Most of the British having been driven from the field after the surrender of Cornwallis, the success of the revolution was no longer doubted, and the fertile fields across the Ohio, as future homes, now began to attract attention.

Under such auspices an expedition was planned in May, 1782, to march against Sandusky, take the place and seize upon the country. The enterprise was a private one, though it was approved by General Irvine, who then held command of Fort Pitt. Each soldier furnished his own horse and equipments at his own expense, with no expectations of any other pay than what might result from the success of the adventure. The party numbered 480, among whom were most of the men who had partaken in the massacre of the Moravians a few weeks before.

They elected their officers by ballot, and their choice fell upon William Crawford, a man who had been a companion of the youthful Washington, when he was only a backwoods surveyor, unmindful of his future destiny.

Col. David Williamson was second in command, the same who had led the murderous expedition against the Moravians, from which it would appear that the consciences of the raiders was not sensitive as to the means to be used whereby the Indians should be conquered into submission.

Everything being in readiness, on the 25th of May the company dashed into the wilderness, each man well mounted and laden with twenty days' provisions. On the fourth day they reached Gnadenhutten, the scene of the late Moravian massacre. Here the bodies of the victims, men, women and children, laid without burial, in a horrible pile of decay, mingled with the ashes of the building which was burnt over their lifeless remains. The fields of corn were standing, with no one left to harvest them, and afforded ample provender for their horses.

Passing on in a westerly course, they soon came to the Sandusky plains, where Wyandotte Co. now is. Here they expected to find the Wyandottes in force, but in this they were mistaken. A voiceless solitude of prairie hazel brush and oak openings extended far and wide.* Not an Indian or Britisher was seen, but slyly as the Thugs of India, the stealthy foe had dogged their trail, crawling around their camp at night, and fleet-footed messengers had reported their numbers, and the course they were taking ever since they had crossed the Muskingum.

Near the present site of Upper Sandusky the enemy was encountered, among whom was the notorious Simon Girty and Elliot. Crawford immediately took a sheltered position in a grove, and succeeded in maintaining the supremacy during the action. The next day the fight was renewed, but Crawford still kept the savages at a respectful distance by means of his sharp-shooters. The third day the Indians were reinforced by a company of British cavalry from Detroit. All hope of final victory was now abandoned, and the retreat was commenced at nine o'clock the succeeding evening. By skillful skirmishing the Americans succeeded in getting outside the enemy's lines, and making a brief halt, to their dismay their commander was missing.

But there was no time to look for him, for the victorious enemy were pressing upon their rear in overwhelming numbers, and now while the defeated raiders are flying homeward with the exultant foe in hot pursuit, the fate of Crawford will be told.

During the bewilderment of the night retreat Crawford had been cut off from the main body and captured, together with several others, among whom was Dr. Knight. Most of the captives were tomahawked with little ceremony, but Crawford, the big Captain, as the Indians called him in derision, was reserved for an especial object on whom to satiate their vengeance. When brought to the place of execution, among the red demons who were assembled to take part in the revelry, was Simon Girty.

Nine years before, during his residence near Pittsburg, he had lived in the same neighborhood with Crawford, and the unhappy victim seeing him, a faint ray of hope flashed into his frozen heart as he was stripped naked and tied to the fatal stake.

There were the faggots, and vengeful hands to apply them, and there was Girty, his former neighbor, who had often sat at his table in the free and easy companionship peculiar to frontier men and hunters, but the face of the white savage was cold and forbidding. "Do they intend to burn me?" inquired Crawford of Girty. "Yes," was the reply. "I will take it all patiently," said the stoical Colonel, and the work began.

*This was the condition of Wyandotte county as late as 1839, at which time the writer passed through it soon after the removal of the Indians.

His tormenters, with a keen discrimination, economized the vital spark in their victim to the longest span, in order to make the most of him. For three hours he continued to breathe, while the whole surface of his body had been punctured with the burning ends of hickory sticks.

At last the voice of prayer was heard in low but audible words. A hideous squaw now, in the vain attempt to bring fresh tortures to the dying man, emptied a shovel of coals on his back as he laid prostrate, face downwards, but insensibility had come to his relief, and he manifested no sign of pain. Soon afterwards he arose to his feet, and walked around the post to which he had been tied, and again laid down for the last time. Dr. Knight was now taken away, and nothing more was known of his last moments, except what was gathered from those who took part in the fiendish work.

Dr. Knight was treated only as a prisoner of war, and ultimately was returned to his home.

According to Heckwelder, the Moravian historian of those times, Crawford was tortured in revenge for the barbarous work of Williamson's men a few weeks before, on which occasion forty-two women and children had shared the fate of the men in the indiscriminate butchery.

Perkins, author of the Western Annals, says that Crawford's command started into the forests with the avowed purpose of killing every red man, woman or child, who came within the reach of their rifles. As much may be inferred from some of the cotemporary relations. But C. W. Butterfield, who has lately published a complete history of the whole expedition, taken from documents, manuscripts and tradition, has discredited the defamers of the expeditionists, and exonerates Crawford, at least, from any complicity in the slaughter of Gnadenhutten. Here it is proper to say, however, that the horrors of Gnadenhutten served to soften the hearts of the hostile Indians towards the Christian Indians, and even the impervious Girty was no longer their enemy. These conditions would go to strengthen the theory, that Crawford's awful fate was the result of the Moravian massacre, although he was innocent of any murderous design against the Indians, as Mr. Butterfield, his charitable biographer, has indicated.

"My country, right or wrong," is the best apology the historian can make for the style of warfare which had been waged against the Indians ever since 1774, when Cornstock and Logan raised the tomahawk in revenge for the unprovoked slaughters of Cresap, Greathouse, and others. And thus it was, that the frontiers of the colonies had been lashed into fury by the war, and could only be lulled into quiet by a permanent peace with England.

After fighting had ceased, and negotiations were opened for peace, the first point to be settled was, on what terms the Americans should treat, which, in fact, involved the chief point at issue. Nobody saw this in a clearer light than the American Commissioners themselves. Jay, Adams, Franklin and Laurens, with a tenacity worthy their high calling, refused to treat in any capacity, except as a sovereign and independent nation. This was reluctantly conceded by England, and three other points only remained to be settled: The American rights to the fisheries of Newfoundland; their liability to indemnify tories for losses during the war; and the last and most important of the three, the Western limits of the United States.

The fishery question was disposed of by granting the Americans the right to fish where they pleased. Next, as to indemnifying tories for the loss of their property, either by the ravages of war, or the confiscation of their estates, the American Commissioners suggested that it would be equally reasonable for the English to make good the private damage their armies did to American patriots during their various invasions. This unanswerable argument settled that point in favor of the Americans.

Lastly came the boundary question, which was a far more circumstantial affair, and presents one of the most complex conditions of diplomacy ever recorded in history.

Spain was then a powerful nation, and was allied to France by the closest relations of mutual interest, as each were under the rule of a Bourbon. The English were determined to retain all the territory described in the Quebec bill of 1774, which made the Ohio river the Southern line of Canada.

Meantime the Count de Aranda, the Spanish Minister, asserted the claim of Spain to all the territory between the Mississippi and Alleghany Mountains.

At this juncture Mr. Jay, with his usual penetration, made the discovery that France was secretly using her influence in favor of the Spanish claim. The case was now daily becoming more complicated, and the American Commissioners, after some weeks of delay, availed themselves of England's willingness to concede the boundary of the Mississippi, and signed the definitive treaty with her to this effect, without consulting either the French or Spanish Ministers. Had the signing of the treaty hung on the pleasure of Spain till her consent was obtained to making the Mississippi the Western boundary of the United States, it would never have been signed, and it is highly probable that England would not have conceded this point, if the Spanish claim had not presented obstacles in the way of her retaining the territory in question, even if the Americans relinquished it. This consideration, in addition to the American rights by virtue of Clark's con-

quest, settled the destiny of the Northwest, by placing it under the new flag of the United States. It will thus be seen that this result grew out of a rare combination of contingent conditions, the miscarriage of any one of which would have defeated its accomplishment.

John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens were the Commissioners on the part of the United States to negotiate the peace—all able men, perhaps the best fitted for the work of any the country afforded. Mr. Jay, in particular, distinguished himself by his penetration into the mazes of European diplomacy, and proved himself more than a match for the Commissioners of England, Spain and France, though they had grown grey (to use a metaphor) in such service, while he had no other qualifications but his master-mind, and his unshaken purpose. The King of England empowered Richard Oswald to act with the Commissioners on the part of "The Colonies or Plantations, or any body or bodies, corporate or politic, assembly or assemblies, or description of men, or person or persons whatsoever," and to "negotiate a peace or truce with the said Colonies or Plantations, or any of them, or any part or parts thereof." Count Vergennes, the French Commissioner, advised that these powers and forms were sufficient to meet the exigency, and Franklin, in his loyalty to French honor, at first coincided with him. But Jay positively refused to negotiate on any basis that did not establish the equality of the Commissioners of both countries as a starting point. "That the treaty must be the consequence of independence, and not independence the consequence of treaty." Franklin and his other constituents soon saw the importance of this position, and they all united with him in the tenacity with which he insisted on it. Whereupon Mr. Oswald, not without some embarrassment, reluctantly exhibited his secret instructions, authorizing him in case "The American Commissioners are not at liberty to treat in any terms short of independence, you are to declare to them that you have authority to make that concession." The Commissioners then proceeded to business, which had not progressed far till Mr. Jay learned with surprise and indignation, that Count de Aranda, the Spanish Commissioner, demanded the abandonment of the Mississippi on the part of the United States as a Western boundary. Nor was this policy confined to the Spanish Court, as there was convincing evidence to Mr. Jay that France secretly encouraged Spain in this demand. Franklin at first would not believe it, but Adams, after canvassing the matter, coincided with Jay, and Franklin and Laurens were soon forced into the same conviction by the accumulating evidence in its favor. Under these circumstances, the American Commissioners signed the treaty of peace with the English, without the knowledge of the French Court, as soon as the required terms were agreed to. This gave rise to some censure on the part of France and Spain, but no serious rupture from any quarter, for the following reasons: England saw the impossibility of retaining the Valley of the Mississippi herself, when both Spain and France opposed it. France had then just begun to feel the premonitory symptoms of the fearful revolution, which soon followed, and Spain had neither friendship nor honor in the issue sufficient to make a serious protest after the treaty was signed by the two principal parties.

CHAPTER XI.

Characteristics and Costume of the Virginia Border Men and the New England Pioneers—The Ohio Company Formed—Marietta Settled—Cession of the Northwest to the United States—Symes' Purchase—Columbia, North Bend and Cincinnati Settled—Emigration in Arks—The British on the Lakes—Their Relations with the Indians—St. Clair Arrives at Marietta as Governor of the Northwest Territory—Courts Established—Harmer Invades the Indian Country—The French and Indian Villages on the Wabash Destroyed.

Hitherto the Virginia ranger, among whom were a few backwoods Pennsylvanians, were the only Anglo-Americans who had crossed the Ohio river.

These men had been trained amidst the toils and excitements of camp-life from infancy. The crack of the rifle was a familiar sound to them, and the Indian war-whoop not an unfrequent one.

Their character was moulded from two extremes. The first and fundamental one was the high-bred civilization of their fathers, and the other, was the influence which their collision with the savages had exerted over them. This had stimulated their heroic virtues, and also whetted their revenge to a wiry edge.

Into the wilderness they had marched—their feet clad with moccasins, after the Indian pattern—their hunting-shirts faced with a fringe, and sometimes ornamented with wild-cats' paws for epaulettes. The inevitable leathern belt which they wore was as heavy as a horse's surcingle of modern days, and from it depended sockets for a tomahawk, a large knife, and a pistol. A heavy rifle, bullet-pouch and powder horn, completed their outfit.

Such were the men, whose vaulting ambition in making the conquest of the country beyond the Ohio, had wrenched away the jewel which the heroic Wolfe in his dying moments, on the heights of Abraham, had bequeathed to the English crown.

Another element now comes to the scene. The New Englander has heard of these fertile valleys, and comes to see them. He is

dressed in a blue-black broadcloth coat, with a velvet collar stiffened with buckram, and projecting its inflexible form above the nape of his neck, often coming in collision with the rim of his bell-crowned hat as he throws his head back with an air of conscious dignity, neither constrained nor ostentatious. His vest reaches the entire length of his body, but is cut back, leaving angular flaps at the extremities. His feet are shod with ponderous boots, imparting steadfastness rather than elasticity to his gait.

By these men were formed in June, 1786, a corporation called The Ohio Company. It was composed of officers and soldiers from New England, who had served with honor in the war of the Revolution. On the 23d of November, 1787, the stockholders in this Company met at Bracket's Tavern, in Boston, and voted to send a corps of forty-eight men to the mouth of the Muskingum river, make a survey of public lands for a settlement, cut away the forests for a field, and make other preparations for the colony.

The wood choppers were to receive $4.00, and the surveyors $27.00 per month while in actual service, and General Rufus Putnam, the venerable Superintendent, was to receive $40.00 per month.*

The party landed in flat-boats at the mouth of the Muskingum, the 7th of April, 1788, and began to lay out a town which they first named Adelphi, but subsequently changed the name to Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the fair Queen of France, whose supreme influence in the French Court had been used in behalf of Franklin's mission there in 1778, to secure the acknowledgment of American independence.

The New England element was here planted for the first time beyond the Ohio, and here it ever retained its foothold. But ere its destined influence was to make itself widely known and felt, the third and last conquest of the country was to be made.

The first conquest had been made from the French, in the French and Indian war, which gave the country to the English. The second by the Virginians under Clark, which had given the country to the United States. But in both of these conquests the natives of the soil saw no infringements of their rights, nor were there any in theory. They had been invited to take part in both of them, and had done so under an impression that the nation to whom they had allied themselves, would protect them in their natural rights to the soil. But as ill-fortune would have it, for them, they had fought on the losing side, first for the French against the English, and next, chiefly against the Americans during the Revolutionary War, and had drawn upon themselves the resentment of the Virginians and Pennsylvanians,

*Hildreth's Pioneer Hist. p. 202.

and the Kentucky pioneers, who were now beginning to settle that infant state. At no distant day a collision was inevitable between them and the Anglo Americans, which was not to be confined to the border, but to be carried into the forest recesses, where the ownership of the soil was to be decided by the rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, in a series of campaigns, on a far grander scale than any which had yet been witnessed in the American forest.

In 1784, on the 1st of March, the state of Virginia had ceded all her rights in the Northwest to the United States.

The deed of cession contained the following conditions, viz: "That the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square; or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; and that the States so formed shall be distinct Republican States, and admitted members of the Federal Union; having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other States. That the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of, the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States. That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Post Vincennes, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose.*

The 20th day of May, 1785, Congress passed an ordinance for the survey and disposition of that portion of the territory which had been purchased by treaty from the Indian inhabitants. For carrying this ordinance into effect one surveyor was appointed from each of the States, and placed under the direction of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of the United States. The territory was to be surveyed into townships of six miles square, by lines

* This reservation was laid off on the borders of the Ohio river, adjacent to the falls; and the tract was called the "Illinois Grant," or "Clark's Grant."

running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles. "The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania, and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point and shall extend throughout the whole territory." The townships were to be numbered from south to north, beginning with No. 1, and the ranges to be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward; the first range extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie, being marked No. 1. The geographer was to attend personally to running the first east and west line, and to take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers. Seven ranges of townships, in the direction from south to north, were ordered to be first surveyed, and plats thereof transmitted to the board of treasury, and so of every succeeding seven ranges that should be surveyed.

After these lands had been advertised for sale, they were to be sold at a rate of not less than one dollar per acre, with an addition of the expenses of survey, estimated at thirty-six dollars a township. Four lots, numbered 8, 11, 26 and 29, were reserved for the United States, out of every township. These lots were mile squares of six hundred and forty acres. Lot No. 16 was reserved for the benefit of schools within the township.

The States of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, by virtue of ancient royal charters, respectively claimed large territories lying north of the river Ohio and west and northwest of the western boundary of Pennsylvania. The claim of New York was, however transferred to the United States, by a deed of cession, executed in Congress on the first day of March, 1781. The claim of the State of Massachusetts was assigned to the United States on the 19th day of April, 1785; and on the 13th day of September, 1786, the State of Connecticut transferred to the United States her claim to lands in the West, reserving a tract of about three millions of acres, bounded on the north by lake Erie, on the south by the forty-first degree of north latitude, and extending westwardly one hundred and twenty miles from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. This tract was called the Western Reserve of Connecticut. In the month of October, 1786, the legislature of that State ordered a part of the tract, lying east of the river Cuyahoga, to be surveyed, and opened an office for the sale of the lands. In 1792, a tract containing about five hundred thousand acres of land, lying in the western part of the reservation, was granted by Connecticut to certain citizens of that State as a compensation for property burned and destroyed in the towns of New London, New Haven, Fairfield, and Nor-

walk by the British troops in the course of the Revolutionary war. The tract thus granted was called the Fire Lands. On the 30th of May, 1800, the jurisdictional claims of the State of Connecticut to all the territory called the Western Reserve of Connecticut was surrendered to the United States. These various cessions included all the claims held by old collonial charters to any western lands, all of which being transferred to the United States, it only remained to extinguish the Indian title, in order, to possess the country.

On the 5th of October, 1787, Major-Gen. Arthur St. Clair was appointed Governor of the Northwest Territory, who was instructed to do this as rapidly as consistent with the peace.

The new Territorial Government was to go into operation on the first of the succeeding February, 1788. Emigration was rapidly coming into the country, in flat-boats down the Ohio river, and settling on lands already surveyed at Marietta, and further down on lands known by the name of Symes' Purchase.

Soon after the settlement had been made at Marietta, Major Benjamin Sites, with about twenty men, landed in November, 1788, at the mouth of the Little Miami river, within the limits of a tract of ten thousand acres, purchased by Major Sites from Judge Symes. Here they constructed a log fort, and laid out the town of Columbia.

The next month, on the 24th, Mathias Denman and Robert Patterson, with twelve or fifteen men, landed at the mouth of the Licking river, just below, and projected the town of Cincinnati. Losanteville was the first name given to the place, which had been manufactured (says Judge Burnet in his notes, page 47) "by a pedantic foreigner, whose name fortunately has been forgotten."

It was formed, he said, from the words Le-os-ante-ville, which he rendered "The Village opposite the Mouth." The name was not long retained, but by whose authority it was changed, is not known. Late in the ensuing autumn, which was in 1789, the town was surveyed by Colonel Ludlow. In February of the same year a third town was commenced on the same tract of land, at North Bend, just below Cincinnati. This was done by Judge Symes himself, the original purchaser of the tract. A few months later, a town was laid out and named Symes, but the place soon became known only by North Bend, and was destined to gain more notoriety as the residence of William Henry Harrison, than by its success as a city. As might be supposed, a feeling of rivalry existed between the three towns started, each of which put forth its best efforts to attract the emigration that was rapidly coming into the country, and for a time neither seemed

to eclipse the others in any substantial advantages over the other two.

At this juncture a celebrated charmer came to Cincinnati, and her influence turned the scales in its favor. The story runs as follows:

Major Doughty, a man no more invulnerable to the tender passion than other majors, was ordered by General Harmar to go down the Ohio, and erect a fort for the protection of the rapidly increasing population of the three villages. With this intent, he landed at the Bend, and soon formed the acquaintance of a fascinating woman, who was the wife of one of the settlers at the place. To avoid his clandestine attentions to his wife, the husband changed his residence to Cincinnati; but this only served to convince the Major that Cincinnati instead of North Bend was the most propitious place for the fort, and he promptly went thither and built a block-house, despite the remonstrances of Symes himself.*

The settlers at the Bend soon deserted the place in favor of Cincinnati, partly to put themselves under the protection of the the block-house, in case of an Indian outbreak, and partly through a conviction that it gave better promise of future progress.

Fort Washington, a more substantial work of defense, was soon afterwards built at the place.

During the early years of Western settlement, the Ohio river was the only highway by which the country was reached. Flatboats, known by the special name of arks, with all the appurtenances of cooking and sleeping, were built on the upper tributaries of the Ohio river, and from ten to twenty families would embark in a single one for the West. Down the Ohio they floated, whither fortune and the current would carry them, landing at last in some propitious cove in the river that looked inviting. Here the ark is moored, and in it they still make their home, till log cabins can be erected on shore. This done, the temporary community breaks up, each family setting up for themselves, and the new settlement is begun.

New Design, four miles south of Bellefontaine, in Monroe county, Illinois, was settled in this way by some Virginians in 1781. From the germ planted here, grew to maturity, by constant accessions from Virginia, and later from Kentucky, the settlements of Southern Illinois, with their habits and sentiments firmly ingrained into their minds, which they inherited from Virginia.

While the borders of the Ohio river were first being settled,

* Burnet's Notes, pp. 53–54.

the posts of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Sandusky, Niagara and Oswego, were scarcely thought of by the Americans. The British still held garrisons in them, all the same as they had done during the American Revolution.

On the 12th of July, in 1783, soon after the definitive treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, Gen. Washington sent Baron Steuben to Canada to confer with the Governor, for the purpose of transferring these posts to the United States, but to his surprise, he refused to deliver them up to the Americans, and the English continued to hold these posts for the present, although the act was in violation of the treaty of Paris.

From their ramparts waved the red cross of St. George, and even in these savage realms the loyalty to the English Government perhaps exceeded that of the Islanders themselves.

As might be supposed, the English had little confidence in the permanency of American institutions, and looked forward to a time when the attempt of the Americans to set up a government on the plan of universal suffrage would result in a failure. Under this expectation the prudential British, with an eye to the beautiful as well as their pecuniary interests, lingered on the great waters of the interior, waiting to see what the future might bring forward; and from these various forts they annually distributed large amounts of goods as presents to the Indians, perhaps on the same principle that a client, in anticipation of a lawsuit gives retaining fees to lawyers.

These acts stirred up bad blood in the hearts of the Americans, but there was no remedy. Washington himself counseled submission to the situation for the present, and with that clear vision into the future, for which he was remarkable, looked forward to a time when "manifest destiny" would drive the English away from the lakes.

On the 9th of July, 1788, St. Clair arrived at Marietta, and as Governor of the Northwest Territory, set the necessary machinery in motion to form a government agreeable to his appointment by Washington, the President of the United States.

The first county was laid out with dimensions large enough to include all the settlements around Marietta, and was named Washington county. About the first of June, 1790, the Governor, with the Judges of the Superior Court, descended the Ohio to Cincinnati, and laid out Hamilton county. A few weeks later he, with Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, proceeded to Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country, and organized St. Clair county.

Knox county, around Vincennes, was soon afterwards laid out. At each of these four counties, courts were established on a model which has not been materially changed since.

The Indians beheld these innovations into their country with rueful thoughts. The United States had neither surveyed nor sold any of these lands that had not been bought and paid for through treaties with certain chiefs, but it was claimed by the great mass of Indians that these chiefs had no authority to sell the lands.

To enumerate the various treaties by which the first purchases were made along the Ohio river, would fill a volume with monotonous formula. They are preserved in government archives, but are seldom referred to now.

They were the instruments by which the Indian was driven from his native soil, and having executed their mission, are filed away like writs of ejectment after having been served. In almost all cases they were signed by the Indians under a pressure from which they could not extricate themselves.

If they signed them they would get pay for their lands, which the borders of advancing civilization had rendered useless to them, while if they refused, they would nevertheless be forced back without any remuneration. The chiefs could plainly see this, but the great masses of red men could not. Neither could they understand how, by virtue of these instruments, the white man should come among them, cut away the forests, and whelm the fabric of savage society in ruin.

In vain the poetry, the romance, and the conscience of the nation might lift up its voice in behalf of the poor Indian. There was but one way in which he could be saved, which was to beat his scalping knife into a plowshare, and till the soil, but he was as incapable of doing this as the drones in the hive of industry in our day are to contribute to the public weal their share of its burdens.

Having established courts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, St. Clair returned to his headquarters at Cincinnati early in the summer of the same year, 1790. During his absence the outcropping discontents of the Indians had been made manifest by their waylaying the emigrants as they came down the Ohio in arks, and unless some means were taken to stop these attacks, this great and only highway to the West would soon be closed.

This was what the Indians aimed at in their attacks, nor had they yet learned the impossibility of the undertaking.

St. Clair now determined to invade the Indian country to punish the disturbers of the peace, and by virtue of authority vested in him by the President, he called for 1,000 militia from Virginia,* and 500 from Pennsylvania.

So careful was President Washington at this time not to pro-

* The State of Virginia then included Kentucky, in which settlements had been made before the Northwest Territory was organized.

voke a quarrel with the British, that he deemed it imprudent to invade the Indian country, without sending an apology to the English commander at Detroit, lest he might take offense that the Americans had dared to make war on his allies. The following is the letter which St. Clair sent him :

"MARIETTA, 19th September, 1790.

"Sir:—As it is not improbable that an account of the military preparations going forward in this quarter of the country may reach you, and give you some uneasiness, while the object to which they are to be directed is not perfectly known to you, I am commanded by the President of the United States to give you the fullest assurances of the pacific disposition entertained toward Great Britain and all her possessions ; and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken is not intended against the post you have the honor to command, nor any other place at present in the possession of the troops of his Britannic majesty, but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastising some of the savage tribes, whose depredations are become intolerable, and whose cruelties have of late become an outrage, not on the people of America only, but on humanity ; which I now do in the most unequivocal manner. After this candid explanation, sir, there is every reason to expect, both from your own personal character, and from the regard you have for that of your nation, that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command, and that you will do what in your power lies, to restrain the trading people, from whose instigations there is too good reason to believe, much of the injuries of the savages has proceeded. I have forwarded this letter by a private gentleman, in preference to that of an officer, by whom you might have expected a communication of this kind, that every suspicion of the purity of the views of the United States might be obviated."

Harmar's whole force amounted to 1,453 men all told. On the 26th of September Col. Hardin led the advance to cut a road, but the main body did not leave Fort Washington till the 3d of October, 1790.

The objective point was the Miami village at the bend of the Maumee, where Fort Wayne now stands.

After a march of sixteen days, Col. Hardin reached the place with the advance, intending to surprise the Indians, but on entering the village he found it deserted. Their store of corn was then rated at twenty thousand bushels in the ear,* which was consigned to the flames by the invaders.

*Brice's History of Fort Wayne, p. 125.

The troops were very disorderly, and despite the efforts of Gen. Harmar, who soon arrived with the main body, everything like reasonable discipline was impossible.

After a few days the celebrated chief, Little Turtle, fell suddenly upon Col. Hardin's detachment, while some miles away from the main body, and put them to flight with heavy loss. After visiting destruction on another Indian village two miles farther south, Gen. Harmar took up his march for Fort Washington.

But ere they left the scene of operations, Little Turtle managed to bring on another battle with a strong detachment under Col. Hardin, and severely defeated them.

The main body were not brought into action with the Indians at all, but continued their retreat to Fort Washington, where it, with Hardin's detachment, arrived on the 4th of November, having lost 183 men killed, besides many who were wounded.

While this expedition had been in progress, Gen. Hamtramck led a force from Vincennes up the Wabash, and destroyed the Piankeshaw villages, with their stores. The loss of their corn was severely felt by the Indians, but the prestige of victory was with them, and they were much elated with the success that had attended their arms.

The Indians were emboldened, and the apprehensions of the settlements were aroused, particularly those of the Marietta colony, who were more distant from succor in case of an Indian raid than Cincinnati, as the latter was within ready reach of the Kentucky settlements, where aid could be obtained at short notice.

After Harmar's expedition, the Indians, firm in the belief that the British would make common cause with them in their war with the United States, sent a deputation to Lord Dorchester, who then held command at Detroit, to learn from him the amount of support they could expect in the coming war.

Up to this time such inquiries had been answered with metaphor, uttered from the tongues of such villainous apostates of civilization as Girty, Elliot and McGee.

This notorious trio had used every means in their power to deceive the Indians into the belief that the English were ready to take up the hatchet in their behalf. Nor can it be denied that the English officers themselves had given the Indians grounds for such expectations. Indeed, they had, according to savage rites, pledged themselves to such a policy by making the Indians presents of hatchets, painted red as blood, by which emblem the Indian is bound as solemnly as by vows, and he had no reason to look upon such a symbol as not equally binding on the part of the whites, till he learned to the contrary by experience.

The issue soon came before Lord Dorchester in unequivocal form, and he declined the warlike proposals, greatly to the disappointment of his swarthy friends. No pretext offered for war with the United States, thanks to the prudence of Washington and Jay, by whose flexible but transcendant policy, any expecta tions which the English might entertain of winning jurisdiction over the Northwest had vanished into a forlorn hope.

Harmar's expedition having made no impression on the Indians, another was planned, to be undertaken the next year, 1791, by General Charles Scott. It consisted of eight hundred mounted men, the flower of Kentucky bush-fighters, and its destination was the Indian towns on the Wabash above Vincennes. The place was soon reached by the mounted scouts, the Indian towns destroyed, and about fifty prisoners taken, but no decisive action was fought.

This expedition, like Harmar's which preceded it, only served to inflame the resentment of the Indians and widen the breach between them and the whites into an impassable gulf.

Scott's raid was succeeded by another similar one under General Wilkinson, the succeeding summer. He went up the Wabash as far as Ouiatanon laying waste towns and fields as he went. Ouiatanon was then a thriving village of about seventy comfortable dwellings besides many Indian huts. It was composed of French, half-breeds and Indians, and many signs of progress, such as books and pictures, were manifest in this wilderness post. Their fields of corn were cultivated with ploughs, like the English and their horses and cows were well taken care of.*

The town was burnt and everything destroyed that the invaders could seize, whether the property of French or Indians. They all belonged to a less ambitious race than the Americans. The French and Indians had lived together here since 1733, and the hybrid offspring that rose up in the forest in consequence, was essentially Indian in social matters, while the French themselves manifested no disposition to break through the toils of savage manners, customs and superstitions. Whatever may have been their standard of honor or their communistic propensities o equality and indisposition to eclipse each other in wealth o grandeur, these were the last qualifications that would recom mend them to the favor of Americans, whose motto is Excelsior.

*Am. State Papers, Vol. V. p. 121.

CHAPTER XII.

Little Turtle—His Masterly Abilities—Privations of the Early Settlers—St. Clair's Expedition against the Indians—His Defeat—Its Causes—He Resigns—Gen. Anthony Wayne Succeeds him—Peace Commissioners on the Canada Border—The Indians claim the Ohio River as a Boundary Line between Themselves and the Whites—The Terms Inadmissible and the Council a Failure.

Among the forest heroes whose exploits have made their history illustrious in their downfall, was a chief named Little Turtle. Gifted with the essential qualities which make up the model great man in civilized communities, and nearly exempt from the eccentricities peculiar to his race, his many virtues shone with untarnished lustre amidst the turmoil of the camp and the vengeful spirit of the times. He was not a chief by birth, but rose to that distinction per force of his merit, both as counselor and warrior, and at maturity he became principal chief of the Miamis, and the acknowledged leader of the neighboring tribes who had confederated themselves together to beat back the white invaders of their soil. Immediately after the raids of Harmar, Scott and Wilkinson, the forest echoed with the war-whoop from the Muskingum to the Wabash. The Miamis, Chippewas, Delawares, Pottawattomies, Hurons and Shawanese, gathered under the banner of Little Turtle, who, with the assistance of Girty, McGee and Elliot, and his subordinate chiefs, constituted the best drilled army of Indian warriors that ever fought the white man. St. Clair had foreseen all this vengeful animosity that rankled in the hearts of the Indians, and had made preparations to meet it. The country over which he had been appointed governor was a wilderness of forest and prairie, tenanted by its native inhabitants; some of whom, under the tutelage of the French, had erected log cabins to live in instead of bark huts. The American settlers did not number two thousand in the entire territory. They were settled within the limits of Washington county, at the mouth of the Muskingum and Symes' Purchase, on the Ohio,

embracing Cincinnati and its vicinity. To these may be added a few Americans settled amongst the French villages of the Illinois country, and also among the settlers at Vincennes. Thriving settlements had started in Kentucky from the parent State of Virginia, and these were the main dependence of the inhabitants north of the Ohio river, in case of a sudden Indian outbreak.

The situation of the inhabitants in the entire valley of the Mississippi was complicated with untried conditions. England still held the entire lake country, Spain held the west bank of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans, and was putting forth her utmost exertions to induce the people of Kentucky to cecede from the United States, and to this end closed the navigation of the Mississippi, refusing to make it free to the Western people, except on conditions that they would cut loose from the parent stem and set up a government under the protection of Spain. To bring about this she sent intriguing emissaries to Kentucky; nor did they fail to get some encouragement. Under this double pressure, the settlers of the Northwest maintained an unshaken confidence in their ability to struggle through all the writhings of their crooked path.

They labored incessantly at their daily toil, and were contented with the coarsest fare, Corn meal mixed with water, baked on a board turned up to the fire, was almost the only bread they had, and all they wanted. Their meat, besides what game they shot, was pork, fattened on the nuts of the forest, which they called mast. Within the territory at this time were four American forts: Fort Knox, at Vincennes, garrisoned with 80 men; Ft. Washington, at Cincinnati, with 75 men; Ft. Steuben, twenty-two miles above Wheeling, on the Ohio River, with 61 men; and Campus Martius, at Marietta, with 45 men.

The latter place represented the blandishments of Boston, the classical learning of Yale, and the patriotism of Bunker Hill. Here the first laws to govern the new territory were published; and here its first courts were established, and though Gen. St. Clair's headquarters were at Cincinnati, Marietta was by far the most congenial place for his family to reside in. Accordingly suitable appartments were fitted up for their accommodation in Campus Martius. In Louisa, his oldest daughter, were united the Western heroine with the refinements of Philadelphia, where she was educated. In the winter of 1790, she was often seen skating on the Muskingum river, in which exercise few of the young officers could equal her in activity. During successive years she often rode through the adjacent forests on horseback, armed with her rifle, undaunted by the dangers of Indian ambuscades. Her skill in the use of this weapon was sometimes turned to a good

account in the wild game with which she furnished her father's table, shot by the bullet under the fatal aim of her blue eye.

Hildreth, the pioneer historian, in his rapturous praises of her surpassing beauty and grace, in his imagination substitutes a bow and arrow for her rifle, and sees her flying through the wooded heather, mounted on her high mettled steed, like Diana, the daughter of Jupiter, and goddess of hunting.

In this gifted lady was represented the type of American genius, the transcendent images of civilization, before which all bow with loyalty and devotion. Should this power supplant the barbarism of the forest, and make it teem with joy and beauty multiplied with years? or should the inherent rights of the Indians be respected, and the country which he owned be held sacred to the chase and occupied only by the tenants of the wigwam? This was the question before the American people, especially the pioneer who had crossed the Ohio, which was then looked upon by the Indians as a partition line between the whites and themselves.

On the 15th of May, 1791, Gen. St. Clair arrived at Ft. Washington, which was to be the rallying point for the troops destined to invade the Indian country. By a special act of Congress, 3,000 men were to be raised for this service from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; but owing to the poverty of the country, as well as the long continued draft upon its sinews of war, the quota had not been filled. The rising State of Kentucky, however, came to the rescue, and sent 418 men to partially supply the deficiency. On the 17th of September the whole force was gathered at Ludlow's Station, five miles north of Ft. Washington, and the march began.

The first day brought the army to the banks of the Big Miami where Fort Hamilton was built, which is the site of the present beautiful town of Hamilton, twenty-four miles north of Cincinnati.

Continuing northwardly forty-two miles, Fort Jefferson was built on the 24th, six miles south of the present town of Greenville, in Dark county. Delays in the arrival of provisions for the troops, caused murmuring among the militia, and three hundred of them deserted. On the 30th, the army made another advance of seven miles.

On the 3d of November it had arrived at the head waters of the Wabash, where it encamped in order of battle, as the enemy were supposed to be near.

The next day, before sunrise, just after the early morning drill, an advance corps of the army were attacked and driven in with great precipitancy upon the main body. Little Turtle, who

commanded the Indians, with his natural penetration, made the most of this success by following it up with such promptness that the disorder in St. Clair's army, occasioned by his dashing charge, was never fully recovered from, although the action soon became general, and several successful bayonet charges under Col. Darke, caused the Indians to retreat for a short time, but only to renew the battle fiercer than ever.

At nine o'clock it became evident to St. Clair that the day was lost. One-third of his men laid dead or wounded on the ground, which they could no longer defend. The artillery was silent for the want of men to serve it. General Butler, the second in command, laid mortally wounded, while his own clothes were pierced with bullets; for he, with his accustomed courage, had shared the dangers of the soldiers. Under these distressing circumstances, he executed a skillful manouver in the face of the triumphant enemy, and secured a retreat with less loss than was feared might result from a headlong flight before a fleet-footed and victorious foe. His camp equipage and most of the wounded were left in the hands of the victors. His losses were 39 officers and 593 men killed, and 22 officers and 242 men wounded. Little Turtle reported his loss at 150 killed, and from his unchallenged record for integrity, his report may be taken as correct.

The most rigid scrutiny failed to cast any blame on the conduct of St. Clair in this disastrous battle, but attributed the defeat to the want of discipline in the raw recruits of which his army was composed, not forgetting, with all, to state that the Indians fought with exemplary courage, directed by the master mind of Little Turtle.

More than a century ago there was a school of naturalists, composed largely of French savants, who promulgated a theory based on scientific principles, as they averred that America did not produce the higher grades of animals; that even man would become dwarfed in body and mind in that unfriendly climate, unless fresh European blood was constantly infused into his veins by emigration and intermarriage.

This theory must fall to the ground when the soil of America produces such men as Little Turtle, whose great mind, not traceable to European origin, shone forth even more conspicuously in his statesman-like counsels after the battle than ever before, as will appear in the history of the next campaign. This theory, however, had already been put to the blush by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, when he was in Paris in 1783, as minister to settle terms of peace with England after the Revolution. On a certain day he invited a number of the *literati* of France to dine with

him. Some casualty turning the subject on the natural history of America, one of the guests asked Franklin's opinion on the then acknowledged inferiority of animal growth there. The attention of the whole company was now arrested to listen to the profound words of the American philosopher, and when he arose from his seat, and requested his American friends to do the same, the interest was redoubled. The six Americans present arose—all muscular, overgrown men, with a full measure of brains and thorough bass voices. "Now let six Frenchmen arise," said the sage of the New World. Up started the required number of Parisians, whose slender frames and pale faces contrasted unfavorably with the Americans. This settled the point.

When the terrible defeat of St. Clair is read, let it not be forgotten that the soil of the Northwest nurtured into being the men to accomplish it in defense of their homes; and if this brave and eloquent people had enjoyed the advantages of civilization, we could not have conquered them, nor should we have wished to. Even under all their disadvantages they made a valiant defense, and in the grandeur of their fall left ample proofs that muscle and mind are indigenous to our soil.

After this disastrous campaign emigration ceased, but the American forts were all held, including Fort Hamilton and Fort Jefferson, which had been built by St. Clair on his way into the Indian country. From prudential as well as patriotic motives, he now resigned his position as commander-in-chief of the army, and General Anthony Wayne was substituted in his place. Five thousand men were to be raised for the expedition, which he was to lead against Little Turtle. While these preparations were making for the new campaign, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, were appointed as commissioners in behalf of the United States, to meet the Indians in council near the mouth of Detroit river, not distant from the Indian camp at the rapids of the Maumee, and if possible negotiate a peace. Among the secret instructions which were given them by Washington, the President of the United States, they were required to make the treaty of Fort Harmar the basis of a peace. By this treaty, the eastern and southern portions of the present State of Ohio had been ceded to the United States, although the Indians disputed the validity of the treaty, on the ground that the tribes most interested had taken no part in it. Other instructions authorized the commissioners to make some concessions to the Indians, by giving up some lands already occupied outside of the limits established by the treaty of Fort Harmar.

They were also authorized to give to the Indians fifty thousand dollars worth of goods immediately, and ten thousand dollars

worth annually forever. Twenty thousand dollars in coin was to be given to the head chiefs besides the above. The commissioners arrived on the ground in July, 1793, by way of the lakes, courteously assisted by the English in their methods of travel at that time. While the council was in session, Gen. Wayne's army remained near Cincinnati, waiting its result, and the Indians, on their part, faithfully preserved a peaceful attitude, according to a previous agreement on both sides. The great point for which the Indians contended was that the Ohio river should forever be the boundary line between themselves and the whites; and the arguments they used to sustain this claim, can be best understood by quoting extracts from their speeches, and the replies to them by the commissioners.

Previous to the meeting of these commissioners with the Indians, as proposed, Major Trueman and Col. Hardin left Fort Washington, with copies of a speech from President Washington to the hostile Indians, of which the following is an extract:

Brothers: The President of the United States entertains the opinion that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts: that you believe the United States wants to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so: on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life, of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land. War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engaged to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States. Brothers: Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead your judgment, and influence you to continue the war: but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure. The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principle chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity. Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all further depredations; and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the general government, and there make a peace, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum, [Fort Harmar,] in the year 1789. But, if any of

your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive a full satisfaction upon that head. The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to this city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey. * * Come, then, and be convinced for yourselves, of the beneficence of General Washington, the great chief of the United States, and afterward return and spread the glad tidings of peace and prosperity of the Indians to the setting sun."

The council was opened on the 30th of July, by Simon Girty, interpreter, who presented, in behalf of the Indians, the following paper to the commissioners:

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.* BROTHERS: The deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing. Brothers: You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the confederate Indians. Brothers: You know very well that the boundary line, which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio. Brothers: If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river. Brothers: We therefore ask you, are you fully authorized by the United States to continue, and firmly fix on the Ohio river as the boundary line between your people and ours? Done in general council at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, 27th July, 1793, in behalf of ourselves, and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in a full council."

To this opening of the case the commissioners replied:

"Brothers: We do know very well, that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, *twenty-five years ago*, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you and the white people of the British colonies; and we all know that, about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the King of Great Britain, and the people of those colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace, made with the King, about ten years ago, by which the Great lakes, and the waters which unite them were, by him, declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

"Brothers: Peace having been thus made between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations who had taken part with the King; for this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, *inviting them to*

come and make peace. The first treaty was held about nine years ago, at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations. Afterward treaties were made with divers Indian nations south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Ka-kia-pilathy, here present, and other Shawnee chiefs, in behalf of the Shawnee nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

"Brothers: The commissioners who conducted the treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the great council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and settled upon them; also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great waters, and settled upon a part of the same lands.*

"Brothers: After some time, it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami; therefore the great council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire which he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh: some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.

"Brothers: All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of the treaties.

"Brothers: After making all these treaties, and after hearing the chiefs express freely their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly, large tracts have been sold and set-

* The French settlement at Gallipolis.

tled, as before mentioned. And now, brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, *it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.*

"Brothers: You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expenses which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know that, under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States can not make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

"Brothers: You seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware nations to the State of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver creek, at the Ohio, due north to lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the king of England to your ancient friend, William Penn; of this sale, made by the Wyandot and Delaware nations to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

"Brothers: The concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up, and finally relinquish to the United States, some of the lands on your side of the river Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed *all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and, also, a small tract of land at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and warriors;* and, in consideration thereof, the United States *would give such a large sum, in money or goods, as was never given at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their foot on this island.* And, because those lands did, every year, furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; and, therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children."

To these overtures of the commissioners the Indians replied:

Brothers: It is now three years since you desired to speak

with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you. Brothers: You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek,* and other places. Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us. Brothers: Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property. Brothers: You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you can not move them off: and we can not give up our land. Brothers: We are sorry we can not come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago. Brothers: We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington."

"The council here breaking up, Captain Elliot went to the Shawnee chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back, and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: 'Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors.' The deputation of Indians were then told that the commissioners would wait to hear again from the council at the Rapids of the Maumee."

"On the 16th of August, 1793, Messrs. Lincoln, Randolph, and Pickering, received the following answer (in writing), to their speech of the 31st of July:

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.* Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the King, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;' and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own

*Fort McIntosh.

acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say: 'Brothers, the commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

"Brothers: "This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: *That they went to meet your commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.*

"Brothers: Money, to us, is of no value; and to most of us unknown: and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, *we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.*

Brothers: "We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. *Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold them.* If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

"Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

"Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another, by having agreed to do us justice after having long and injuriously withheld it. We mean, in the acknowledgment you have now made, that the king of England never did, nor ever had a right, to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

"Brothers: You have talked also a great deal about preemption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king at the treaty of peace.

"Brothers: We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands. And we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us. We have never parted with such a power.

"Brothers: At our general council held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio; and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that point. That is the reason we have never met. We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back, and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was principally directed to obtain that information.

"Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793."

It was now evident that the council would prove a failure, as the terms of the Indians were inadmissible. The commissioners therefore made the following declaration, and the session adjourned without effecting its purpose, each party departing, not without painful regrets, to renew a conflict desperate on the part of the Indians, and doubtful on the part of the whites:

"*To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations assembled at the foot of the Maumee Rapids:* Brothers: We have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we deliverd to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations, and

we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you, *that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States.* Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is, therefore, at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result; but, knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States—which, as far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you—we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

"Done at Captain Elliott's, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 16th day of August, 1793.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
} Commissioners of the United States."

The council, which had been in session seventeen days, ending in failure, the commissioners made all haste to Ft. Erie in Pennsylvania, which was then the outermost post of the Americans on the lakes. From there they sent the news of their unsuccessful mission to General Wayne, then waiting the issue at Ft. Washington. In justice to the English, it should not be omitted that they extended exemplary courtesy to the American commissioners in providing the means of transportation to and from the place where the council was held, at the mouth of the Maumee, as well as by other marks of respect from Governor Simcoe

CHAPTER XIII.

Genet, the Minister of the New French Republic, Sent to the United States—Abuse of his Power Dangerous to America—He is Recalled at the Request of Jefferson—General Wayne marches against the Indians—Builds Fort Recovery—The Indians Attack the Place—Are Repulsed—Evidence of English Complicity with the Indian Cause—General Wayne Advances to the Saint Mary's River—Sends Peace Proposals to Little Turtle—He wishes to accept them, but is Overruled in the Council—A Decisive Battle Ensues—General Wayne under the Guns of the English Fort—The English Commander Takes Offense—An angry Correspondence Ensues—English View of the Case—Fort Wayne Built—Treaty of Greenville—Little Turtle's Honorable Record—His death—Public Honors to his Memory—The Free Navigation of the Mississippi conceded by Spain—The English give up the American Posts on the Lakes—Cleveland Settled.

A little before midnight, August 1st, 1793, two officers of the French Revolutionary government, entered the apartments of Marie Antoinette and aroused her from a disquiet sleep. From there she was conducted to a still closer confinement in a prison cell, eight feet long, furnished only with a bed of straw. On the 16th of October she was executed, and her head severed from her body, was held up to the view of the thousands assembled there to see the blood of their queen (whose graces had charmed the courts of Europe,) dripping over the bare arms of her executioner. These and other excesses of the Revolutionary government, caused an immediate declaration of war by England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Peidmont, the Two Sicilies and the Roman States, against France. On the 8th of April, 1793, Genet, the Minister of the new French Republic, which had accomplished these political tragedies, arrived in the United States. He was received with enthusiasm as a fitting memorial of gratitude for the timely services of France, so recently rendered to the United States in its struggle

for liberty, for the people, in their blind zeal in the cause of Republicanism, did not stop to call in question the means by which it was obtained. It was confidently expected by Genet, that the United States would make common cause with France, in her headlong career of revolution, which at one time threatened to sweep through Europe, and the tempting prize which he held forth to the American people, to secure their co-operation, was well calculated to make them set their feet into the treacherous snare, and would have succeeded but for the discernment of the Fathers of our Republic, particularly Washington, Adams and Jay. Entering with masterly zeal upon his labors, with an overstrain perhaps not inconsistent with the genius of his government, Genet abused his prerogatives by fitting out French vessels on American waters, by establishing recruiting quarters in South Carolina, to raise troops for the invasion of the Spanish possessions of Florida, and also recruiting quarters in Kentucky to raise troops for the invasion of Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, with a view to open that stream for the free navigation of Western Commerce. The latter was a very popular measure among the Kentuckians, and it required the utmost exertions of the American cabinet to circumvent the designs of Genet, which if allowed to go on, would have involved us in a war with Spain. It is equally certain also, that England would have declared war against us if Genet had succeeded in his designs of invading Spanish territory with American troops, for Spain was then the active ally of England against France, in which case the English forces in Canada would have made common cause with Little Turtle, who with the Spanish soldiers from New Orleans added to them, could have driven every American settler out of the country west of the Ohio. To guard against these calamities, Washington determined to issue a proclamation, warning the Western people against enlisting in the service against the Spaniards, and Jefferson, Secretary of State, wrote a letter to Gouverneur Morris, our Minister to France, requesting the removal of Genet. This prompt action was taken while Genet was very popular among the masses in America, having secured their favour by promising not only to open the free navigation of the Mississippi, but also proposing to pay off the American debt by purchasing provisions for the French soldiers while they were engaged in dethroning the monarchs of Europe. But ere all this was accomplished he was re-called from his post, and Mr. Fauchet substituted in his place. The new minister soon made amends for the high-handed manner by which his predecessor had assumed responsibilities too grave even for the Father of his country. That the timely removal of Genet saved America from a war with England and Spain is evident, from the fact that dur-

ing the height of his career in the West, Governor Simcoe, of Canada, was ordered by the English Parliament to build a fort at the Maumee Rapids, about twenty miles above the mouth of that stream, in the heart of the Indian country, and far within the limits of American territory, as settled by the treaty of 1783, a measure doubtless taken under conviction that war with the United States would soon be declared. A special messenger from the Spanish provinces visited the hostile tribes at the same time, offering them assistance.

While this indecision marked the councils of the English and Spanish, a respectable force had gathered at Fort Washington, and were encamped below on the banks of the Ohio river. Congress had passed an act to raise 5,000 men for the expedition, but owing to reluctance in enlisting, sickness and desertion, Wayne's army numbered no more than 3,600 men. Meantime it was all important that the offensive should be taken as soon as it was known that the late negotiations for peace had resulted in failure. Accordingly Wayne took up his march by the way of Forts Hamilton and Jefferson, and reached the vicinity of the upper tributaries of the Wabash and also the Big Miami on the 24th of December, 1793. Here he built Fort Greenville, which he made his winter quarters.

Soon after his arrival here, he sent a strong detachment to the battle ground of the unfortunate St. Clair, which was but a short distance from Fort Greenville, where he built Fort Recovery. Here the bones of the slain which had been mouldering in the forest shades for two years, were gathered together and buried.

The winter was spent in the necessary work of drilling and disciplining the troops, no enemy making their appearance till the 30th of June, 1794, when a heavy force of Indians, assisted by 50 Canadian British subjects, made a furious attack on Fort Recovery. The action was very obstinate and resulted in severe losses on both sides, but the fort was not taken, and the Indians fell back to the main body.

Just before this action, two Pottowattomies had been taken prisoners by Captain Gibson, and in reply to questions as to expectations of assistance, answered as follows:

Q. When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

A. On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs—a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

Q. What was the message brought by those Indian chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout (foot of rapids of the Maumee) on the first day of May?

A. That the British sent them to invite the Pottawatomies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were

then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there were about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Col. McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provision, with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join and go with them to war.

Q. What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at at Roche de Bout on the first of May?

A. The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamis. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

Q. What number of warriors do you suppose actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

A. By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assembled; and were the Pottawattomies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than fifty of the Pottawatomies will go to war.

The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Gov. Simcoe.

Q. At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

A. About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Gov. Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pottawatomies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, and everything they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans, and that he would command the whole. He sent us the same message last winter, and again on the first of the last moon, from Roche deBout; he also said he was much obliged to us for our past services, and that he would now help us to fight and render us all the services in his power against the Americans. All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red. We received four different invitations from Gov. Simcoe, inviting the Pottawatomies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last

moon, when he promised to join us with 1,500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wished for peace, except a few of our foolish young men.

Examined and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.*

On the 28th of July following, General Wayne commenced a forward movement, reaching the St. Mary's river on the 1st of August. On the 8th he arrived at the south branch of the Maumee, and continuing his course down its banks, he came to the vicinity of the Rapids on the 20th, where the British fort was visible, around which the Indian army under Little Turtle were hovering, not without hopes of assistance. His entire army were concealed among the prostrated trees of the forest, which a tornado had leveled to the ground a few years before, where this distinguished chief was debating in his own mind what was the best course to pursue. * * Gen. Wayne had just sent peace proposals to Little Turtle.

"We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders, and we cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us," said the cautious veteran to his chiefs. Continuing, he says: "The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps; the night and day are alike to him; and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

This wise counsel was disregarded by the other chiefs, and Little Turtle was forced to battle, lest he might rest under the imputation of cowardice.

On the 20th of August, General Wayne came upon the army of Little Turtle, who were concealed among the fallen trees a few miles from the British fort. The Indians were routed, although they fought with masterly courage; but they could not stand against the furious bayonet charge made against them by Wayne's soldiers. In their flight they pressed towards the British fort, hoping, doubtless, to find protection within its walls, but the gates were shut in the faces of the wretched fugitives, and they fled thence to the covert of the forest.

After the battle, Gen. Wayne destroyed their fields of corn on the Maumee. Says he, in his report:

"The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margin of these beautiful rivers. The Miamis of the lake (or Maumee) and Au Glaize appear like a continued village for a number of miles, both above

*American State Papers, V. 489.

and below this place. Nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."

After the battle, Col. Campbell, the commander of the British fort, addressed General Wayne a note, protesting against the near approach of the Americans, who were then within the reach of his guns. A spicy correspondence ensued, more noted for keen repartee than courtesy, but happily no act of hostility took place.

To show the spirit which the English evinced in building the fort, and the light in which they viewed the position of its commander, the following is inserted from that able representative of British policy, Isaac Weld, whose notes were made during his travels in America the next year, while the excitements were at their height:

"The Miami Fort, situated on the river of the same name, was built by the English, in the year 1793, at which time there was some reason to imagine that the disputes existing between Great Britain and the United States would not have been quite so amicably settled, perhaps, as they have been; at least that doubtless must have been the opinion of government, otherwise they would not have given orders for the construction of a fort within the boundary line of the United States, a circumstance which could not fail to excite the indignation of the people thereof. General Wayne, it would appear, had received no positive orders from his government to make himself master of it; could he have gained possession of it, however, by a coup-de-main, without incurring any loss, he thought that it could not but have been deemed an acceptable piece of service by the public, from whom he should have received unbounded applause. Vanity was his ruling passion, and actuated by it on this occasion, he resolved to try what he could do to obtain possession of the fort. Colonel Campbell, however, by his spirited and manly answer to the summons that was sent, to surrender the fort on account of its being situated within the boundary line of the States, soon convinced the American general that he was not to be shaken by his remonstrances or intimidated by his menaces, and that his two hundred men, who composed the garrison, had sufficient resolution to resist the attacks of his army of three thousand, whenever he thought proper to march against the fort. The main division of the American army, at this time, lay at the distance of about four miles from the fort; a small detachment from it, however, was concealed in the woods at a very little distance from the fort, to be ready at the call of General Wayne, who, strange to tell, when he found he was not likely to get possession of it in consequence of the summons he sent, was so imprudent, and departed so much

from the dignity of the general and the character of the soldier, as to ride up to the fort, and to use the most gross and illiberal language to the British soldiers on duty in it. His object in doing so was, I should suppose, to provoke the garrison to fire upon him, in which case he would have had a pretext for storming the fort.

"Owing to the great prudence, however, of Colonel Campbell, who issued the strictest orders to his men and officers to remain silent, notwithstanding any insults that were offered to them, and not to attempt to fire, unless indeed an actual attack were made on the place, Wayne's plan was frustrated, much bloodshed certainly saved, and a second war between Great Britain and America perhaps averted.

"General Wayne gained no great personal honour by his conduct on this occasion; but the circumstance of his having appeared before the British fort in the manner he did, operated strongly in his favour in respect to his proceedings against the Indians. These people had been taught to believe, by the young Canadians that were amongst them, that if any part of the American army appeared before the fort it would certainly be fired upon; for they had no idea that the Americans would have come in sight of it without taking offensive measures, in which case resistance would certainly have been made. When, therefore, it was heard that General Wayne had not been fired upon, the Indians complained grievously of their having been deceived, and were greatly disheartened on finding that they were to receive no assistance from the British. Their native courage, however, did not altogether forsake them; they resolved speedily to make a stand, and accordingly having chosen their ground, awaited the arrival of General Wayne, who followed them closely."

The Indians now defeated and left without hope from their British friends were at the mercy of the Americans, and the alternative was peace or starvation, and indeed the latter seemed imminent, even with peace, since the destruction of their crops. But even under the fatal duress of defeat and the havoc of war, the time-honored custom of deliberate councils was not departed from, for hasty diplomacy is not one of the weaknesses of the Indian, and before they could hold a peace council with the Americans, they held a council among themselves at the mouth

In justification of General Wayne's reputation, it may be proper to state that, under ordinary circumstances his conduct before the British fort might have been an excess of military authority, and have justly merited Mr. Welds' censure; but the English, by building the fort on American soil, had subjected themselves to the sport of fortune, by making it necessary for the Americans to transcend the ordinary rules of national etiquette, in order to make the most of their victory over the Indians.—*Author.*

of the Detroit river, and during their deliberations here, Gov. Simcoe and other English agents endeavored to dissuade the Indians from making peace with the Americans. Their efforts in this direction, however, were in vain, unaccompanied as they were by any positive promise of alliance.

Happily for America, Washington had taken timely steps to avert war, having on the 16th of April sent the following message to the Senate:

"The communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But, as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate, John Jay, envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majesty.

"My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for the friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity."

The definitive treaty of peace between England and the United States in 1873, had left many important points of national comity unprovided for, as to those rights which may be called common in the family of nations. Our independence had been acknowledged, but any influence we might exert abroad made not even a ripple in the great sea of European diplomacy, which then in the plenitude of its grasp from two rival powers (England and France), aimed each to subject the whole world to its influence.

Under these circumstances, any diplomatic favors from England must necessarily result more from the statesmanship of our minister, than from any power behind him, and Washington saw and made provision for this contingency when he appointed our envoy to England.

Mr. Jay arrived in London in June, and, says Lyman, the Diplomatic historian, "There can be no question but a war would have taken place if he had not succeeded in making a treaty." The instrument was not signed till the following November, but his presence at the Court of Saint James, even before the treaty was signed, had inspired that body with due respect for the government which he so ably represented, and prevented any hasty

declaration of war. The treaty was a very lengthy document, and only the second article will be quoted, as it only had a direct influence on the Northwest:

"ART. 2. Great Britain to withdraw her troops from certain posts within the boundary line of the United States, on or before the 1st of June, 1796, &c. Settlers and traders residing in the precincts of the posts to be surrendered, to enjoy their property unmolested, &c. These settlers not to be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take the oath of allegiance, &c." *

General Wayne remained near the battle ground till the 14th of the succeeding month, September, when he took up his march westwardly to a deserted Miami village, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and Saint Mary's rivers. He reached the place on the 17th, and set his men at work building a fort. It was finished on the 22nd and named Ft. Wayne, in honor of the commanding general. The christening was solemnized by the firing of fifteen rounds of artillery by Col. Hamtramck. This was the nucleus around which the city of Ft. Wayne grew into its present proportions.

The place had been noted as a portage from the head waters of the Wabash to the Miami river, ever since the founding of Vincennes, and without doubt as long before that period as the time when the country first became inhabited by the Indians, during whose occupation of the county, the spot laid in the track of their communication between the Wabash Valley and Lake Erie. Here General Wayne remained the succeeding winter, and was visited by delegations from the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, Miamis, Delawares and Shawanese, all anxious for peace. Arrangements were now made for the most important Indian treaty ever held in the west, to be convened at Fort Greenville the following June, 1795.

After the usual preliminaries which always go before the business of an Indian council, Little Turtle made the following able speech:

"I wish to ask of you and my brothers present, one question. I would be glad to know what lands have been ceded to you, as I am uninformed in this particular. I expect that the lands on the Wabash, and in this country, belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brothers of the United States, and others present, that there are men of sense and understanding among my people, as well as among theirs, and that

* NOTE.—The reason which the British gave for holding the posts, was to secure the payment of private debts contracted before the revolution, due her subjects from private individuals in America, alleging, and perhaps with truth, that legal obstructions had been thrown in the way of their collection. If this was so, such obstructions were removed, as provided in Article 7 in the treaty.

these lands were disposed of without our knowledge or consent. I was, yesterday, surprised, when I heard from our grandfathers, the Delawares, that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by, and made peace with, the latter; because you had before told us that it was the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sauckeys, [Sacs,] who had made this cession*

"I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and, also, the Pottawattamies of St. Joseph's, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but now I take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemoral without molestation or dispute. The print of my ancestors' houses are every where to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you, and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence, down the Ohio, to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on lake Michigan; at this place, I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanees. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to find that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject: for their conduct would lead one to suppose, that the Great Spirit, and their forefathers, had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country, and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give you an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I expected."*

To this speech General Wayne himself replied, as follows:

"Brothers, the Miamis: I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his fathers first kindled the fire at Detroit, and

*Minutes and procedings of the Treaty of Greenville.

stretched his line from thence to the headwaters of Scioto; thence, down the same, to the Ohio; thence, down that river, to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of lake Michigan, and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country undisturbed from time immemorial. Brothers: These boundaries inclose a very large space of country, indeed: they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded, have, within these three days, been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanees. The Little Turtle says, the prints of his forefathers' houses are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother, it is true, these prints are to be observed; but, at the same time, we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born. These have since been in the occupancy of the British, who must, in their turn, relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and Indians, will be all as one people. [A white string.]

"I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and, first of all, I find at Detroit a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers: next, at Vincennes, on the Wabash; again at Musquiton, on the same river; a little higher up that stream, they are to be seen at Ouiatanon. I discover another strong trace at Chicago; another on the St. Joseph's of lake Michigan. I have seen distinctly the prints of a French and a British post at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the rapids, now in their possession; prints, very conspicuous, are on the Great Miami, which were possessed by the French forty-five years ago; and another trace is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky. It appears to me, that, if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your forefathers to preserve their lands entire for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction: for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers, the French, and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all; therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippewas, and the other Indians, comes with a bad grace, indeed, from the very people who perhaps set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your forefathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands. However, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States further valuable compensation for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

"Younger brothers: I will now inform you who it was who

gave us these lands, in the first instance. It was your fathers, the British, who did not discover that care for your interest which you ought to have experienced. This is the treaty of peace, made between the United States of America and Great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British. On these terms they obtained peace. [Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.] Here you perceive that all the country south of the great lakes has been given up to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on their side of the boundary agreed on. I told you, some days ago, that treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British, on their part, did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done; however, they now find it so, and a precise period is accordingly fixed for their delivery. I have now in my hand the copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I will read you a little. [First and second articles of Mr. Jay's treaty read.] By this solemn agreement, they promise to retire from Michilimacinac, Fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and all other places on this side of the lakes, in ten moons from this period, and leave the same to full and quiet possession of the United States.

After much deliberation the treaty was concluded on the following basis as to giving up Indian lands:

Art. 3. The general boundary line between the land of the United States, and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westwardly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Laramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Outtawa river. The said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit:

1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Laramie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece, six miles square, at the

head of the navigable waters of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami river, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or Old Weatowns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British Fort, on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the Raisin on the south and Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land adjacent of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the Main to the north of the Island, to measure six miles on lake Huron, or the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or strait; and also the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the old Peorias, fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake on said Illinois river. And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward every year forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured.

The treaty was signed, Aug. 3d, 1795, and hushed the wilderness to peace, till the great events in which the Continental wars of Europe had developed issues which were felt even on the frontiers of America, and had much to do in again entangling the Indians in an issue between themselves and the Americans, as will be told in future chapters.

After the treaty, Little Turtle did all in his power to induce his people to adopt the modes of the white man, and with this end in view, visited Philadelphia to solicit Congress and the benevolent Society of Friends to assist him in this laudable undertaking. Here he had an introduction to the celebrated French travellers, Volney and Koskiuosko, which is described as follows by Drake:

"At the time of Mr. *Volney's* interview with him for information, he took no notice of the conversation while the interpreter was communicating with Mr. *Volney*, for he did not understand English, but walked about, plucking out his beard and eye-brows. He was dressed now in English clothes. His skin, where not exposed, Mr. *Volney* says, was as white as his; and on speaking upon the subject, *Little-turtle* said, "I have seen Spaniards in Louisiana, and found no difference of color between them and me. And why should there be any? In them, as in us, it is the work of the *Father of colors*, the *Sun*, that burns us. You white people compare the color of your face with that of your bodies." Mr. *Volney* explained to him the notion of many, that his race was descended from the Tartars, and by a map showed him the supposed communication between Asia and America. To this *Little-turtle* replied, "*Why should not these Tartars, who resemble us, have come from America? Are there any reasons to the contrary?* Or why should we not both have been born in our own country?" It is a fact that the Indians give themselves a name which is equivalent to our word *indigene*, that is, *one sprung from the soil*, or natural to it.*

"When Mr. *Volney* asked *Little-turtle* what prevented him from living among the whites, and if he were not more comfortable in Philadelphia than upon the banks of the Wabash, he said, "*Taking all things together, you have the advantage over us; but here I am deaf and dumb. I do not talk your language; I can neither hear, nor make myself heard. When I walk through the streets, I see every person in his shop employed about something: one makes shoes, another hats, a third sells cloth, and every one lives by his labor. I say to myself, Which of these things can you do? Not one. I can make a bow or an arrow, catch fish, kill game, and go to*

* See Volney's Travels, *ut supra*.

war: but none of these is of any use here. To learn what is done here would require a long time." "*Old age comes on.*" "*I should be a piece of furniture useless to my nation, useless to the whites, and useless to myself.*" "*I must return to my own country.*'"

"At the same time (1797), among other eminent personages to whom this chief became attached in Philadelphia, was the renouned *Koskiusko*. This old Polish chief was so well pleased with *Little-turtle*, that when the latter went to take his final leave of him, the old 'war-worn soldier' and patriot presented him with a beautiful pair of pistols, and an elegant robe made of sea-otter's skin, of the value of 'several' hundred dollars.*

After this successful issue of General Wayne's campaign, Spain made a treaty with the United States, dated March 3d, 1796, in which the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed to the Americans, but she was very tardy in the fulfillment of its stipulations.

At that time there were strong Spanish forts at Natchez and Vicksburg, then called Walnut Hills, and although the treaty bound her to give them up, she still held possession of them, greatly to the perplexity of the Americans. Meantime this faithless government continued her intriguing with the Western people to induce them to set up a government for themselves independent of the union; and as an incentive, sent a Mr. Powers as a secret agent among them, with instructions to offer them the free navigation of the Mississippi, besides a hundred thousand dollars in cash.†

No substantial encouragement was given to this scheme, and on the 5th of October, 1798, Spain reluctantly retired from the posts she had unjustly held on the east bank of the Mississippi, and American vessels could now pass to the sea unmolested. In July, 1796, the British evacuated all the posts which they held on American soil in the West. Detroit, the most important of them all, was immediately taken possession of by a detachment under Captain Porter. On retiring from the post, the British,

* "*Little-turtle* died in the spring of 1812, at his residence, but a short time before the declaration of war against England by the U. States. His portrait, by Stewart, graces the walls of the war-office of our nation. The following notice appeared in the public prints at the time of his death: 'Fort Wayne. 21 July, 1812. On the 14 inst. the celebrated Miami chief, the *Little-turtle*, died at this place, at the age of 65 years. Perhaps there is not left on this continent one of his color so distinguished in council and in war. His disorder was the gout. He died in a camp, because he chose to be in the open air. He met death with great firmness. The agent for Indian affairs had him buried with the honors of war, and other marks of distinction suited to his character.'"

† State Papers, Vol. II, p. 103.

regardless of the courtesies for which they are generally exemplary, acted the part of a malicious tenant on leaving a house.

The wells of the fort were filled with stones, the windows of the fort broken, the gates locked, and the keys left in the custody of an aged Negro,* who, with fidelity to his trust, promptly gave them to the Americans, and the old fort passed out of the hands of its tenacious occupants, with its glorious memories giving place to painful regrets, as they took their departure down the clear waters of the Straits, bidding good-bye to their dusky friends, who had so many years hung around the place in hope of alliance against the aggressive Americans.

The State of Connecticut, in 1795, disposed of a portion of the Western Reserve to a company known by the title of the Connecticut Land Company, of which Moses Cleaveland† was one of the directors. The next year, he with a party of surveyors started for the new country in April. Their route was chosen through Albany, thence to Oswego. Here they arrived the 3d of June, a month before the British had evacuated the Western posts, and these punctilious sentinels still guarded Oswego with the watchfulness of picket-men on the eve of a battle. The party, therefore, durst not pass the British fort at the mouth of the Oswego river without permission, lest the commander should give their batteaux a cannon-shot as they paddled past its frowning battlements. On being asked permission to do this, with dogged resolution the British commander refused it, and the American party were obliged to carry their batteaux circuitously around the fort by land, and launch them below the British fort, beyond the reach of their guns. Thence, coasting along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Buffalo, where they remained several days, to hold a council with the Seneca and Mohawk chiefs, for the purpose of purchasing any interest they might claim in the lands composing such portions of the Western Reserve as the Connecticut Land Company had purchased.‡

The celebrated Brant and Red Jacket were the principal deputies on the part of the Indians. These able men saw with regrets the inevitable downfall of their power, and all they could do was to make provision for the creature comforts of their tribes, while they yet had a being. After several days spent in parleying,

*Lanman's Mich., p. 167.

†His name was spelled with an "a" in the first syllable.

‡ NOTE.—The original home of the Mohawks and Senecas was in Eastern New York, but they had extended their dominions into Ohio by right of conquest. But at the treaty of Greenville, when these lands were ceded to the United States by the Western tribes, the Mohawks and Senecas were not present; hence the necessity to confer with them to prevent any future trouble as to the validity to these titles.

twenty-five hundred dollars worth of goods were accepted as pay for their interest in the lands, the land on which the present city of Cleveland now stands being included in the tract. This offer was accepted, not without some bitter reproaches on the part of Red Jacket, who said:

"You white people make a great parade about religion; you say you have a book of laws and rules which was given you by the Great Spirit, but is this true? Was it written by his own hand and given to you? No, it was written by your own people. They do it to deceive you. Their whole wishes center here (pointing to his pocket); all they want is the money. (It happened there was a priest in the room at the same time who heard him.) He says white people tell them, they wish to come and live among them as brothers, and learn them agriculture. So they bring on implements of husbandry and presents, tell them good stories, and all appears honest, but when they are gone all appears as a dream. Our land is taken from us, and still we don't know how to farm it."

Having successfully executed this important business, the party embarked on lake Erie for their destination. This was the first introduction of the New-Englanders to the waters of the lakes for the purposes of permanent settlement. For more than a century the French had been here, and for the past thirty years the English had held the shores of these waters exclusively to themselves. Now the rising star of a new power, in the twentieth year of its existence, had penetrated across the wilderness of New York, and was about to lay the dimension-stone for the city of Cleveland, on a model destined soon to be repeated with success at other places along the margin of these shining waters. On the 2nd of July the party arrived at Erie, which still retained the old French name of Presque Isle. Here the ruins of the old French fort still remained, as a frail memorial of French ambition crushed by the strong arm of England, who in turn had held but a transient lease of power. Passing on to the west, they arrived at Conneaut on the 4th of July. Here they celebrated the day with suitable toasts, and, says the Journal of Cleaveland, "drank several pails of grog, supped, and retired in remarkable good order."

The party now began to lay out the country in townships, according to the admirable system of government surveys begun on the Ohio river in 1785.

On the 10th of August, having run a line around a large tract, they came back to lake Erie again. Their provisions were exhausted, and from the following item in Cleaveland's journal, their rum had come to its last gill. Says the record: "Just as we were starting for Conneaut, we saw a large party coming along

the beach, and supposing them to be Indians, and having only a gill left in our bottle, we were hurrying to a spring to drink it before they could come up and tease us for it, but to our astonishment, we found them to be two of the parties of surveyors coming in together."

While the surveyors were at work, Mr. Cleaveland made an excursion to the site destined to become the city which was to bear his name, arriving there on the 22nd of August. Says Whittlesey, in his History of Cleveland:

"As they coasted close along the shore, overhung by a dense green forest, mirrored in the waters over which they were passing, the mouth of the river disclosed itself, as a small opening, between low banks of sand. The man who controls the party is seated in the stern, steering his own craft, which is gracefully headed into the stream.

"His complexion was so swarthy, his figure so square and stout, and his dress so rude, that the Indians supposed some of the blood of their race had crept into his veins."

"A young growth of oaks, with low bushy tops, covered the ground. Beneath them were thrifty bushes, rooted in a lean, but dry and pleasent soil, highly favorable to the object in view. A smooth and even field sloped gently towards the lake, whose blue waters could be seen extending to the horizon. His imagination doubtless took a pardonable flight into the future, when a great commercial town should take the place of the stinted forest growth, which the northern tempests had nearly destroyed."

"Enough men were left to put up a storehouse for the supplies, and a cabin for the accommodation of the surveyors."

"Houses had before this been built by white people, near the mouth of the river; but not for the purpose of permanent settlement. Col. James Hillman avers that he put up a small cabin on the east side of the river, in 1786, near the foot of Superior street, of which, however, nothing further is known. Sometime previous to 1787, a party who were wrecked upon a British vessel, between one and two miles east of the river, built an hut, large enough to shelter themselves through one winter. On the west side of the river a log store house was erected, prior to 1786, to protect the flour which was brought here from Pittsburg, on the way to Detroit. This building, in a dilapidated state, was standing in 1797, when it was occupied awhile by James Kingsbury and his family."

Surveys for the streets of the new city were made in a few weeks, the first plat bearing date of October 1st, 1796. It was the first town laid out exclusively by New England citizens on the entire chain of lakes, and at this day is second in commercial importance only to Chicago.

The same summer, a colored man from St. Domingo, named Jean Baptiste Pont Au Sable, in his forest wanderings, was attracted to the old portage of Chicago. Here he built a hut on the north bank of the main branch of the Chicago river, and settled among the Pottowattomies, who then dwelt at the place. Without doubt he was well received by them, as he soon aspired to the dignity of a chief, but like many others before and since, his ambitious aims were never to be realized. Thus baulked, he relinquished the improvements he had made and removed to Peoria.*

The small beginning he had made, however, was soon appropriated by a Frenchman named La Mai, who appears to have been only a transient occupant, like many others of his countrymen before him, and the only mark which gives significance to his brief residence here, is the fact that he sold out his establishment to one who became the true pioneer of Chicago as an American city. This was John Kinzie, whose romantic adventures incarnate with the spirit of forest life as it then was in its fascinations will be told in future pages.

And now the old century fades away in a peaceful twilight, burying in oblivion the crushed hopes of France and England, while the American star is rising above the dip of the horizon.

* Waburn, P. 490.

CHAPTER XIV.

William Henry Harrison; His Ancestry and Birth—Is Appointed Governor of the Indian Territory—Spanish Possession of Louisiana—Napoleon's Ambitious Designs Shown by the Conquest of St. Domingo, and by the Purchase of Louisiana from Spain—French Designs Frustrated by the English—Purchase of Louisiana by the United States—Consequent Necessity of a Fort on the Upper Lakes—St. Joseph Chosen for its Locality—The Indians Object to its Erection—Chicago Next Selected—The Fort Built Here—Margaret and Elizabeth, the Captives—Their Adventures, and what grew out of Them—John Kinzie—His Youthful Life—He Settles in Chicago—The Fur Trade and the Engagé.

Private ownership to the soil is a condition peculiar to new countries. It may almost be called one of the modern inventions of civilization, first brought to perfection in America. The effect of this distribution of nature's most valuable gift, has been manifest in school houses, libraries, newspapers, magazines, pictures and well furnished habitations, universally brought into being where men own the soil they cultivate. The nineteenth century opened upon the people of the United States with a new field, on which these good things were to be multiplied in extent beyond limit, as far as could then be seen. The unmeasured fields beyond the Ohio—enriched by a thousand autumnal dressings of leaf-mould, or the decay of prairie growth—looked inviting to the husbandmen of New England and Old Virginia, and emigration from these places began again after assurance of peace with the Indians.

A character is now introduced into history—one of those master-spirits who can only live and grow in a new country. Not that men thus reared are consequently superior to the cultured men of old communities in all things, but that they exceed them in economizing effective force from apparently humble sources; in bringing about large results from small beginnings, and in the adaptation of ways and means to ends, cannot be denied. Such a man was William Henry Harrison, whose name deserves a

place with a long list of illustrious Americans, who, like himself, grew into distinction from the toils of camp life in the forest.

He was born in Berkley, Virginia, in 1773. His ancestors had made themselves conspicuous in the Cromwellian wars in England, and his father was one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence, and after it was achieved became governor of Virginia. William Henry was the youngest son. When Governor St. Clair was gathering his forces to invade the Indian country, he had an earnest desire to participate in the campaign, and for that purpose applied to General Washington, then President. He received an ensign's commission and started for Fort Washington. He arrived too late to take part in the ill-fated expedition of St. Clair, but joined Gen. Wayne in his successful campaign which succeeded it. After the treaty of Greenville, which restored peace to the forest, he was placed in command of Fort Washington, and shortly afterward married the daughter of Judge Symes, the same who was the proprietor of Symes Purchase, spoken of in a preceeding chapter. His ambition soon took a higher range than to command a small squad of dissolute soldiers in a peaceful fort, and he resigned his commission as captain, and was soon appointed secretary of the Northwest Territory, and in 1792 was elected delegate to Congress —he being the first to represent the interests of the northwest at Washington. On the 13th of May, 1800, he was appointed governor of the Territory of Indiana, which had been set off from the Northwest Territory. Its area included the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The seat of government was fixed at Vincennes, on the Wabash river.

The number of inhabitants of the Indiana Territory was 5,641 whites, while that of the Ohio division of the Northwest Territory was 45,365.* The number of Indians inhabiting the Indiana Territory was more than three times that of the whites. They had all tasted the fruits of war with their white neighbors, but being still in quiet possession of their hunting-grounds, felt a happy assurance that they and their offspring should forever continue to occupy the limitless forests of the country, which then, from their vast extent, seemed to bid perpetual defiance to white settlements.

The Northwest was now organized into two territories, possessing only the germs of her ultimate grandeur, and these were not within the reach of human vision to forecast. Spain held the whole west side of the Mississippi, and such portions of the eastern side as came within the limits of the present State of Louisiana, which included the port of New Orleans. Besides

*Carey's Atlas, published in Philadelphia, 1801.

this menacing power at the back door of the United States, which must shackle the prosperity of the Northwest as long as it lasted, our relations with England were of a slipshod character, from the fact that her colonial ports were not open to our commerce, which forced us to trade with an important part of the world through English merchants. But as good fortune for the United States would have it, Spain was showing evident signs of decrepitude, soon to be made manifest by her relinquishment to France of her entire possessions of Louisiana.

This she had already done at the treaty of St. Ildefonso, on the first of October, 1800. Through some subtle diplomacy this cession was kept a secret till at the treaty of Amiens, which hushed Europe to a treacherous peace, it was published. The rising star of Napoleon was then mounting the horizon of France, and she looked forward to the day when her former greatness in America might be restored. On the part of the United States grave apprehensions arose that the new owners of the soil would close the navigation of the Mississippi against them, and build up a nation on its western bank, which might prove a dangerous rival by securing the entire commerce of the gulf. At this time Napoleon sent an army to invade St. Domingo, which strengthened this theory in the minds of the Americans. Success at first attended the expedition, but soon afterwards the slaves arose and drove the invaders from the island. Meantime England was forming fresh combinations against him, and war broke out again between that power and France in the following May. The defeat of his army in St. Domingo, and the supremacy of the English marine, now made Louisiana an uncertain possession, and French hopes of aggrandizement on the soil of America were suddenly dashed to the ground. Up to this time no thoughts had ever been entertained in the United States of purchasing Louisiana. On the contrary, this immense country had ever been a mountain in the path of western progress, commanding as it did their only avenue wherewith to ship their exports to foreign countries. Now the commotion which prevailed in Europe by the chance direction affairs had taken, had ripened this fruit for an American sickle, and America purchased it for a little over fifteen million dollars. The treaty of cession was ratified by Congress on the 21st of October, 1803.*

While the negotiations were in progress, the British minister, in his heated zeal to inflict a wound on France, made a proposi-

*The purchase had been made on the 30th of April previous by Robert R. Livingston, then our resident Minister in Paris, and Mr. Moore, who had just been sent there by the Executive on a special mission. The few months that France had held the country, showed the impossibility of any European power's attempt to acquire any American soil that laid in the path of Americon progress.

tion to Rufus King, our envoy to London, to conquer the said country from France and cede it to the United States after peace had been made with that power. This proposition was not seriously entertained by American statesmen, who had too much penetration to submit so important a matter to the fortune of war or the caprices of a foreign cabinet. *When the sale was made, said Napoleon, in the bitterness of thwarted ambition: "I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Spain made a feeble and unavailing protest against the transfer, lest she should ultimately lose Florida and Mexico by its contagious example, both of which events have since been verified. This augmentation to the territory of the United States brought increased responsibilities, and demanded preparations wherewith to utilize it. The British influence among the countless Indian warriors along the upper lakes had been gathering strength by means of half-civilized courtesies, adapted to their tastes, ever since the days of the Revolution; and a demonstration of American power to offset this influence, was necessary to guarantee safety to the frontier settlements already made, as well as to bring the northern portions of Louisiana at least within hailing distance of its new owners. Already the project of building a fort at the southern extremity of lake Michigan had been entertained by Congress, while negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana was pending, but now its immediate necessity was apparent, and commissioners were promptly sent from Washington to select a suitable place for it.

The mouth of the St. Joseph river, on the east bank of lake Michigan, was first selected, and preparations made to build the fort, when the Indians of the country withheld their consent for its construction, and the commissioners were obliged to select another place, as they had no power to enforce their demands—the Indian title here never having been extinguished. Across the lake was the portage of Chicago, where six miles square had been ceded to the United States by the Indians in the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. It was a bold push into the interior to establish a fort here, but there was no other available spot, and orders for its construction were issued from the War Department early in the summer of 1803. Detroit and Michilimacinac were

*That some fortuitious contingency might possibly yet give Louisiana to the English, was probably the intention of the British Minister in making this proposition to Mr. King. This theory is strengthened by a letter that a British officer high in rank had previously written to the Board of Trade, from which the following is an extract: "Should the Americans thus once fairly possess themselves of that colony, it will be very difficult to dislodge them, and from the time they establish a footing in any port in the Gulf of Florida the intercourse between the European nations and the West Indies will be very insecure indeed."

FORT DEARBORN.

then the extreme western outposts of the Americans along the lakes. A company of United States soldiers was stationd at the former place, under command of Capt. John Whistler, an officer of the Revolution, and to him was entrusted this service. Under his command were two young lieutenants—William Whistler, his oldest son, and James S. Swearington, from Chillicothe, Ohio. To the latter he gave orders to conduct the soldiers across the forests of Michigan to Chicago, while he and his wife, his son William and his wife—a young bride—took passage on the U. S. schooner Tracy for the same destination, there to set up the American standard at a spot venerable with the memories of one hundred and thirty years of transient French occupation, though now inhabited by only three rude huts of French fur-traders, each with their usual adjuncts—the Indian wife and the inevitable brood of half-breed sprites.

The schooner arrived on the Fourth of July and anchored outside the bar, for the mouth of the river was choked with a sand drift. Here she discharged her freight of ammunition, arms and provisions into small boats, in which they were rowed into the river and landed on the spot where the fort was to be built. Two thousand Indians were assembled, who, with many a grunt of surprise and approbation, beheld these preparations so fatal to their security.

The schooner was the especial object of their admiration. They called it the big canoe with wings. After the freight and passengers were landed, Capt. Tracy, the commander, gave orders to set sail for Detroit, and the ship soon vanished into the distant dip of the sky and left the new-comers among their swarthy associates, cut off from the outside world. Their first business was to build the block house—an easy task but for the hauling of the logs to the ground selected for its site. They had neither oxen or horses with which to do this, but the soldiers geared themselves with ropes, and performed the onerous toil.

The summer and autumn of 1803 were spent before the fort was finished, but comfortable quarters were secured for the garison before cold weather had commenced. The defenses consisted of two block houses, one on the southeast and the other on the northwest corner of the grounds enclosed. These were large enough for a parade ground, and were surrounded by a substantial palisade. A sallyport connected the enclosure with the river by means of a subterranean passage. Immediately north of the fort, the main branch of the Chicago river rolled its quiet waters to the lake, and on the west, half a mile of wet prairie intervened between the fort and the south branch of the Chicago river. On the east were the shifting sand-drifts through which the river found its way to the lake by a detour southwardly along the shore

half a mile south of its present outlet. Three pieces of light artillery and small arms constituted the armament. Attached to the fort was a two-story log building, sided with clap-boards, riven from logs like barrel staves. This was called the United States factory, which meant a place to store goods belonging to the government designed for gratuitous distribution among the Indians. It stood outside of the palisade to the west, and was under the charge of an agent who was sutler to the fort, and was subject to the orders of its commander. The garrison of the fort consisted of 1 captain, 1 second lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 1 surgeon and 54 privates.*

Says Hon. Zebina Eastman, in his history of Chicago: "This fort then occupied one of the most beautiful sites on the lake shore. It was as high as any other point, everlooking the surface of the lake; commanding as well as any other view on this flat surface could; the prairie extending to the south to the belt of timber along the south branch and on the north side, and the white sand hills both to the north and south, which had for ages past been the sport of the lake winds."

This lonesome hermitage soon became a nucleus around which the restive spirits which forest life had brought into being, gathered, not to enrich themselves and live in luxurious ease, but to follow the bent of an ambition that led their way into an untroden path.

What matter if dangers lurked beside it? These were so many stimulants to variegate the path of life and give point to its smoother surface by contrast with its rougher. Daring and muscle then held a high place in frontier accomplishments. They were necessary in order to push the American "idea" far into the forest in advance, to pave the way for other graces which were some day to follow.

Demand begets supply in every essential want of humanity; and when pioneers are wanted to face danger, plenty are willing to enlist under an assurance that they will be fully renumerated on the spot by that immunity from restraint which the forest secures to its tenants, and by that dashing style of good fellowship which is ever present between themselves and their comrades. Whatever may be the rough exterior of such men, they are heroes in the estimation of even the most cultured leaders of society, and even the prude regards them with charity, and accepts even their eccentricies without censure. Chicago was unlike Boston, which was settled by Winthrop and the Puritans. She (Chicago) began under the naive elements of frontier life, and after many years graduated under the influence of the seed

*American State Papers, Vol. I, p. 175, 176.

they (the Puritans) planted on the eastern fringe of the continent, somewhat modified however in its march across the intervening country).

Among the venturesome pioneers of Virginia, was a backwoodsman named McKenzie. He, with a number of his comrades settled at the mouth of Wolf's creek, where it empties into the Kanawha, in Giles county.

During Dunmore's war on the frontier, the Shawanese, then the great formidable power of the forest, in one of their border forays came suddenly upon the home of McKenzie, killed his wife, and led two of his children into captivity. The names of the young captives were Margaret, ten years old, and Elizabeth, eight years old. They were taken to old Chillicothe, the great Indian town of the Shawanese, where they were adopted into the family of a high-bred Indian chief, and raised under the tender care of his obedient squaw, according to custom. Ten years later, when the girls were in the full bloom of maidenly beauty, Margaret was allowed to accompany her foster father on a hunting excursion to the Saint Mary's river, in the present State of Indiana, near Ft. Wayne, under the especial care of a matronly squaw who was one of the party. Arriving at the place, a young chief of the same tribe became enamored by the graces and accomplishments of the young captive. But Margaret, who retained vivid memories of her youth, with all the tender associations that clustered around the hearthstone of civilization, recoiled from the savage attentions of her swarthy lover, and determined not to yield her heart to one who had no higher destiny for her than to ornament his leggins with porcupine quills, as one of the highest accomplishments of which a squaw was capable. Whatever else may be the gifts of an Indian, he knows not how to play the rejected lover with the manly graces by which the impassioned young civilian gently tones up the affections of his hesitating fair, and he (the Indian) attempts by force what he cannot win by grace. Margaret's audacious lover was no exception to this rule, and at midnight approached the camp, where she was sleeping, intending to force her to become his wife. According to the Indian custom a din of yells and the rattle of an Indian drum announced the intentions of the would-be bridegroom to the terrified victim.

Aroused to a full sense of danger, the heroine leaped from her couch and fled into the glooms of the forest for a protection that her friends could no longer give her. Fortunately her dog followed her as she fled down the bank of the St. Mary's river to the stockade, half a mile distant, where the horses were kept. Ere she reached the place, the footsteps of her detestable lover were heard close behind. She turned, set her dog upon him,

and while the noble animal was grappling with the wretch, she reached the stockade, unhitched a horse, leaped on his back, and took flight through the wilderness, seventy-five miles to her Indian home at Chillicothe. The fate of the faithful dog was never known, but he was probably killed while fighting in defense of his mistress. The horse died the next day after he had performed so wonderful a feat, without rest or sustenance. This heroic girl and her sister Elizabeth, afterwards became the mothers of some of the first pioneers of Chicago.

In the eventful year of 1763 was born at Quebec a boy, destined not only to participate in the romantic riot of forest life as it then was in the great interior, but to fix his name on the page of history, with the honorable distinction as the Father of Chicago. This was John Kinzie. His father died in his infancy, and his mother married a Mr. Forsyth, and removed to New York. At the age of ten or twelve John determined to go back to his native place, and armed with this resolution, went aboard a sloop ready to sail for Albany. The bark was under way before the young truant was missed from the nursery. The poor mother had lost a former child by her first husband, the remains of whom had been picked up in the woods of Canada, lost and starved to death, and now her heart bled afresh for what she supposed to be the awful fate of Johnny. Fortune, however, had ordered it otherwise. The lad made the acquaintance, on board the sloop, of a gentleman going to Quebec, who paid his fare, and landed him safely at the place. Here the young adventurer soon got employment as an apprentice to a silversmith,* and won his way to distinction among the restive spirits of his eventful age, and next we find him a fur-trader in Detroit during the English occupation of the place. After the adventure of Margaret, the captive, as just told, she, with her sister Elizabeth, were taken to this place by their foster-father, who felt proud of his adopted children, and here they became acquainted with John Kinzie. It is not strange that the brilliant young adventurer beheld the beautiful captive Margaret with the eye of a lover, nor that the heroine felt a similar sentiment for him, and they were soon married. Elizabeth at the same time met a Scotchman named Clark, and married him, and their swarthy foster-parent took his path back to Chillicothe alone. The two young couples lived in Detroit about five years, during which time Margaret had three children, William, James and Elizabeth, and Elizabeth had two children, John K. and Elizabeth.

The treaty of Greenville, in 1795, having restored peace to the border, Mr. Isaac McKenzie, the father from whom the captives

* Wabun, p. 193.

had been taken almost a quarter of a century before, received tidings of his children, and went to Detroit to see them. As might be supposed, the sight aroused tender emotions that had slumbered for years in painful suspense. Nor were the hearts of the children less moved at the sight of their aged parent, whose memory had never been obliterated, even during their savage training in the tumult of an Indian camp. Under this strong pressure of filial devotion the two mothers, with their children, returned with their father to the old home, to which arrangement both of their husbands consented. A final separation was not intended, but time and distance divorced them forever. Mr. Kinzie afterwards removed to Saint Josephs, where he married a Mrs. McKillip, the widow of a British officer. Margaret married Mr. Benjamin Hall, of Virginia, and Elizabeth married Mr. Jonas Clybourn, of the same place. David, the oldest son of Benjamin Hall and Margaret, made a journey to Chicago in 1822, where he remained three years. Here a wilderness of shining waters, as the upper lakes then were, nestled amidst an unlimited wilderness of woodland and prairie teeming with fertility hidden beneath a forest studded with overgrown trees, or a prairie ornate with tall grasses and thrifty shrubbery. On his return to Virginia, his flattering account of the place and its future destiny, which he foreshadowed with a truthful forecast, induced a number of persons to emigrate thither. The first of these was Archibald Clybourn, the oldest son of Elizabeth, who remained a permanent resident and an esteemed citizen, well known to thousands of the present inhabitants of Chicago.

His mother was Elizabeth, the captive, who with her second husband, Mr. Clybourn, soon afterwards came to Chicago. More will be said of them in future pages. Mr. Benjamin Hall was another one of Chicago's pioneers who emigrated to the place in consequence of Mr. David Hall's commendations of its future promise. Margaret, the captive, was his aunt, and to him the writer is indebted for the detail of Margaret's and Elizabeth's history.* Mr. Hall is now a resident of Wheaton. He came to Chicago in 1830, and was the proprietor of the first tannery ever established there. He married the sister of the Hon. J. D. Caton, and raised an esteemed family of children, who are now scattered in the west. Elizabeth Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie, by Margaret, became the wife of Samuel Miller, from a respectable Quaker family of Ohio. This woman was highly esteemed by all who knew her for her excellent traits. Her husband kept the Miller house at the forks of the Chicago rivers, and is still

*A partial history of Margaret's captivity is given in Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, pages 278 and 279.

remembered by a few of Chicago's old settlers as a respected citizen. Mrs. Miller died at this house in 1832, leaving three very promising children.

James Kinzie came to Chicago about 1824, and was well received by his father, who assisted him in his first efforts to establish himself in the place. He amassed considerable wealth, but lost the most of it in the crash of 1837, when he removed to Wisconsin, where he died about the year 1860.

We will now return to the early days of the fort, where a few superanuated soldiers stood guard at this frontier post through the winter of 1803-4, like hermits in a wilderness. If they obtained any tidings of what was going on in the outside world, it must have been through the agency of some chance pedestrian messenger, and any news he might bring would lack authenticity. But even this satisfaction was probably not afforded them, in their wild recluse. The next spring, however, was destined to bring an arrival to their post of a permanent character, whose presence should help to bring around them the social conditions of settled communities. Mr. John Kinzie, himself, was then a resident of Detroit, but had determined to make Chicago his future home. His wife was the mother of a daughter by her first husband, which daughter was now a member of his family. The baby, John H. Kinzie, was now about six months old. An Indian trail then led from Detroit through Ypsilanti (then known as Charms trading station), Niles and St. Joseph, around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, thence one branch led to Chicago and another to Rock Island, on the Mississippi river. This was the only way by which Mr. Kinzie could reach the place, and horseback was the only means of transportation.

Accordingly their effects were packed in sacks and lashed to a horse's back, and Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie and the daughter were each mounted on a horse, with Johnny slung in a swaddling pocket from the horn of a saddle, and the journey was begun. Day after day they pursued their wooded trail, camping out each night, till Chicago was reached. Soon after his arrival he purchased a small French trading establishment of a man named LeMai, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter, and from time to time this hut was improved as the home of Mr. Kinzie, till a comfortable house substituted it, as shown in its picture on another page. This was the first private dwelling ever built in Chicago as an American city. It stood on the north bank of the river, opposite the fort, fronting towards the south. A small boat chained to the bank was always in readiness to ferry forward and back between his home and the fort, and this constituted Chicago as it was then, begun by John Kinzie and three French families who then resided there; one of which was Le-

THE OLD KINZIE HOUSE

The first House in Chicago partly built in 1796 finished over occupied by JOHN KINZIE in 1804.

Mai's, and the other two were Ouilmette's and Pettell's families. Ouilmette remained a permanent resident of Chicago, and was ever true to the American interest, which record was rewarded by a large reservation of land for him north of Chicago, which still perpetuates his memory. Capt. Whistler's wife, then a bride of but sixteen years, is still (in 1879) living. Henry W. Hurlbut, Esq., a present citizen of Chicago, visited her in 1875, and thus describes the interview in his pamphlet on Chicago Antiquities, page 24:

"It was a coveted privilege in which we sought, as any one might believe, for it was during the tremendous rain-storm of the evening of the 29th of October, 1875, that we sallied out to call on Mrs. Col. R. A. Kinzie for an introduction to that lady's mother, Mrs. Whistler. When we entered the parlor, the venerable woman was engaged at the centre-table in some game of amusement with her grand-children and great-grand-children, seemingly as much interested as any of the juveniles.

(We will remark here that five generations of this family have lived in Chicago.)

"She claimed to enjoy good health, and was apparently an unusual specimen of well-preserved faculties, both intellectual and physical. She is of a tall form, and her appearance still indicates the truth of the common report, that in her early years she was a person of surpassing elegance. A marked trait of her has been a spirit of unyielding energy and determination, and which length of years has not yet subdued. Her tenacious memory ministers to a voluble tongue, and we may say briefly, she is an agreeable, intelligent and sprightly lady, numbering only a little over 88 years. "To-day," said she, "I received my first pension on account of my husband's services." Mrs. Whistler resides in Newport, Kentucky. She has one son and several grandsons in the army. Born in Salem, Mass., July 3d, 1787, her maiden name was Julia Ferson, and her parents were John and Mary LaDuke Ferson. In childhood she removed with her parents to Detroit, where she received most of her education. In the month of May, 1802, she was married to William Whistler (born in Hagerstown, Md., about 1784), a second Lieut. in the company of his father, Capt. John Whistler, U. S. A., then stationed at Detroit."

He held command of Fort Dearborn, the name given to the new fortification, till 1811, and during this whole time nothing occurred to disturb the peace of the place.

The Indians kept up a trade in furs with "Shaw-neawkee," the name they gave to Mr. Kinzie, which, in their language, meant a silversmith. And during this term of years the even measure of justice, as well as the agreeable demeanor of Mr. Kinzie to them, established a friendship between themselves and him,

which proved a precious deliverance to himself and family when the Red Man again took the war-path.

"Mrs. John H. Kinzie, the authoress of that graphic picture of frontier life (Wabun), in speaking of John Kinzie's first days in Chicago, and his experiences in the fur trade, in which he was engaged, says: "By degrees more remote trading posts were established by him, all contributing to the parent one at Chicago; at Milwaukee, with the Menominees; at Rock River, with the Winnebagoes and the Pottawatomies; on the Illinois river and Kankakee, with the Pottawatomies of the Prairies and with the Kickapoos, in what was called 'Le Large'—being the widely extended district afterwards created into Sangamon county. Each trading post had its superintendent and its complement of engagés—its train of pack-horses and its equipment of boats and canoes. From most of the stations the furs and peltries were brought to Chicago on pack-horses, and the goods necessary for the trade were transported in return by the same method. The vessels which came in the spring and fall (seldom more than two or three annually), to bring the supplies and goods for the trade, took the furs that were already collected to Mackinaw, the depot of the Southwest and American Fur Companies. At other seasons they were sent to the place in boats coasting around the lake."

"Of the Canadian voyageurs, or engagés," (continues Mrs. Kinzie,) "a race that has now so nearly passed away, some notice may very properly here be given. They were unlike any other class of men. Like the poet, they seemed born to their vocation. Sturdy, enduring, ingenious and light-hearted, they possessed a spirit capable of adapting itself to any emergency. No difficulties baffled, no hardships discouraged them, while their affectionate nature led them to form attachments of the warmest character to their 'bourgeois,' or master, as well as to the native inhabitants among whom their engagements carried them. Montreal, or according to their own pronunciation, Marrialle, was their depot. It was at that place that the agents commissioned to make up the quota for the different companies and traders, found material for their selections.

The terms of engagement were usually from four to six hundred livres (ancient Quebec currency) per annum, as wages, with rations of one quart of lyed corn and two ounces of tallow per diem, or its equivalent in whatever sort of food is to be found in the Indian country. Instances have been found of their submitting cheerfully to fare upon fresh fish and maple sugar for a whole winter, when cut off from other supplies. It was a common saying, "Keep an engageé to his corn and tallow, and he will

serve you well; give him pork and bread, and he soon gets beyond your management."

At this time Michilimacinac was a place of extensive commerce with the Indians. Thither went the distant Sioux, and other tribes, both from far and near, to exchange their furs for such necessities as had then become indispensable to the Indians. And there gathered the fearless spirits of the frontier, who gloried in the privations of the wilderness, wilder, if possible, than the natives themselves, and not less hardy. These excitements gave to the place a metropolitan character far above the Chicago portage, which was then only an outpost of Old "Mackinaw."

Thus closes a chapter of civil and savage amenities springing into a transitory life, strangely intermingled together, while the young nation, in her fecundity, is giving birth to metropolitan cities. What was then a reality appears in retrospect like a dream to us who are rivalling each other in the arts of elegance and luxury, and jostling each other along the paths of life for want of elbow room wherewith to ventilate an ambition more studious in mentality, more psychological, more in accordance with man's nobler nature; but possibly not untarnished with subtle vices that will be more apparent to the readers of our history a hundred years hence than they are to us now.

CHAPTER XV.

Governor Harrison's Efforts to Extinguish Indian Titles to Lands—Indian Discontents—Tecumseh—The Prophet—Tecumseh's Interview with Harrison—Its Threatening Aspect—Tecumseh's Attempt to Form a Confederacy—Harrison Marches into the Indian Country—Encamps at Tippecanoe—The Prophet Attacks Him—Is Defeated—Tecumseh's Plans Frustrated by the Battle—The Territory of Illinois Organized—Ninian Edwards Appointed Governor.

Under the able administration of Harrison as governor of the territory of Indiana, and the peaceful appearance of the Indians, emigration increased, and the lands yet ceded by the Indians to the United States were quite inadequate to the demand, and the call was for more land. To satisfy this call the Wyandots ceded that portion of Ohio known as the Western Reserve on July 4, 1805. On the 21st of August, the same year, the Miami's ceded a tract containing two million acres, Governor Harrison being the purchaser; and on the 30th of December following the Piankeshaws ceded a tract eighty miles wide along the west bank of the Wabash, which included all the land between that stream and a cession which the Kaskaskias had made in 1803. While these tribes were relinquishing the Indian hunting grounds to white settlements by piecemeal, unmindful of the results which might grow out of such an abandonment of the forest, there were a few master minds among them who could clearly forecast the end, if such sales were not prevented.

Prominent among these was Tecumseh, Chief of the Shawaneese, who may be looked upon as the last representative of the original nobility of his declining race. He beheld the cessions of lands to the United States with alarm, and resolved to make one final effort to stay the progress of the woodchopper's axe, and preserve the remaining forests of the west inviolable to their native owners—a desperate and fool hardy resolution unless English aid was expected to his cause. But however certain this might appear in his estimation, he commenced the work before him in a peaceble and statesmanlike manner. The first step to

be taken was to form an Indian confederacy, by means of a private council, with representative men among the Indians, the principal object of which should be to prevent the further sale of lands to the United States, except by consent of the confederacy, which was intended to unite the entire Indian population of the northwest.

This council was held at Greenville, about the year 1806. Tecumseh and his brother, who was gifted with prophecy as was supposed, were the leading spirits comprising it. Billy Caldwell, an educated half-breed,* was private secretary to Tecumseh.

Tecumseh could read and write, but the book of nature was his most highly prized volume, and the lines of the human face were in his scrutinizing glance the plain indexes to the heart. Greenville was from this time his headquarters, where he held his court, and from which place both he and his brother, the prophet, frequently went forth to visit the different tribes of the country, and impress upon them the necessity of a united effort for mutual protection. In this labor the prophet's influence was perhaps greater than that of Tecumseh himself, for it had a leverage from another world wherewith to bear upon life in this, while Tecumseh's logic was circumscribed to public policy.

The prophet dreamed and saw visions, and his earnest zeal was soon rewarded with a great awakening among his swarthy brethren. Both he and Tecumseh lent their powerful influence in favor of temperance, as well as many other causes in which they were engaged. But the cause most at heart was the organization of the great Indian confederacy. In the spring of 1808, they moved their headquarters to the banks of a small stream, called Tippecanoe, which emptied into the Wabash, and here immediately sprung up a modern Mecca, to which swarthy pilgrims came fromfar and near to commune with some transcendent power which was to carry their race safely through the wilderness of their griefs. All this time Tecumseh was running from tribe to tribe to propagate his new political principles, and no evidence exists that he advocated anything but peaceful measures to fulfil his laudable designs, as history is compelled to call them. The following August he visited Gov. Harrison at Vincennes. The interview was a pleasant one, and won the confidence of Harrison sufficiently to set at rest any misgivings he

*Billy Caldwell soon afterwards became principal chief of the Pottawatomies, and after the war was over made Chicago his residence, till his tribe was removed to the neighborhood of Council Bluffs, in 1835–6. Here he died in 1845. In 1833 Mr. Perkins, who wrote "The Western Annals," had an interview with him at Chicago, at which time he had a trunk full of papers pertaining to the war, and particularly Tecumseh's participation in it; and it was at this interview that Mr. Perkins learned of the private council which Tecumseh held at Greenville. See Western Annals, p. 550.

might formerly have had as to direct warlike intentions of the distinguished chief. Still his caution never slept, and he was ever on the watch for any new phase which might develop between the two antagonistic elements under his territorial charge, at the head of one of which he stood, while Tecumseh ably represented the other. Two years later, in 1810, the census of Indiana territory showed a population of 24,520, and there were in the territory 33 grist mills, 14 saw mills, 18 tanneries, 28 distilleries, 3 powder mills, 1,256 hand-looms, and 1,350 spinning wheels. This showed a quadruple increase in the number of inhabitants, and much more than that in its agricultural and manufacturing interests during the ten years since its first organization as a territory.

That these augmentations to the white settlements had increased the jealousy of Tecumseh and the Prophet, was well known. The latter was daily increasing in popularity, as was amply shown by the numbers who gathered around him to hear him foretell the good things in store for the Indian race, and tone up their resolution to verify them. Meantime Harrison deemed it prudent to try if possible to counteract this influence, and to this end sent messengers to the Miamis, Delawares and Pottawatomies, whose business it was to assure those tribes of the protection and friendship of the United States, and to warn them against the pretensions of the Prophet. His influence had now extended to the tribes around lake Michigan, and early in May, 1810, the Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas held a council at St. Joseph to consider the propriety of joining his standard.

In this council Win-a-mac, a distinguished Pottawatomie chief, well known to the early settlers of Chicago, used his influence against the Prophet. This friendly intervention in favor of the whites was due to the influence which Mr. Kinzie and the officers of Fort Dearborn had exerted over him. It prevailed in the council, and no encouragement was given to the emissaries of the Prophet. On the contrary, Win-a-mac sent valuable information to Governor Harrison as to the numbers of hostile tribes. No act of hostility had yet been committed, but signs of brooding discontent were on the increase; among the Shawanese, in particular, who, in their honor-clad armor of independence, refused to receive their annuity of salt which the United States government were accustomed to give, and insulted the agents sent to deliver it, by calling them "dogs." This palpable sign of hostility caused Governor Harrison to send a messenger forthwith to Prophet's town* to ascertain the causes of discontent. At first the

* An Indian town, near Tippecanoe Creek, where the prophet lived.

prophet laid the blame as usual on some of his hasty young men, but when pressed by Mr. Dubois, Harrison's faithful messenger, for the real reason, he complained that the Indians had been cheated out of their lands—that no sale was good unless made by all the tribes. In reply to this complaint, Governor Harrison returned an answer, offering to restore any lands to the Indians that had not been fairly purchased. This message was sent by a Mr. Barron, with two associates, Brouillette and Dubois. Arriving at the place they were conducted into the presence of the high priest, with no small measure of ceremony. When within a few feet of his majesty, "He looked at me," said Barron, "for several minutes without speaking or making any sign of recognition, although he knew me well. At last he spoke, apparently in anger. 'For what purpose do you come here?' said he. He then accused them all of being spies, and pointing to the ground, said: 'There's your grave! Look on it.'" Tecumseh, who was present, now interfered, to save the lives of the messengers—assured them of their safety, and received their message. No answer was given to it, but Tecumseh said he would visit Harrison at Vincennes, in a few days, and reply to him. The messengers now withdrew.

On the 12th of August succeeding (1810), true to his word, Tecumseh, attended by 75 warriors, paid his respects to Governor Harrison. He remained in Vincennes twelve days, holding frequent interviews with him, always with an air of hauteur, which only an Indian can assume with grace. On the 20th, addressing the governor, he said: "Brother—Since the peace of Greenville, in 1795, was made, you have killed some of the Shawnees, Winnebagoes, Delawares and Miamis, and you have taken our lands from us, and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you if you continue to do so. You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that are pushing them on to do mischief. You wish to prevent the Indians to do as we wish them, to unite and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take tribes aside and advise them not to come into this measure. The reason I tell you this is, you want, by your distinctions of Indian tribes, in allotting to each a particular tract, to make them to war with each other. You never see an Indian endeavor to make the white people do so. You are continually driving the red people; when at last you will drive them onto the great lake, when they can't either stand or work. Since my residence at Tippecanoe, we have endeavored to level all distinctions—to destroy village chiefs, by whom all mischief is done. It is they who sell our lands to Americans. Brother, this land that was sold, and the goods that were given for it, was only done by a few. The treaty was afterward brought here and the Weas were

induced to give their consent, because of their small numbers. The treaty of Fort Wayne was made through the threats of Winamac, but in future we are prepared to punish those who may propose to sell land. If you continue to purchase of them, it will make war among the different tribes, and at last I do not know what will be the consequence among the white people. Brother, I wish you would take pity on the red people and do what I have requested. If you will not give up the land, and do cross the boundary of your present settlement, it will be very hard and produce great trouble among us. How can we have confidence in the white people? When Jesus Christ came upon the earth you killed him and nailed him on a cross. You thought he was dead, but you were mistaken. You have Shakers among you, and you laugh and make light of their worship. Everything I have said to you is the truth. The great spirit has inspired me. If you think proper to give us any presents, and we can be convinced that they are given through friendship alone, we will accept them." *

To this speech Harrison replied, by contrasting the conduct of the United States towards the Indians with that of other civilized nations towards savages within their jurisdiction, and drawing a comparison favorable to the United States. This stung Tecumseh to the quick, and he leaped to his feet from the ground where he was reposing, and with violent gesticulation declared that both Governor Harrison and the United States had cheated the Indians. A number of his party sharing his feelings of resentment, sprang to his side, apparently ready to attack the governor and his party on the spot. General Gibson, who was then secretary of the Territory, instantly brought twelve men armed with sabres to the front, while Harrison himself firmly grasped the hilt of his sword and boldly confronted the angry chief and his party, whose war clubs, tomahawks and spears flashed defiance. No blow was struck, but Harrison reproached Tecumseh for his conduct, and requested him instantly to depart to his camp, saying at the same time, he would send his speech to his tribe in written form. The next morning Tecumseh made apologies for his hasty ebullition of fury, and begged another interview with Harrison. It was granted, and Tecumseh by his respectful demeanor, made ample amends for his misconduct the day before.

Nothing was settled by the interview, however, but at the close of the council Tecumseh hoped that the Great Spirit would put sense enough into the head of the President to restore the lands in question to the Indians, and took his departure, after saying with emphasis to Harrison: "He may sit in his own town and

* This report of Tecumseh's speech is but an extract embodying his strong points.

drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." The next year (1811), on the 24th of June, Governor Harrison sent Captain Wilson to confer with Tecumseh at Prophetstown, for the purpose of conciliating the still dissatisfied chief. Tecumseh received him with great courtesy, but eloquently expatiated on the causes of which the Indians complained, and promised to come again to Vincennes to confer with Governor Harrison in the matter. On the 27th of July following he came, attended by 300 of his men. There were then 750 militia ready for duty in Vincennes, and these were placed under arms ready for an emergency. Of course the interview settled nothing, for it was absurd to suppose the land that had been purchased of single tribes could ever be restored to the Indians, and nothing short of this would satisfy Tecumseh.

Soon after this conference ended, Tecumseh, with twenty attendants, started for the distant country of the Chickasaws, Creeks and Choctaws, for the purpose of securing their alliance to his cause in a conflict which he felt was pending. Meantime, the English agents among the Indians were generous in the distribution of presents among them. There was a belligerent feeling at that time between the English and American people, not only on account of old scores, but new issues had come between the two nations, brought into being by what was called the Continental System in Europe, which will be explained in the next chapter, and its effects were felt wherever the English name was known, even to the extreme limits of the frontiers of civilization in the forests of America, where the unambitious native, gaunt with hunger and offensive with dirt, but loyal to the ensign of St. George, was ready to take the war-path for his English father. There was a reason for this. The English had everything to hope for in his friendship and nothing to lose.

The Americans could gain nothing by his friendship, but his enmity would be a pretext by which to deprive him of the soil. Under this duress, the unhappy red men were between two fires, fighting the battles of the English in the front, only to be forsaken in the distribution of victory's spoils, whichever way the cause went. While the issue was maturing between the English and Americans, by the indiscretions of the Prophet, during Tecumseh's absence to bring allies to his cause, the inevitable outbreak came with the Indians. On the 17th of July, 1811, the President authorized Harrison to summon to his aid the fourth regiment of infantry, under command of Col. Boyd. On the 26th of September the army took up its march toward Prophetstown, the headquarters of the Prophet. Having marched sixty-five miles up the Wabash, Fort Harrison was built on the 5th of October. On the 31st, the mouth of the Vermillion river was

reached, where a block-house was built for the protection of the baggage.

Again resuming his march on the night of the 6th of November, he arrived at Tippecanoe, which was situated about seven miles northwest of the present city of Lafayette. Here Harrison was met by a delegation from the camp of the Prophet, which was but a short distance away, where a thousand braves were assembled, ready to make a dash at the invaders as soon as a favorable moment came. All hostile intentions, however, were disavowed on both sides, but Harrison ordered his men to encamp that night in order of battle, with their clothes on and their arms by their side, and in case of an attack, the outermost lines were ordered to maintain their ground till reinforced. At the Indian camp all was silent as the grave. Tecumseh was in the far distant south, in the country of the Cherokees, and had given his brother, the Prophet, orders not to commence hostilities; but in his rashness he disregarded them, and laid his plans to attack Harrison the next morning. Before the dawn of day a heavy body of Indians made a dash on the left flank of the Americans. The sentinels were driven in, and the conflict was carried into the very camp of the invaders. In a few minutes the whole front, both flanks, and even the rear, were engaged.

The camp-fires still lit up the grounds, for daylight had not yet come to the relief of the Americans, and the Indians poured a destructive fire into their ranks from a covert of darkness. With admirable coolness, Harrison ordered the fires extinguished, which placed the combattants on equal terms. Now, hand-to-hand encounters, and random shots through the outer darkness, amidst a tumult of yells, raged along the whole line till daylight. A furious charge was then made upon the Indians. They received it with admirable courage at first, but finally fled to an adjacent swamp, where Harrison did not deem it prudent to follow them.

The American loss was 37 killed and 151 wounded; the loss of the Indians was somewhat smaller.

Tecumseh, with a keen insight into the future, had not intended to precipitate the conflict with the Americans till his English friends were ready to render him more substantial aid, and when he returned home and learned that the Prophet had disobeyed his orders by making the first attack, and of the disastrous results of it, his passions rose to a dangerous pitch, and it was with difficulty he could be restrained from killing him on the spot. After the battle, the Indian stores of corn, etc., at Prophetstown were destroyed. The Prophet lost his prestige and nearly all the different tribes of Indians were inclined towards peace. Tecumseh was forced into a lukewarm acquiescence in

this state of things among his people, but instead of their taking part in the treaty of peace which followed, went to Malden, in Canada, to take council with his British friends, but the end was not yet. The Tippecanoe campaign was a great damage to the Indian cause, especially as its result was disastrous to them, and proved an effectual barrier to the Indian confederacy which Tecumseh aimed at with laudable ambition, as the only means by which his people could be preserved. The news of the battle spreading through the country came to the ears of John Kinzie, at Charme's trading post (Ypsilanti), Mich. He was on his way to Detroit, but apprehensive of a general uprising among the Indians, he hastened home to look to the safety of his family, by further strengthening the chain of friendship with the Pottawatomies.*

While the events of the late campaign had been maturing to the temporary issue at Tippecanoe, settlements had been progressing with but little interruption, for the late battle was a sudden spasm of ferocity, which the Prophet had prematurely thrust into the arena, before Tecumseh's favorite plan of an Indian confederacy had been executed, and no warning against border war had come to the ears of emigrants. Nor had legislation suspended its progressive action respecting the political progress of the Western territory, Congress having, on February 3d, 1809, constituted the new Territory of Illinois. On the east it was bounded by the Wabash river from its mouth to Vincennes, thence by a line due north to the Canada line (which line, of course, would cross lake Michigan lengthwise), on the north by the British Possessions, on the west by the Mississippi river, and on the south by the Ohio, between the mouth of the Wabash and the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi.

Ninian Edwards was transferred from the post of Chief Justice of Kentucky to the Governor's chair of the new Territory, and Nathaniel Pope, whose home was already at Kaskaskia, was appointed Secretary by President Madison. Early in March Mr. Pope organized the Territory, and the following June, on the 11th, Mr. Edwards took his seat as governor at Kaskaskia. The code of Indiana Territory, under which the inhabitants had lived for the eight years previous, was at first adopted, but soon afterwards detailed penalties were affixed for the punishment of every possible form of offense, some of which have long since been repealed as unwarrantable. St. Clair and Randolph were the first two counties organized. Their limits can hardly be given, in the great waste of unsettled domain over which the jurisdiction of Illinois then extended.

*Wabun, p. 217.

The extreme southern portions of the State were sparsely sprinkled over with new settlements from Virginia and Kentucky. St. Louis was a thriving town, largely composed of French fur traders. Fort Madison had been built on the west bank of the Mississippi, where the city of the same name now stands in Iowa. Prairie Du Chien, then a thrifty trading post, at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, was within the jurisdiction of the new territory, as well as La Pointe and Green Bay, while Chicago was only known as an Indian portage, and the locality of a weakly garrisoned fort.

At Peoria was a French village, established after a hyatus of many years since LaSalle first built Fort Crevecoeur there.

This second founding was of an uncertain date, but it was many years subsequent to the settlement of the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

Besides the battle of Tippecanoe, three remarkable events occurred during the year 1811 in the northwest. A severe frost almost entirely destroyed the corn crop. The first steamboat that ever made its appearance on Western waters made a trip from Pittsburgh, where she was built, to New Orleans; and a violent earthquake was felt throughout the entire country. It took place in December, and continued several days in a succession of violent shocks of the ground, lashing the forest trees against each other with fearful violence. At times, through opening fissures in the ground, steam hissed out like the escapement of pent up and heated vapors, during which phenomenon loud reports, like the muffled sounds of thunder, continued to peal forth as if from an invisible source. It was felt the severest at New Madrid, on the Mississippi, where a large area of land sunk into the bowels of the earth, and, to fill the chasm, the Mississippi from below flowed backwards for some hours.

CHAPTER XVI.

Jay's treaty of 1794—*Its Beneficial Effects—Decrees of Berlin and Milan—Retaliatory English Orders—The Continental System—America Victimized by it—The Embargo and non-Intercourse Acts—Fruitless Negotiation between England and the United States—Complications with France—The French Decrees Revoked—The United States Declare War Against England—The British on the Lakes—General Hull Reaches Detroit with an Army—Crosses into Canada—Reconnoisance of Colonel Cass—First Hostile Shot in the War of* 1812—*General Hull Returns to Detroit—Michilimacinac Taken by the English—Tecumseh in the British Service—Indian Raid on Lee's Place—Panic at Chicago—General Hull at Detroit—He Crosses the River into Canada—His Perplexities—His Surrender.*

Jay's treaty of 1794 has already been alluded to. A brief detail of the conditions which brought it into being from the master mind that took within its grasp those conditions, and first caused the rights of America, as a member of the family of nations, to be acknowledged by England, forms a bright page in American history, and inasmuch as the most vital part of these conditions grew into being in the Northwest, a record of them will here be made.

After the peace of 1783, which guaranteed to us simple independence only, the United States found themselves but a loosely bound confederacy of thirteen colonies, without even a constitution. The English court did not even honor us with a minister till 1789, and all the while excluded our commerce from all their colonial ports, thereby forcing American merchants to trade largely through English channels, under the monopolizing system that she had established by means of her armament on the high seas, directed by her laws of trade.* Her vessels of war seemed

* In 1744, England laid the foundation for her unexampled prosperity as a trading nation by establishing a maxim, monopolizing all the trade of her colonies to herself. In 1760, the machinery for enforcing these conditions became still more perfect, and the United States were up to 1794, circumscribed within its toils.

almost omnipresent. They swept the American lakes and constantly supplied their forts, then held on American soil, and from these forts they supplied the Indians with all the material they wanted wherewith to make the border a scene of strife and bloodshed. This aroused the indignation of the Western people in particular, and embittered the whole nation against England. Still war was impossible, for we had no means out of which to establish it. Under these circumstances, even while struggling to allay dissentions at home consequent upon uniting under a constitution and contending against poverty and an onerous public debt, Washington impressed with the necessity of a treaty to establish our commercial relations on a firmer and more profitable basis, selected Mr. Jay as the fittest one to negotiate it.

His task was a difficult one. As to any commercial relations, the English already had everything as they wanted it, and were reluctant to enter into any obligations which could bring nothing to them.

But Mr. Jay was equal to the emergency. His accomplishments challenged the respect of the English minister, and secured the signing of his famous treaty of 1794, by which American vessels were first allowed to trade direct with the East Indies and other British dependencies. This was all that could be expected in a pecuniary way. Next came the points of honor, so vital to the western spirit of independence which was that the English should relinquish the western posts. This point they also conceded on the terms stated in a previous chapter, and the treaty was signed in London, November 19th, 1794, and promptly ratified by Washington. A lucrative trade immediately sprung up as a consequence of the treaty, and continued till the sanguinary character which the war between England and France afterwards assumed, transcended the comity of nations, and swept away not only all treaty rights, but the natural rights of neutrals.

Eleven years after Jay's treaty, 1805, England destroyed the French fleet at Trafalgar, after which all opposition to her on the ocean vanished—not a French vessel daring to come within the reach of her guns. Meantime, the eyes of the world turned towards the conquests of Napoleon on the land. The victories of Austerlitz and Jena made him master of Southen Europe, and from Berlin, the capital of Prussia, in November, 1806, he issued decrees, followed by the decrees of Milan early the next year, the objects of which were to undermine the power of England. These decrees made not only British vessels and goods liable to confiscation in the ports of France and her allies, but, also, the ships and goods of neutrals bound for English ports.

To counteract the effect of this blow aimed at the vital fountains of her prosperity, England issued in November, 1807,

plenary orders for the confiscation of ships and goods bound for the ports of France and her allies, from wherever they might come; and her ability to execute these orders made them effective, and ultimately recoiled with force against Napoleon, the prime mover in this attempt to fight natural destiny. The United States was victimized by the decrees of both nations, particularly by the English orders, among which were the following:

"All trade directly from America to every port and country in Europe, at war with Great Britain, is totally prohibited. All articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce exported by America to Europe, must be landed in England, from whence it is intended to permit their re-exportation under such regulations as may hereafter be determined." Such was the Continental System. It embraced within its toils an issue, vital to the interests of any part of the world that wished to trade with England or France, or their allies, and with dogged resolution these Titanic powers watched both sea and land to augment the force of war by their extreme as well as novel measures.

Smarting under its effects, the United States dipped her oar into the great sea of hostile diplomacy, by passing the Embargo Act of December, 1807, and the Non-intercourse Act of March, 1809. These acts, together with certain municipal regulations which preceded them, were designed, first to prohibit certain articles of foreign importation, and finally to cut off all exportation to England and France, by withdrawing American commerce from those countries, under an impression that they could not carry on their wars without our bread supplies, and would as a measure of compromise, modify their indiscriminate laws against trade so as to admit our vessels to their ports. It required no small measure of sacrifice to take these steps. The people had been enriching themselves out of the misfortunes of Europe in their disuse of the plow, and sanguinary practise of the sword, but now this source of wealth was entirely cut off by their own acts, which, instead of improving their condition, made it worse. The resentment of France was aroused, and the April following the Embargo Act she passed the decrees of Bayonne, and later those of Rambouillet, by which every American vessel in French ports were lawful prizes. The apology for this act was, that any American vessels in their ports were there in violation of the Embargo Act, and consequently were British property (a deduction that hung on an uncertain contingency, and exhibited more defiance than discretion).

England, armed with iron-clad dignity, took but little notice of these retaliatory measures of the United States, but continued her right of search and its consequent impressment of American seamen into her service, a very questionable prerogative that she

had never abandoned since our colonial vassalage, if her necessities required its practice. The collosal proportions which the war between England and France had now assumed, by which they were daily weakening each other, may have extended the limit of American forbearance to declare war; instead of doing which she made an offer to England to rescind her embargo and non-intercourse acts, if she, England, would abolish her orders of 1807.

This offer England rejected, on the ground that she would not accept a favor from America which might benefit France.

Under this duress the United States were placed in a position in which they must either bear their grievances with patience, or commit the absurdity of declaring war against two nations at war with each other. The following abstract of a report made to the House of Representatives, in November, 1809, will show the complex attitude of our grievances which had thus far set negotiation at defiance:

"The aggressions of England and France, affecting almost the whole of our commerce, are no less than a war waged by both nations against our trading interests. It is evident that the only effectual way of resistance is war. A permanent suspension of commerce, after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be resistance. It would be withdrawing from the contest and abandoning an indisputable right to navigate the ocean. The present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it against the two most powerful nations of the world, are the causes of hesitation." Matters remained in these phases of discontent till 1810, up to which time several years of fruitless diplomacy had been wasted in vain attempts to restore American commerce to its natural rights in the family of nations. Two different compromises, almost concluded between England and the United States, had been broken off, one by the President of the United States, because it did not relinquish the right of search, and the other by the English King, because his Minister, Mr. Erskine, had exceeded his instructions as to its terms. Mr. Jefferson, then President, drew upon himself much censure from the New England States for*

*Jefferson's mission to France terminating in 1789, had well nigh turned his brain, and made it impossible for him to look with candor upon the issue that then hung over the country—so prejudiced was he in favor of the extreme rights of man, as promulgated by the Revolutionary spirit of France in that eventful period. This accounts for his rejection of the compromise of England without consulting the senate. Naturally inclined to espouse the cause of the people and gain popular applause, he became the champion of Radical democracy in America, and accused Washington, Hamilton, John Adams, and the whole body of Federalists, of being Anglo-Monarchic Aristocrats—friends of England and enemies of France in their contest. See his letter to Mazzei, dated Monticello, April 24th, 1796. It is published officially in the proceedings of the Hartford Convention.—[Autho

rejecting this compromise (the former) without allowing it to come before the Senate, which was then in session. Its provisions conceded all the United States asked for except the clause as to impressment, and on this point the British Government had given Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney, our Peace Comissioners, informal assurance that its practice should be abandoned.

This satisfied the New England mind, which was ready to seize upon any plausible pretext as a basis of peace by which to bridge over the war spirit of the times till more considerate counsels could be listened to.

Pending this turmoil, the grip of Napoleon's decrees which had fastened upon all the nations of Europe, except Turkey and Sweden, began to weaken. English goods found their way almost everywhere through clandestine channels, and it became evident that the Berlin and Milan decrees were a failure. As a proof of this, on the 5th of August, 1810, M. de Champagny, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed to the American Minister in Paris to repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees, on the same conditions that had been proposed by the United States herself two years before, and also accepted on the part of the English Minister, but rejected by the Crown.

These terms were substantially that all hostile legislation as to international trade should cease on both sides. This proposition was hailed with delight by Mr. Madison, who had succeeded Jefferson as president.

A message was issued to take the necessary action by which the proposal should become a permanent international law. But various complex conditions were brought to the surface by the British, relative to how far this comity extended to France should affect the interests of England.

France meantime did repeal her obnoxious decrees, at least upon the contingency that the United States, after opening commercial relations with herself, should still enforce her commercial restrictions against England, unless that power should fully revoke her orders of 1807. Accordingly by official notice of the French revocation of the decrees bearing date of November 1st, 1810 (which embodied all her offensive legislation against American trade), was duly sent to the United States, and published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French court at Paris, but no notice of it was sent to the English court. Subsequently, some American vessels, either through ignorance or design, were seized as prizes by the French. From these circumstances, and in default of the formality of a notice of revocation, the English insisted that the Berlin and Milan decrees were still in force. During the progress of these conciliatory overtures from the French nation, a strong appeal was made by

the Americans to the English Court to repeal their orders of 1807, on the ground that the French decrees had already been repealed. On the 30th of May, 1812, a final reply was made by England to this appeal, from which the following is taken:

"The Berlin and Milan decrees have never been revoked. Some partial and insidious relaxations of them may have been made in a few instances, as an encouragement to America to adopt a system beneficial to France and injurious to Great Britain, while the conditions on which alone it has been declared, that those decrees will ever be revoked, are here explained and amplified in a manner to leave no hope of Bonaparte having any disposition to renounce the system of injustice which he has pursued, so as to make it possible for Great Britain to give up those defensive measures she has been obliged to resort to. * * * It is now manifest that there was never more than a conditional offer of repeal made by France, which we had a right to complain that America should have asked us to recognize as absolute, and which, if accepted in its extent by America, would only have formed fresh matter of complaint, and a new ground for declining her demands." This final reply of the English court was in justification of the declaration made by her the previous month, as follows: "If at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally revoked, then the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, shall be revoked."

To make amends for past grievances against America, must have been the incentive of France in abolishing her decrees, but it may well be doubted that England was to share any of the benefits of this measure, inasmuch as the two countries were still at war with each other. That the ambiguous demeanor of France towards England in this affair grew out of a desire to bring about a war between England and the United States, was evident, from the arch diplomacy which preceded it, healing, as it did, the differences between their own nations. Meantime, the late official action of the English had indefinitely postponed the time when she would repeal her laws against the rights of neutrals, and notwithstanding the New England people were in favor of peace, the tenacity of the English in adhering to their orders turned the scale.

The United States were now relieved from complications with France, and inasmuch as England had given no encouragement that her rigid restrictions on our commerce, or her unjust impressment of American seamen would be discontinued, the United States hesitated no longer, and declared war against England June 18th, 1812.

That the declaration was premature, inasmuch as the United States had made no preparation for war, the disastrous results of the first campaign fully proved, and yet to add to the complexity of our position, the declaration might have been made with equal propriety any time within the four years previous, but for our complications with France. Never before in the history of enlightened nations did such a juxta as well as absurd issue result in war. The sword was drawn to fight England under a just sense of resentment for grievous practices that she (England) was willing to apologize for, as well as to discontinue, but would not condescend to enter into a treaty to do so. The summing up of the cause between the two nations centered in the following two points: First, as to the impressment of American seamen, which England gave our commissioners, Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney assurance should be discontinued. Second, the English orders in council against our commerce, which England offered to revoke as soon as Napoleon should revoke the decrees of Berlin and Milan, an act which the United States contended had already been executed, and which act only lacked a bit of red tape (to use a metaphor) to satisfy the English ministers. But even this gossamer fabric of formality vanished from the English mind five days after the American declaration of war, at which time (the 23d of June) the English did formally revoke the obnoxious orders, in consequence of which the Americans had drawn the sword. But the sword was drawn, and could not very well be sheathed till old scores were avenged. Several thousand American citizens, the victims of impressment, were unwillingly fighting the battles of the English, whose fathers and brothers at home called loudly for revenge, and many a pioneer had fallen a victim to the scalping-knife, which had been forged on British anvils. The British fleet held full command of the lakes, and the various tribes of Indians adjacent had for years been subsidized by presents and honeyed words into friendship for them. It was, therefore, evident that along these waters the British were the strongest, and here the first blow was to be struck. Detroit was then the most important post which the Americans held West. General Hull, an officer of the American Revolution, was Governor of the Territory of Michigan, which had been organized in 1805, and now contained about 5,000 inhabitants, and to him was given the command of the troops destined for defensive and offensive operations on the Upper Lakes. A small garrison of United States troops was stationed at Michilimacinac and one at Chicago, which were the extreme outposts of the Americans.

Two months previous to the declaration of war, the President had ordered Governor Meigs, of Ohio, to raise 1,000 men for the Western service.

This he promptly did, and adding 300 more to the number, handed them over to General Hull at Dayton, with a patriotic speech, at the close of which the volunteers uncovered, and gave him six rousing cheers.

Agreeable to his orders, General Hull took up his march for Detroit at the head of his little army. The route over which he was to travel had already been made famous by the St. Clair and Wayne campaigns, the scene of whose battle-fields he passed, and arrived at the Rapids of the Maumee on the 30th of June, twelve days after the war had been declared, but of this he was ignorant. Here he rested his men, near the ruins of the old fort which the British had built eighteen years before, which had never served any purpose, but to amuse the Indians and inflame the resentment of the Americans. The route thence to Detroit lay eighteen miles down the Maumee river, across the Western extremity of Lake Erie, and up the Detroit river. Malden was then the most important post of the British on the Upper Lakes. Ever since they had evacuated the forts on the American side in 1796, it had been headquarters for the distribution of Indian presents, where the Western tribes had assembled annually to receive their blankets, tobacco, knives, etc., and here the British had built a fleet of war vessels, which menaced the Americans on our entire lake frontier. It was situated on the Canadian side of the main channel of the Detroit river, and commanded its most direct passage. As ill-fortune would have it, while resting at the Rapids on the 1st of July, General Hull despatched a schooner and a boat to Detroit in advance of his army, which was to reach the place by land. On board the schooner were a few invalids, the hospital stores, and a trunk, containing his official papers from Washington. During the succeeding night the schooner passed the boat, leaving her behind, and kept on her course. The next day she entered the Detroit river, and coming in sight of the Hunter, an English armed brig, she was obliged to surrender. The boat fortunately reached her destination unobserved by the English, she having by chance taken the channel of the river West of Boisblanc Island. The day after the schooner left the Rapids a messenger came to the quarters of General Hull with a letter, of which he was the bearer, from the Postmaster at Cleveland. Its contents ran as follows: "Sir:—War is declared against Great Britain. You will be on your guard. Proceed to your post (Detroit) with all possible expedition. Make such arrangements for the defense of the country as in your judgment may be necessary, and wait for further orders."

This was from the War Department at Washington, and bore date June 18th. Eight days previously he had received despatches from the War Department, through a different source,

making no mention of the declaration of war, an oversight on the part of the Secretary as inexcusable as it was mysterious.

General Hull now made haste to march for Detroit, and reached the place on the 7th. Here he remained till the 12th, when he crossed over to the Canada shore with his whole army, and issued a spirited proclamation to the French subjects of Great Britain, who lived in the country, many of whom gave in their allegiance to his standard. "*On to Malden!*" was now the watchword that prevailed in his army, but the extreme caution of the commanding General forbade this, especially as his last instructions were to go to Detroit, and wait orders. On the 15th, however, orders reached him from Washington to take the offensive. A reconnoisance of 280 men, under command of Col. Cass, was sent towards the place. Five miles from it they encountered an outpost of the enemy guarding a bridge, crossing Duck Creek, and here the war of 1812 began in a spirited skirmish, in which some accounts state that ten Britishers were killed. A doubtful assertion that a handful of picket men should have left that many dead on the ground before falling back from before a surperior force.

General Isaac Brock was Governor of Upper Canada at this time, whose dashing activity proved to be more than a match for General Hull's excessive caution.

As soon as war had been declared, he planned out his campaign, and Michilimacinac was the first place to be attacked. At the foot of the rapids of the St. Marys, on the Canadian side, forty-five miles north of the place, was the British post of St. Joseph, garrisoned by two companies of Canadians and a few British regulars. Capt. Roberts, who held command of this post, was the one to whom the execution of the scheme had been confided. Besides his own entire command, he enlisted in his ranks all the loose material which the English Fur Company could bring to his service, and in order to insure success beyond a doubt, he accepted the service of 600 Indians from his immediate neighborhood. Everything being in readiness on the 16th of July, his forces embarked in their batteaux, crossed the strait, and reached the Island of Michilimacinac before daybreak. The fort stood on a bluff rock, on the southeast shore, nearly two hundred feet above the sparkling waters that chafed and foamed about its base. The original forest with which the island had been covered had been cut down for fuel, and in its place a thicket of second growth covered the ground. At nine o'clock Lieut. P. Hanks, the commander of the fort, beheld with astonishment such formidable numbers of British taking position on a rocky height, within cannon shot of his fort, while the wooded grounds around were alive with Indians.

The guns of the fort were shotted, and everything made ready for a desperate defense by the commanding officer, who all the while was at a loss to account for the hostile demonstrations; but at half-past eleven o'clock the mystery was explained by a message under a flag of truce. "War had been declared," said the unexpected visitor, and the surrender of the fort and island was demanded. To defend it would have been a vain attempt, and the command was reluctantly complied with, and his entire force (57 men), including officers, became war prisoners. The village on the island numbered over 300, all but three or four of whom were Canadians or half breeds, who felt quite at home under a British flag, as well as the countless hordes of Indians, who gathered about the place every summer to sell their winter's catch of furs, enjoy the salubrious air, and eat the easily caught fish.

Michilimacinac was then regarded as the most important post in the northwest, except Detroit. It had an annual export trade of furs, amounting to $240,000, and the custom house duties on imports were about $50,000 per annum. This successful opening of the war, on the part of the British, fired the heart of the Indians, and made them flock to the standard of their British father.

Tecumseh was already in the field, elevated to the rank of a Brigadier General, and while the master mind of General Brock, assisted by the masterly activity of Tecumseh, are circumventing the tactics of General Hull, let us turn our attention to Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, the outermost post of the Americans.

Its garrison had been increased by the insignificant reinforcement of twelve militia, which made in all sixty-six soldiers. The original officers in command had retired the year before, and in their place stood Captain Heald, who had the chief command, and under him was Lieut. Helm, the same who had recently married the step-daughter of John Kinzie, Ensign George Ronan and Dr. Van Voorhees, the surgeon. The armament of the fort consisted of three cannon, and small arms for the soldiers. The defenses were quite sufficient to hold the Indians at bay, whose mode of warfare was illy adapted to a seige, but in the general trepidation which prevailed among the weak garrison, it was proposed to make the most of every available means in their power, in case of an attack, and to this end the agency house outside the palisade, was to be manned with a few sharp-shooters, to minister to the defenses of the fort.

Mr. Kinzie, during his eight years' residence in the place, fortunately had won the confidence and esteem of the Indians by those rare gifts which transcend the angry passions of war, even in the savage breast. And to him all eyes turned for counsel

when the war-whoop rang through the wilderness, backed by the power of England. Of his children, the oldest was John H., then a lad of eight years, born in Canada, opposite Detroit, but a few months before his parents emigrated to Chicago, in 1804.

He was the first prominent resident of Chicago from infancy. Just west of Mr. Kinzie's house was the humble habitation of Oulimette, a French laborer in his employ, who like many of his countrymen before him, had married an Indian lassie, and the union had been blessed with the usual number of children. About eighty rods to the west, on the same side of the river, was the residence of Mr. Burns, whose family consisted of a wife and children. Besides these were a few families of half breeds, "the location of whose residences, or perhaps camps, is not known," says Mrs. John H. Kinzie, in Wabun. In the fort dwelt the families of Captain Heald, Lieut. Helm and Sargeant Holt, whose wives were destined to become heroines of history, and to their number may be added Mrs. Bisson, sister of Oulimette's wife, and Mrs. Corbin, wife of a soldier.

Four miles from Fort Dearborn, up the south branch of the Chicago river, lived a Mr. White, as a tenant on a farm known by the name of Lee's place. In his employ were three Frenchmen, whose business was to sow, plow and reap, depending on a Chicago market for a sale of their products. This place, then a loneseme habitation, remote from the incipient town, is now the center of the din of Chicago machinery for manufacturing the wooden luxuries of the age.

At this time Illinois had been under the forms of a territorial government for three years—Ninian Edwards, governor, with Kaskaskia the capital. Camp Russell, the present seat of Edwardsville, in Madison County, was the northern limits of the settled portion of the territory, except Peoria, where a few French families lived, over whom he held no jurisdiction, and the Fort at Chicago, which was under United States authority. Around the latter the Pottowattomies roamed lords of the soil, according to Judge Caton's history of this tribe.

This was a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1870, and afterwards published by Fergus, in 1876, the data for which was received from one of their oldest chiefs. Their hunting grounds were limited on the south by Peoria Lake, and on the west by Rock River. Since the days of the great Pontiac, their alliance with his tribe, the Ottawas, had been cemented into a chain of friendship strong and enduring; both had ever been active allies of the French since 1673, as appears from contemporary history, and both were unrelenting foes to the English during the long and bloody French and Indian war, and Pontiac's war which followed, a period extending from 1755 to 1764;

and when their beloved chief Pontiac was basely murdered by an Illinois, both of these tribes took summary vengeance on the whole Illinois tribe, and at Starved Rock slaughtered the last remnant of them, except eleven warriors, who fled under cover of darkness to St. Louis. And this was the victory which gave the Pottawattomies so much ascendancy in northeastern Illinois.*

But since the period of French occupation, the fortunes of the Indians had been changed. Their loving French brothers had been driven out of the country, and the British who drove them out were now their own allies, on whom they depended to beat back the advancing hosts of Anglo Americans who were rapidly encroaching on their hunting-grounds. The Pottowattomies had not yet felt the weight of their power, but the Shawanees had, and through the earnest solicitation of Tecumseh, who with far-seeing vision comprehended the situation, some of the Pottowattomies had yielded to his seductive eloquence, joined his standard, and fought with the Prophet the year before, at the battle of Tippecanoe. Even then Tecumseh had laid his plans to destroy Fort Dearborn,† but the defeat of his braves at that disastrous conflict, arrested the execution of their plans, until the war of 1812 had again revived them on a far grander scale.

In his erratic wanderings to gain allies for the purpose of driving the white settlers east of the Ohio river, he had visited the Winnebagoes, of Rock river, as well as all the other tribes adjacent, and poured out his tales of grief to them against his white neighbors.

While it is not to be presumed that he had won them all over to participate in his unrelenting hostility to the Americans, it is evident that some of the indiscrete and inflammable material among them had been brought to the surface, an instance of which was shown one day when some Indians of the Calumet had come to Fort Dearborn on business. Seeing Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm playing at a game, one of the swarthy visitors, in an unguarded moment said to the interpreter, "The white chiefs wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they are hoeing in our cornfields!" A few weeks latter this proved to be more than an idle threat, when, owing to Tecumseh's influence, or some other reason which never can be brought to light, the Winnebagoes made a raid on the settlers immediately adjacent to Fort Dearborn, which contemplated the killing of every one found outside of its palisades.

Their plan was to begin at the outermost house and kill all as they went along. This was Lee's place, and here the work began

* Caton's Address.

†Brown's History of Illinois, page 305.

on the 7th of April. It was late in the afternoon when a party of ten or twelve Indians entered the house and seated themselves with the usual importunity of Indian manners.

Their appearance, however, aroused the suspicions of the inmates, and two of them, under pretense of feeding the cattle from some hay-stacks across the river, ferried over in a boat, but instead of coming back as they had promised, betook themselves to the skirt of timber which fringed the river, and made all speed towards the fort. Ere they had proceeded far, the report of two guns confirmed their suspicions against the strange party of Indians who had come so suddenly upon them, and they continued their flight in breathless haste, until the river opposite the house of Burns was reached. The alarm was given by calling loudly across to warn the inmates of danger, and the two fugitives continued their flight to the fort. Consternation now filled the household of Burns. The mother laid on her couch, with her babe less than a day old, and Mrs. John Kinzie sat by her side, attending to her wants, with the tenderness that mothers can best feel on such occasions. But now the appalling news just received turned her thoughts away from Mrs. Burns and the little nursling beside her, to her own children at home, and she flew thither with the speed that terror lent to her limbs. Rushing in, she cried out, "*The Indians! The Indians!* killing and scalping." Mr. Kinzie dropped his violin, with which he was amusing the children, and the amateur quadrille in which they were engaged, changed into preparations for flight; all rushed into two boats, which lay moored on the brink of the river, and in a few minutes were safely across, and inside the walls of Fort Dearborn.

Burns' family were not yet rescued, and who would undertake the mission, which the terrified messengers had made to appear so dangerous? Ensign Ronan was the man, and leaping into a boat, with six soldiers equally brave, pulled up the river to Burns', and carried the mother, and her babe on her bed on board, and these, with the rest of the family, were soon safely landed inside the fort.

The afternoon previous, a party of seven soldiers had obtained leave to row up the south branch to its head waters, for the purpose of fishing. Night had now come, but they had not yet returned. A gun was fired as a signal of danger, hearing which the party quit their sport, and pulled silently down the river. Arriving at Lee's place, they landed to rescue the inmates. Approaching the house by the light of a torch, a dead body was discovered, beside which laid a faithful dog. With increased haste they retreated, and now silently continued their way down the stream, and reached the fort at 11 o'clock at night. Early the

next morning scouts were promptly sent to the scene. The dead body of the man already discovered, proved to be one of the Frenchmen in the employ of Mr. White; his dog still laid by his side, in mournful silence; and but a few paces from it was discovered the dead body of Mr. White. Both the murdered men were taken to the fort, and buried just outside the palisade. Besides the families from outside the fort, now safely quartered within its protection, were some families of half-breeds, and a few discharged soldiers. These took refuge in the Agency house. For extra protection they planked up the two verandas with which the building was furnished (more for comfort than elegance), and pierced the outer wall thus made with port-holes.

Inside the fort was an ample store of provisions, among which such questionable luxuries as spiritous liquors had not been forgotten, and everything was in readiness for a seige. An order was issued to prevent any citizen or soldier from leaving without a guard, and a line of pickets was placed around the premises at night. In a few nights a small party of Indians were descried creeping stealthily through the pasture grounds adjoining the fort, like a group of thugs. They were immediately fired upon, not only by the patrolmen, but by the sentinel from the block-house, and one of their number returned the fire by hurling back his hatchet at the patrolman's head. It missed it, however, and spent its force against a wheel of a wagon. The next morning the leveled grass stained with blood where his victim fell, proved the steady aim of the sentinel. Soon afterwards, another visitation was made of a similar character, probably for the purpose of stealing horses from a stable outside the fort. But instead of finding horses, some sheep had taken refuge within its treacherous walls and became victims to the rage of the disappointed sneaks. The innocent animals were all stabbed as if they had been so many hyenas. Scouts were sent in pursuit of the miscreants who perpetrated the cruelty, but they could not be overtaken. In a few weeks the effect of these alarms passed away, the social circle of Ft. Dearborn resumed its composure. The Pottawattomies came and went as ever, but under a masked disguise of a friendship ready to be thrown off at the most opportune occasion.

Let us now turn our attention again to Detroit, the central base of military movements on the upper lakes. Here we find General Hull encamped on British soil, across the river opposite Detroit, evidently under the painfully contending emotions of prudence and activity, with the former in the ascendant. But while this fatal paralysis had taken possession of him, the enemy were acting with a promptness seldom equalled in military annals, and, it may with truth be said, a haste which would have

been fatal to them had not their antagonists (the Americans) been acting on the other extreme. In default of positive orders from the War Department to take the offensive, General Hull had at first hesitated to march against Malden, and when such orders came, so much time was consumed in preparation for the enterprise, that General Proctor, by order of Sir George Prevost, (the Governor-General of Canada) had reinforced the place with an English regiment before General Hull was ready to march against it.

This British reinforcement of Malden was effected on the 29th of July, and while it added to the perplexities of General Hull, he still looked for assistance from two different quarters which might extricate him from his perils, and place him in an invulnerable position. Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had been ordered to send a supply of provisions to him under a military escort, commanded by Captain Brush, which was now on its way, but the most important assistance which he expected was looked for through an attack against the enemy in another quarter, more vital to them, and which should divide their force and prevent the whole military weight of Canada from concentrating on Detroit. For this purpose, General Dearborn had been ordered to invade Canada from Niagara, but while on his way thither to take command of his army, already on the frontier, at Albany he was met by a flag of truce from the Governor-General, borne by Colonel Bayes, from Montreal. This messenger was the official bearer of the news that the English had revoked their orders in council, which had for years been so obnoxious to American commerce, and which had been among the principal causes of the war. Under the influence of such a harbinger of peace, an armistice was proposed.* Unhappily for General Hull and the American cause, General Dearborn, instead of obeying his orders by invading Canada, signed the treacherous truce which relieved the English forces of Canada from any apprehensions of danger to their Niagara frontier while they were concentrating their force against Detroit. While these contingencies were passing, so fortunately for the British, General Hull's indecision of purpose, which, it must be confessed, grew out of the web of difficulties which encompassed him, had forfeited all confidence in him from his army. On the 8th of August he called a council of war, in which it was decided to advance against Malden, but news of the fatal armistice followed this decision, sent by a messenger from General Porter, who held command on the Niagara frontier, accompanied with the unpropitious assurance that the

* It will not be forgotten that this revocation took place five days after the American declaration of war, as stated in the foregoing pages.

proposed diversion of the English forces had resulted in a failure.

This dispiriting news prevented him from advancing against the objective point, and he retreated to Detroit. Two and a-half miles from the present site of Monroe, Michigan, was a thriving French village, on the banks of the river Raisin, thirty-six miles south of Detroit. The expected convoy of provisions had reached this place in safety, but between this point and Detroit, Tecumseh interposed his army of braves, and the commander of the convoy, not deeming it prudent to advance with such a numerous foe in his path, sent a messenger to General Hull for a force to open the way.

On the 4th of August, Major Van Horne, of Colonel Findley's regiment of Ohio volunteers, was sent on the mission with a command or 200 men. At Brownstown, nearly opposite Malden, he fell into an ambuscade and was driven back, with serious losses.

On the 9th inst., Colonel Miller was sent on the same dangerous service, with the fourth Ohio regiment and a body of militia, in all numbering 600 men.

Tne fear of an ambuscade along the low and forest-clad grounds through which their path lay, caused them to proceed with caution, and Captain Snelling was ordered to lead the advance. No enemy was seen till they had reached the Indian village of Monguagon, about half the distance to the river Raisin, where from behind a breastwork of logs a squad of British and Indians obstructed their path. A sharp and bloody battle immediately followed, in which the new American troops fought like veterans, and drove the British from the field ; but the Indians, led by Tecumseh, though exposed to the terrible fire of the Americans, in which their loss had been severe, still hung around the skirts of the victorious Americans and made their position dangerous. In this emergency, Colonel Miller despatched a messenger back to Detroit to obtain provisions for the sustenance of his men, till they could fight their way through the treacherous forest path to meet the convoy. The required provisions were at first ordered to be sent under command of Colonel McArthur, but a storm delayed the departure of the train till General Hull thought best to recall Colonel Miller, rather than reinforce him, and he was ordered back to Detroit.

Arrangements were now made to open communication with the expected convoy by a route further to the West, which was less exposed to the numerous enemy who hovered around the banks of the Detroit river along the road which Colonel Miller had passed, and which had frequently exposed his men to the fire of the English Vessels which patroled its waters.

Colonels Cass and McArthur were detailed for this service, on the 14th, with 400 picked men. General Brock reached Malden the same day, and immediately taking the offensive, advanced to Sandwich, opposite Detroit, and addressed to General Hull the following note:

"SIR:—The power at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the c ntest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieutenant Colonel McDonnell and Major Gregg, are fully authorized to conclude any arrangements that may prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

ISAAC BROCK, Major General, etc.

His Excellency, Brigadier General Hull, etc.

The reply was as follows:

HEAD QUARTERS, DETROIT, Aug. 15th, 1812.

SIR:—I have no other reply to make, than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make. I am, etc.,

WILLIAM HULL, Brigadier General.

His Excellency, Major General Brock, etc.

Says General Hull, in his official account of the attack of Detroit and its surrender: "On the 15th, as soon as General Brock received my letter, his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening, all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, three miles below Detroit. At daylight on the 16th, the cannonade recommenced, and in a short time I received information that the British army and Indians were landing below the Spring Wells, under the cover of their ships of war. At this time, the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops and unaccustomed to camp life; having performed a laborious march; having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen and more had received wounds; in addition to which a large number being sick and unprovided with medicine and the comforts necessary for their situation; are the general causes by which the strength of the army was reduced. * * It now became necessary to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood and no possible advantage, because the contest could not have been sustained more

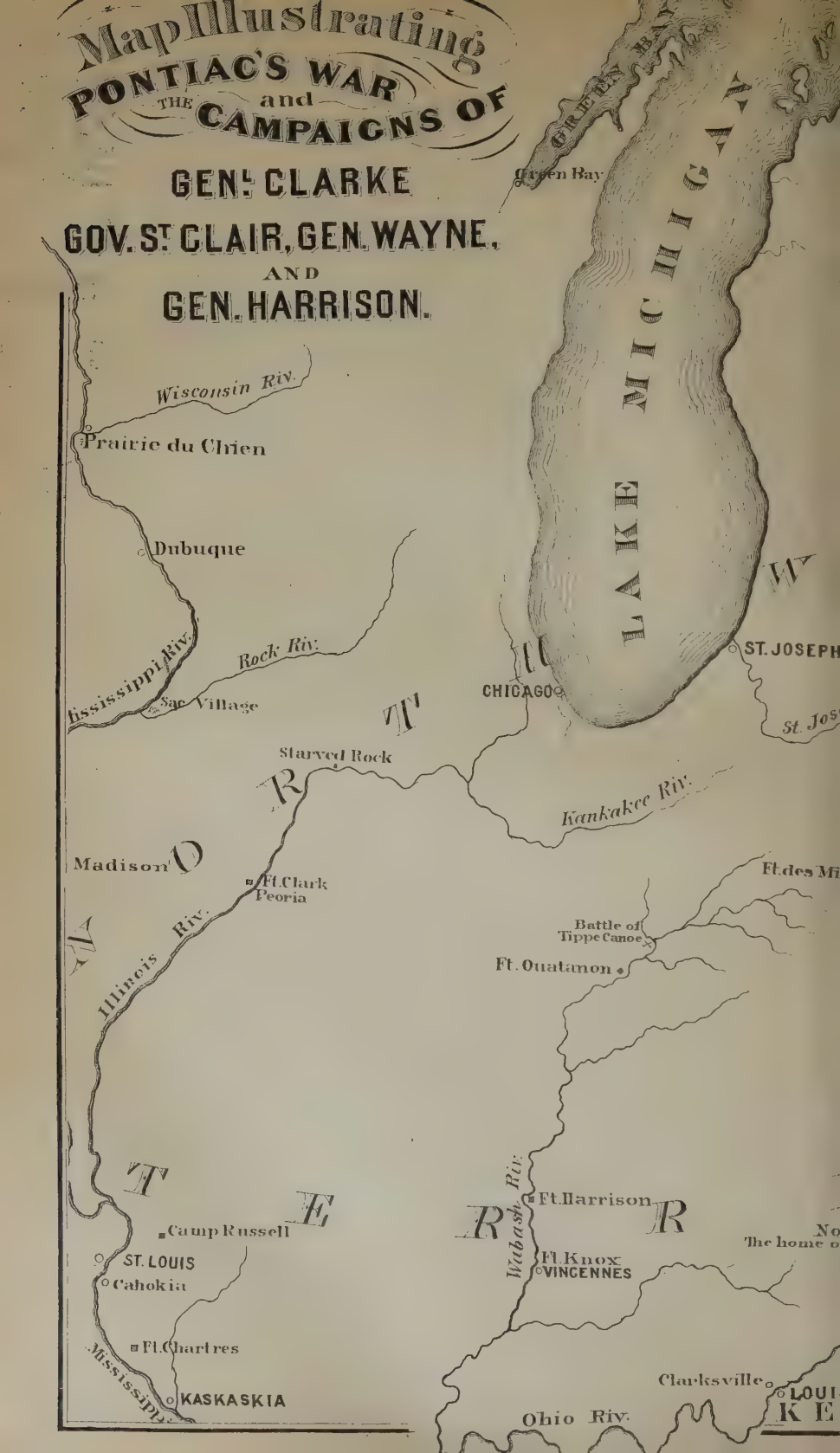
than a day for want of power, and but a few days for want of provisions.

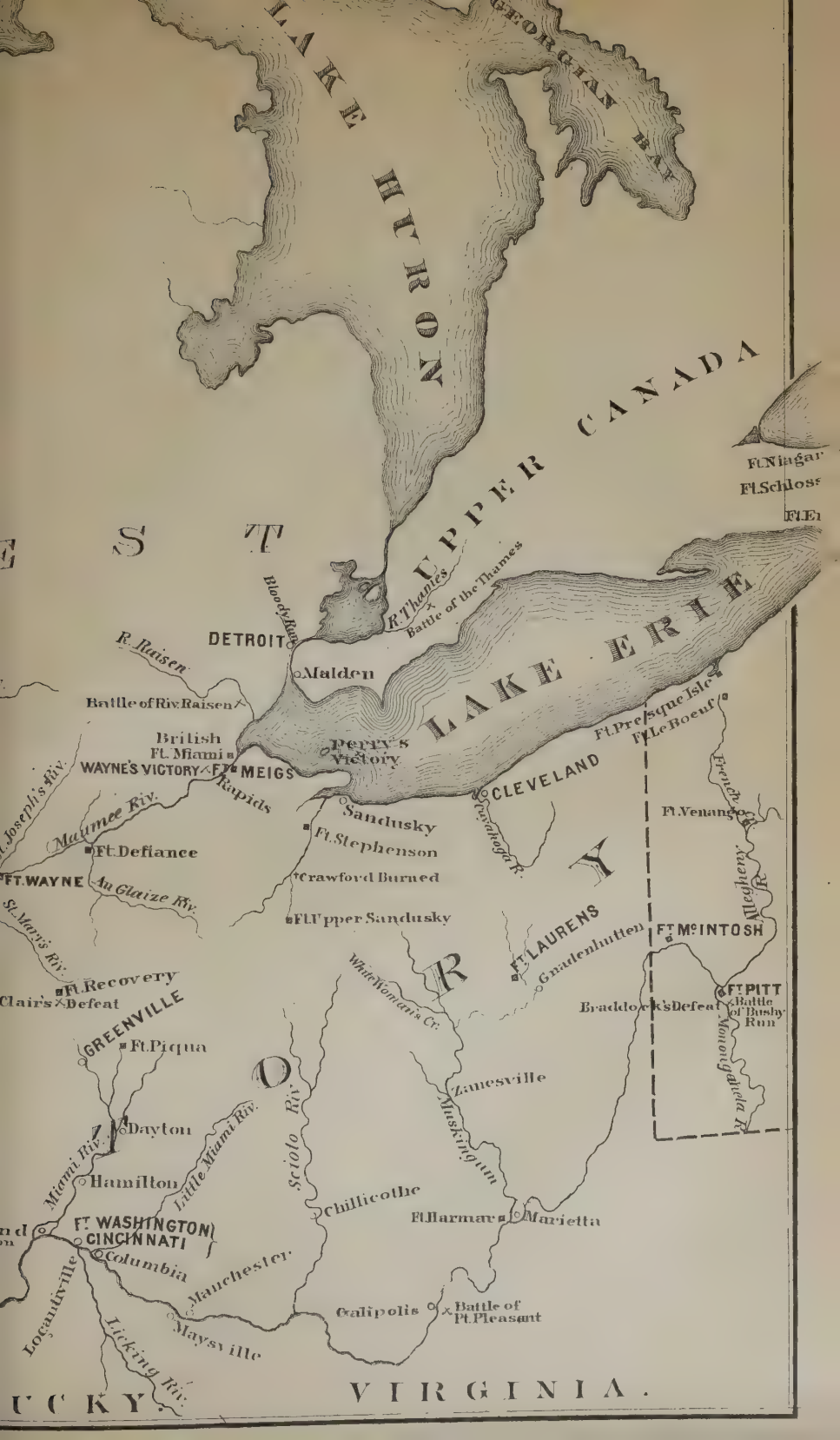
In addition to this, Cols. McArthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. . . . . I well know the high reponsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it my self. It was dictated by a sense of duty and a full conviction of its expediency."

The surrender of the garrison of Detroit, together with the town and the entire territory of Michigan, took place on the 16th. It forms a humiliating page in American history, for which the tardiness in the government in sustaining General Hull was more responsible than General Hull himself; albeit, it is but a just tribute to English heroism to admit that it had a potent influence in the work. That General Hull could have taken Malden at first, and thus saved Detroit, is probable; but in default of this, that he could have held Detroit was impossible. No wonder the fall of the place stung the American heart, when thousands of our old Revolutionary soldiers were yet living, who beheld the triumph of English arms with indescribable bitterness. General Hull was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hung. Happily for humanity's sake, the President pardoned him. The sentence appeased the pride of the nation, as well as to help conceal the mistakes of the government, till history in its own destined time should vindicate truth, even at the expense of the government.

NOTE.—The following is an item from a journal kept by the father of Hon. L. W. Claypool, of Morris, Ill., who was a soldier in the Ohio ranks at the surrender. It is inserted as a simple statement of the facts which verify the English account of the surrender, as well as Hull's statement. It was furnished the author by Hon. Wm. Bross, Chicago:

"Aug. 15—British began firing opposite Detroit at 6 o'clock. Continued till after night. Ended by throwing a few shells. They received heavy firing from our side. The day following, at 6 o'clock, renewed the firing. The compliment was returned. Firing continued three hours. We ceased firing first. Sent over a flag of truce. British officers came over. Talked of capitulation, well understanding that 1,000 British had crossed at Spring Wells, and that a vast number of Indians were back of the Fort (perhaps 1,500). Under consideration of these facts, surrendered the whole to the British. They took possession at 11 o'clock. We gave up our arms at 12 o'clock. In the evening, went on board the schooner Nancy. Continued here till the 18th. Sailed to Malden. Lay there till the 20th: 6 in the morning till 12 o'clock. Sailed twenty-three miles. Anchored all night. 21st—Wind unfavorable. 22nd, Sunday—Cast anchor at Puttaut Bay Island. Weighed anchor at 4 o'clock Sunday. 23d of August—Landed at the mouth of Black River. 24th—Marched twenty-seven miles down Lake Erie to the Town of Cleveland, Cuyahoga county, O."


Map Illustrating
PONTIAC'S WAR
and
THE CAMPAIGNS OF
GEN.L CLARKE
GOV. ST CLAIR, GEN. WAYNE,
AND
GEN. HARRISON.
GREEN BAY
Green Bay
LAKE MICHIGAN
Wisconsin Riv.
Prairie du Chien
Dubuque
Mississippi Riv.
Rock Riv.
Sac Village
CHICAGO
ST. JOSEPH
St. Jos
Starved Rock
Kankakee Riv.
Madison
Ft. Clark
Peoria
Illinois Riv.
Ft. des Mi
Battle of
Tippe Canoe
Ft. Ouatanon
Wabash Riv.
Ft. Harrison
Camp Russell
ST. LOUIS
Cahokia
Ft. Knox
VINCENNES
The home o
Ft. Chartres
Mississippi
KASKASKIA
Clarksville
LOUI
KE
Ohio Riv.


LAKE HURON
GEORGIAN BAY
UPPER CANADA
LAKE ERIE
R. Thames
Battle of the Thames
Bloody Run
DETROIT
Malden
R. Raisen
Battle of Riv. Raisen
British
Ft. Miami
WAYNE'S VICTORY
FT. MEIGS
Perry's Victory
Rapids
CLEVELAND
Ft. Presque Isle
Ft. Le Boeuf
French Cr.
Ft. Venango
Allegheny R.
Maumee Riv.
Ft. Defiance
FT. WAYNE
An Glaize Riv.
St. Mary's Riv.
Sandusky
Ft. Stephenson
Crawford Burned
Ft. Upper Sandusky
Cuyahoga R.
FT. LAURENS
Gnadenhutten
FT. McINTOSH
FT. PITT
Battle of Bushy Run
Braddock's Defeat
Monongahela R.
White Woman's Cr.
Ft. Recovery
Clair's Defeat
GREENVILLE
Ft. Piqua
Dayton
Miami Riv.
Little Miami Riv.
Hamilton
Scioto Riv.
Zanesville
Muskingum
Chillicothe
Ft. Harmar
Marietta
FT. WASHINGTON
CINCINNATI
Columbia
Manchester
Louisville
Licking Riv.
Maysville
Galipolis
Battle of Pt. Pleasant
VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fort Dearborn in Danger — Its Evacuation ordered by General Hull — Winnemac, the Friendly Messenger — Vacillating Policy of Captain Heald, the Commander — Inflexibility of Ensign Ronan — John Kinzie, his Wise Counsel — Council with the Pottawattomies — Bad Faith of Captain Heald in the Destruction of Arms, etc. — Honorable Confession of Black Partridge — Arrival of a Heroic Friend — The Fort Evacuated — Indian Treachery — Mrs. Helm's Graphic Account of the Massacre which followed.

During the waning fortunes of General Hull at Detroit, ere he had surrendered the place, evidently apprehensive of his fate, he determined to send a messenger to Fort Dearborn to apprise its inmates of the situation, and give them timely warning to save themselves by retreating to Fort Wayne, if the garrison were not in a situation to hold out till succor could come to their relief. Winnemac, the Pottowattamie chief, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter, was in his camp, and to him the mission was entrusted. He started from Detroit on the 28th of July, with an order from General Hull to Captain Heald, who held command of Fort Dearborn, and arrived safely at Chicago on the 7th of August, according to the account given in Wabun; but Lanman states that he arrived on the 9th, which appears more consistent, as to the time it would take to travel the long wilderness path connecting the two places. He brought exciting news. War had been declared by the United States against England; Michilimacinac had fallen without resistance, and Detroit was closely pressed by the British and their swarthy allies. Under these adverse circumstances the evacuation of Fort Dearborn was ordered, providing they had not means to defend it, as the only means of safety left open to the garrison. Captain Heald was further instructed to distribute all the goods in the fort and agency house among the Indians after leaving the post.

Had all these conditions come upon them in their natural routine, better preparation could have been made to meet them, but the news coming as it did, fell like an avalanch upon the unsuspecting tenants of the fort. To add to their perplexities the relations between the commanding officer and his subordinates, particularly Ensign Ronan, was not harmonious. This young officer was bold, perhaps an eratic and certainly an out-spoken free thinker, regardless of any restraining limit dictated by policy or conservatism to the expression of his sentiments. For this and without doubt for other causes, Captain Heald took no council with his subordinate officers as to what was to be done, but resolved in his own mind to evacuate the fort, although this decision was against the advice of both Winnemac, who had amply proved the sincerity of his friendship, and Mr. Kinzie, whose long and successful career among the Indians entitled his opinions to respect. And in vain did both of them exert themselves to dissuade him from the hasty resolution. First, Winnemac had at a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, strongly advised that the garrison should shut themselves up in the fort and remain till reinforced, but if evacuation was determined on, let it be done immediately, before the Indians, through whose country they must pass, should become acquainted with the news he had brought from Detroit. To this advice Captain Heald replied, that, inasmuch as he had determined to leave the fort, it would be necessary to wait till the Indians of the neighborhood could be collected to receive an equal distribution of the property ordered to be given to them. Winnemac then suggested an immediate evacuation, with everything left standing, and while the Indians were dividing the spoils the garrison might escape.

This plan was also recommended by Mr. Kinzie, but was rejected, and the next morning the order for evacuating the post according to the original plan of Captain Heald, was read at the roll call. The impolicy of this plan being apparent to the subordinate officers, in the course of the day they sought an interview with Captain Heald to remonstrate against it. They represented to him the frail tenure by which the treacherous chain of friendship now bound the Indians to the American interest. That good-will towards the family of Mr. Kinzie was its only hold, and it was not to be expected that the few chiefs who showed this feeling towards this one household would be able to restrain the turbulent passions of the whole tribe when the war whoop was once raised. That their retreat must be slow, incumbered as it would be with women, children and invalids. That succor might arrive before an attack could be made from the British who had just taken Michilimackinac, but if not it were far better to fall into their hands than expose themselves to the fury of

the savages. To these suggestions Captain Heald replied that a special order had been issued from the War Department that no post should be surrendered without a battle, and his force was inadequate for this and that he should be censured for remaining when a prospect for a safe retreat appeared probable, to insure which he proposed, after distributing the goods to the Indians, to promise them further reward for escorting his command safely to Fort Wayne. From this time the under officers, seeing the impossibility of changing his purposes, remained silent on the subject, but Mr. Kinzie was still persistent, and while conversing with him one day on the parade-ground, on the subject, Captain Heald, in reply to his arguments, said, "I could not remain if I thought best, for I have but a small store of provisions." "Why, Captain," said an impulsive soldier, "you have cattle enough to last six months." To this the unoffended Captain replied, "I have no salt to preserve the meat." "Then jerk it, as the Indians do their venison," continued the persistant soldier.* As the weary days advanced, the Indians assumed an air of insolence quite inconsistent with the spirit of friendship. Impertinent squaws cast malignant glances at the fort, as they thronged around its gates as if a jubilee was about to reward their watching, and uncouth warriors sometimes pressed through the gates, heedless of the sentinel's protest, and once a gun was discharged in the ladies' parlor by one of these unwelcome visitors.

On the 12th a council was held with the Pottawattomies who had by this time assembled in considerable numbers around the fort. The conference took place on the parade-ground just outside the palisades. Captain Heald laid aside his prejudices and invited all the officers of the fort to take part in its deliberations, but they had lost all faith in the pretensions of the Indians and declined. Moreover, they had been informed that it was to be made the occasion of a massacre of the officers, the truth of which rumor was strengthened by perhaps well-grounded suspicions. Under these apprehensions they betook themselves to the block-house where the cannon were shotted ready for any hostile demonstration which might show itself. Captain Heald, however, with undiminished faith in the Indians, accompanied by Mr. Kinzie, convened the council. At its sitting the Indians were informed of his plans to withdraw from the fort, and were promised the gift of all the goods, not only in the fort itself but of those in the agency house, including the ammunition and provisions. The Pottawattomies on their part promised an escort to conduct them safely to Ft. Wayne, for which they were

* As beef or venison was preserved by drying and smoking, in the early day, which process was called jerking.—[Author.

to receive a liberal reward on the spot and an additional one on their arrival at the place. Thus closed the council with apparent good-will and confidence on the part of Captain Heald, not shared by his junior officers or soldiers. As already stated, Winnemac had brought to the garrison the news of the fall of Michilimanackinac, but from prudential motives the Indians were not informed of it. This attempt at concealment, however, was unavailing, for Tecumseh had sent a messenger to them to secure their co-operation in the general warfare which he was waging against the Americans as a British ally, by telling them the news so auspicious to their cause. No sooner had the council closed and the chiefs withdrawn than Mr. Kinzie, alarmed at its impolitic terms, protested against furnishing the Indians arms, which would probably be used against themselves, and Captain Heald, himself, for the first time awakened to a sense of surrounding danger, determined to destroy all the arms and ammunition not wanted for his own use, instead of giving it to the Indians, as stipulated in the council.

The next day the goods were distributed, all but the ammunition, arms, and the liquors, of which there was a plentiful store. The Indians were far from being satisfied. The things they most coveted were still withheld and at night they hung about the premises, crawling prostrate through the tall grass, wherever it afforded concealment within hearing of what was going on at the fort. When night came, their serpentine toil was rewarded with a full discovery of what they had suspected. With indignation they beheld the destruction of the muskets, the fragments of which, together with powder, shot, flints and gun screws were thrown into a well at the extremity of the sally port. Next came the casks of liquor. These were rolled to the bank of the river, the heads knocked in and the contents given to intoxicate the fishes. The Indians, however, got a taste of the precious nectar which, diluted as it was, they sipped from the surface of the water, under cover of night, while drinking which they declared that the whole river tasted like strong grog. However agreeable such a spoliation might be to modern apostles of temperance, it was offensive to the Indians to the last degree. Aside from such a waste of property, they looked upon it as a piece of treachery on the part of Captain Heald, which had deprived them of the most essential part of the promised gifts. This last act was the most fatal error yet committed, as it compromised all the good-fellowship that existed between the Indians and the garrison, on which alone Captain Heald had based a frail hope of security.

Up to this time the leading chiefs of the Pottawattomies (it is fair to infer) felt their ability to restrain the war spirit among

the young braves who longed for a chance to achieve notoriety by ornamenting their belts with the scalp of an enemy, and were as unscrupulous as to the means employed to obtain it as some of our modern politicians are as to the issues that party strife thrusts into the arena of what should be the policy of the nation.

Black Partridge was conspicuous among the friendly and considerate chiefs but after the destruction of the arms, etc., feeling that he could no longer restrain the war spirit of his people, he entered the quarters of Captain Heald with deep dejection. "Father," said the high-minded chief, "I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship, but our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy." Whatever effect this startling disclosure produced on the minds of the garrison, it was now too late to make any change in their plans, for nothing was left on which to subsist or with which to defend themselves, as only twenty-five rounds of ammunition to the man and one extra box of cartridges had been reserved from the general distribution. This was the situation on the night of the 13th when the devoted garrison returned to rest, perhaps for the last time. While this suspense was continuing at the fort, succor was on the way to them. The wife of Captain Heald was the daughter of Colonel Samuel Wells, of Kentucky, whose brother (afterwards Captain William Wayne Wells) when thirteen years old had been taken captive by the Indians, in one of the border skirmishes, which was a frequent occurrence in those early times.* He was adopted into the family of Little Turtle and bred in the lofty virtues of which that distinguished chief was so able an exponent.

At the defeat of St. Clair, Mr. Wells had been in the front and maintained the position till a wall of dead bodies of the American artillery men shielded him from the tempest of bullets which assailed his men. Notwithstanding he had won laurels with the people of his adoption whom he had thus far successfully defended, in his reflective moments he clearly foresaw their declining fortunes and resolved to abandon them to a fate from which it was impossible to extricate them. As might be supposed this resolution filled his heart with contending emotions, painful beyond the power of but few to conceive. On the one hand were the associations which had gathered around his maturing years, perhaps all the more tender because hardships and

* See Western Annals, p. 615.

toil had been ever present with them. On the other, was his ambition to cast his lot among his own people, who alone could elevate him to a position that his talents deserved. But as treachery with him was impossible, he plainly told his adopted father, Little Turtle, his intentions, and with much pathos bade him good-bye, as he left him and allied himself to the army of General Wayne, in 1794. With him he fought during the campaign and after the peace which followed it, he again joined Little Turtle, who now fully shared his sentiments, and both went to Philadelphia together, in 1798, to take measures to bring civilization to their race. Here the celebrated traveler, Mr. Volney, met Mr. Wells, and has left an interesting record of the interview.* He was also received with marked respect by the Quakers at the place, who never lost an opportunity to extend the open hand to help the Indian race. He then returned to Fort Wayne, where he remained till the war of 1812.† The war whoop was now again ringing through the forest, and he was once more thrust into its theatre. Rumors of the disaffection of the Pottawattomies, who hung around Fort Dearborn, reached him, and he promptly flew to the defense of his friends at the place, one of whom (Mrs. Heald) was his blood relation.

He arrived there on the 14th and found things in a desperate condition.

It was too late to defend the fort, and the only resource left was to retreat in the face of a savage foe, dangerous from their numbers at best, but now irritated by the destruction of the arms and liquors which had been promised to them. Hope revived in the hearts of the devoted garrison when he, at the head of 15 Miamis, entered the walls of the fort, and consoled by this small reinforcement, all but the sentinels retired to rest.

"The morning of the 15th arrived. All things were in readiness, and nine o'clock was the hour named for starting.

Mr. Kinzie had volunteered to accompany the troops in their march, and had entrusted his family to the care of some friendly Indians, who had promised to convey them in a boat around the head of Lake Michigan to a point‡ on the St. Joseph's river; there to be joined by the troops, should the prosecution of their march be permitted them.

Early in the morning Mr. Kinzie received a message from To-pee-nee-bee, a chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that mischief was intended by the Pottowattamies who had en-

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* Volney's View, p. 357.

† Whiting's Historical Discourses, delivered at Detroit, 1832.

‡ The spot now called Bertrand, then known as *Parc aux Vaches*, from its having been a pasture ground to an old French fort in the neighborhood.

gaged to escort the detachment; and urging him to relinquish his design of accompanying the troops by land, promising him that the boat containing himself and family should be permitted to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.

Mr. Kinzie declined acceding to this proposal, as he believed that his presence might operate as a restraint upon the fury of the savages, so warmly were the greater part of them attached to himself and his family.

The party in the boat consisted of Mrs. Kinzie and her four younger children, their nurse Grutte,* a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants and the boatmen, besides the two Indians who acted as their protectors. The boat started, but had scarcely reached the mouth of the river, which, it will be recollected was here half a mile below the fort, when another messenger from *To-pee-nee-bee* arrived to detain them where they were.

In breathless expectation sat the wife and mother. She was a woman of uncommon energy and strength of character, yet her heart died within her as she folded her arms around her helpless infants, and gazed upon the march of her husband and eldest child to certain destruction.

As the troops left the fort, the band struck up the Dead March. On they came in military array, but with solemn mien. Captain Wells took the lead at the head of his little band of Miamis. He had blackened his face before leaving the garrison, in token of his impending fate. They took their route along the lake shore. When they reached the point where commenced a range of sand hills intervening between the prairie and the beach, the escort of Pottowattamies, in number about five hundred, kept the level of the prairie, instead of continuing along the beach with the Americans and Miamis.

They had marched perhaps a mile and a half, when Captain Wells, who had kept somewhat in advance with his Miamis, came riding furiously back. "They are about to attack us," shouted he; "form instantly, and charge upon them."

Scarcely were the words uttered, when a volley was showered from among the sand-hills. The troops were hastily brought into line, and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran of seventy winters, fell as they ascended. The remainder of the scene is best described in the words of an eye-witness and participator in the tragedy, Mrs. Helm, the wife of Captain (then Lieutenant) Helm, and step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie:

"After we had left the bank the firing became general. The Miamis fled at the outset. Their chief rode up to the Pottowattamies and said:

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* Afterwards Mrs. Jean Baptiste Beaubien.

"'You have deceived the Americans and us. You have done a bad action, and (brandishing his tomahawk) I will be the first to head a party of Americans to return and punish your treachery.' So saying he galloped after his companions, who were now scouring across the prairies.

"The troops behaved most gallantly. They were but a handful, but they seemed resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Our horses pranced and bounded, and could hardly be restrained as the balls whistled among them. I drew off a little, and gazed upon my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavored to forget those I loved, and prepare myself for my approaching fate.

"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. Van Voorhees, came up. He was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his face was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me—'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"'Dr. Van Voorhees,' said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us make what preparation is yet in our power.'

"'Oh! I cannot die,' exclaimed he, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful!'

"I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee.

"'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.'

"'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever!'

"At this moment a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was intended for my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me struggling and resisting towards the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized as I passed them the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon

perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, for he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge.*

"When the firing had nearly subsided, my preserver bore me from the water and conducted me up the sand-banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stooped and took off my shoes to free them from the sand with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them.

"When we had gained the prairie, I was met by my father, who told me that my husband was safe and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back towards the Chicago River, along the southern bank of which was the Pottowattamie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, *Black Partridge*, and partly by another Indian, Pee-so-tum, who held dangling in his hand a scalp, which by the black ribbon around the queue I recognized as that of Capt. Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of Wau-bee-nee-mah, a chief from the Illinois River, was standing near, and seeing my exhausted condition she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a stream that flowed near,* threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand gave it me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many horrors, touched me most sensibly, but my attention was soon diverted to other objects.

"The fort had become a scene of plunder to such as remained after the troops marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead or dying around. This work of butchery had commenced just as we were leaving the fort. I well remembered a remark of Ensign Ronan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes!'

"'Well, sir,' said the Commanding Officer, who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

"'No,' replied the high spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face;' and his subsequent gallant behavior showed this to be no idle boast.

"As the noise of the firing grew gradually less and the stragglers from the victorious party came dropping in, I received con-

*Just by the present State street Market.

firmation of what my father had hurriedly communicated in our *rencontre* on the lake shore; namely, that the whites had surrendered after the loss of about two-thirds of their number. They had stipulated, through the interpreter, Peresh Leclerc, for the preservation of their lives, and those of the remaining women and children, and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by traders in the Indian country. It appears that the wounded prisoners were not considered as included in the stipulation, and a horrible scene ensued upon their being brought into camp.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes around her, seemed possessed by a demoniac ferocity. She seized a stable-fork and assaulted one miserable victim, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the scorching beams of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected under such circumstances, Wau-bee-nee-mah stretched a mat across two poles, between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared in some degree a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. The following night five more of the wounded prisoners were tomahawked.

"The Americans after their first attack by the Indians, charged upon those who had concealed themselves in a sort of ravine, intervening between the sand banks and the prairie. The latter gathered themselves into a body, and after some hard fighting, in which the number of whites had become reduced to twenty-eight, this little band succeeded in breaking through the enemy, and gained a rising ground, not far from the Oak Woods. The contest now seemed hopeless, and Lt. Helm sent Peresh Leclerc, a half-breed boy in the service of Mr. Kinzie, who had accompanied the detachment and fought manfully on their side, to propose terms of capitulation. It was stipulated that the lives of all the survivors should be spared, and a ransom permitted as soon as practicable.

"But, in the mean time, a horrible scene had been enacted. One young savage, climbing into the baggage-wagon containing the children of the white families, twelve in number, tomahawked the children of the entire group. This was during the engagement near the Sand-hills. When Captain Wells, who was fighting near, beheld it, he exclaimed:

"'Is that their game, butchering the women and children? Then I will kill too!'

"So saying, he turned his horse's head, and started for the Indian camp, near the fort, where had been left their squaws and children.

"Several Indians pursued him as he galloped along. He laid

himself flat on the neck of his horse, loading and firing in that position, as he would occasionally turn on his pursuers. At length their balls took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment he was met by *Winnemeg** and *Wau-ban-see*, who endeavored to save him from the savages who had now overtaken him. As they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death-blow from another Indian, *Pee-so-tum*, who stabbed him in the back.†

"The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She was a Mrs. Corbin, and had, from the first, expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were always subjected to tortures worse than death.

"When, therefore, a party came upon her, to make her a prisoner, she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured, by signs, of safety and kind treatment, and literally suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.

"There was a Sergeant Holt, who, early in the engagement, received a ball in the neck. Finding himself badly wounded, he gave his sword to his wife, who was on horseback near him, telling her to defend herself—he then made for the lake, to keep out of the way of the balls. Mrs. Holt rode a very fine horse, which the Indians were desirous of possessing, and they therefore attacked her, in hopes of dismounting her.

"They fought only with the butt-ends of their guns, for their object was not to kill her. She hacked and hewed at their pieces as they were thrust against her, now on this side, now on that. Finally, she broke loose from them, and dashed out into the prairie. The Indians pursued her, shouting and laughing, and now and then calling out:

"'The brave woman! do not hurt her!'

"At length they overtook her again, and while she was engaged with two or three in front, one succeeded in seizing her by the neck behind, and dragging her, although a large and powerful woman, from her horse. Notwithstanding that their guns had been so hacked and injured, and even themselves cut severely, they seemed to regard her only with admiration. They

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* Winnemac (sometimes spelled with a 'g' as a final letter.)—[AUTHOR.

† Captain Wells' heart was afterwards taken out, cut in pieces and distributed among the tribes. After being scalped, his remains were left unburied, as were also those of the children massacred, and the soldiers and women slain in battle. Billy Caldwell, an Indian chief, the next day finding the head of Captain Wells in one place and his body in another, caused a hole to be dug in the sand and his remains to be interred.—*Brown's Illinois.*

took her to a trader on the Illinois River, by whom she was restored to her friends, after having received every kindness during her captivity.*

"Those of the family of Mr. Kinzie, who had remained in the boat, near the mouth of the river, were carefully guarded by Kee-po-tah and another Indian. They had seen the smoke—then the blaze—and immediately after the report of the first tremendous discharge sounded in their ears. Then all was confusion. They realized nothing until they saw an Indian come towards them from the battle-ground, leading a horse on which sat a lady, apparently wounded.

"'That is Mrs. Heald,' cried Mrs. Kinzie. 'That Indian will kill her. Run, Chandonnai,' to one of Mr. Kinzie's clerks, 'take the mule that is tied there, and offer it to him to release her.'

"Her captor, by this time, was in the act of disengaging her bonnet from her head, in order to scalp her. Chandonnai ran up, offered the mule as a ransom, with the promise of ten bottles of whisky, as soon as they should reach his village. The latter was a strong temptation.

"'But,' said the Indian, she is badly wounded—she will die. Will you give me the whiskey, at all events?'

"Chandonnai promised that he would, and the bargain was concluded. The savage placed the lady's bonnet on his own head, and after an ineffectual effort on the part of some squaws to rob her of her shoes and stockings, she was brought on board the boat, where she lay moaning with pain from the many bullet wounds she had received in both arms.

"The horse she had ridden was a fine spirited animal, and, being desirous of possessing themselves of it uninjured, the Indians had aimed their shots so as to disable the rider, without injuring her steed.

"She had not lain long in the boat, when a young Indian of savage aspect was seen approaching. A buffalo robe was hastily drawn over Mrs. Heald, and she was admonished to suppress all sound of complaint, as she valued her life.

"The heroic woman remained perfectly silent, while the savage drew near. He had a pistol in his hand, which he rested on the side of the boat, while, with a fearful scowl, he looked pryingly around. Black Jim, one of the servants who stood in the bow of the boat, seized an axe that lay near, and signed to him that if he shot, he would cleave his skull; telling him that the boat contained only the family of *Shaw-nee-aw-kee*.† Upon this the Indian retired. It afterward appeared that the object of his

*Mrs. Holt is believed to be still living in the State of Ohio.

† The Indian name for Mr. Kinzie.—[AUTHOR.

search was Mr. Burnett, a trader from St. Joseph's, with whom he had some account to settle.

"When the boat was at length permitted to return to the mansion of Mr. Kinzie, and Mrs. Heald was removed to the house, it became necessary to dress her wounds.

"Mr. K. applied to an old chief who stood by, and who, like most of his tribe, possessed some skill in surgery, to extract a ball from the arm ofthe sufferer.

"'No, father,' replied he. 'I cannot do it—it makes me sick here'—(placing his hand on his heart).

"Mr. Kinzie then performed the operation himself with his penknife.

"At their own mansion the family of Mr. Kinzie were closely guarded by their Indian friends, whose intention it was, to carry them to Detroit for security. The rest of the prisoners remained at the wigwams of their captors.

"The following morning the work of plunder being completed, the Indians set fire to the fort. A very equitable distribution of the finery appeared to have been made, and shawls, ribbons, and feathers fluttered about in all directions. The ludicrous appearance of one young fellow who had arrayed himself in a muslin gown, and the bonnet of one of the ladies, would, under other circumstances, have afforded matter of amusement.

"Black Partridge, Wau-ban-see and Kee-po-tah, with two other Indians, having established themselves in the porch of the building as sentinels, to protect the family from any evil that the young men might be excited to commit, all remained tranquil for a short space after the conflagration.

"Very soon, however, a party of Indians from the Wabash made their appearance. These were, decidedly, the most hostile and implacable of all the tribes of the Pottowattamies.

"Being more remote, they had shared less than some of their brethren in the kindness of Mr. Kinzie and his family, and consequently their sentiments of regard for them were less powerful.

"Runners had been sent to the villages to apprize them of the intended evacuation of the post, as well as of the plan of the Indians assembled to attack the troops.

"Thirsting to participate in such a scene they hurried on, and great was their mortification on arriving at the river Aux Plains, to meet with a party of their friends having with them their chief Nee-scot-nee-meg, badly wounded, and to learn that the battle was over, the spoils divided, and the scalps all taken.

"On arriving at Chicago they blackened their faces, and proceeded towards the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie.

"From his station on the piazza Black Partridge had watched

their approach, and his fears were particularly awakened for the safety of Mrs. Helm (Mr. Kinzie's step-daughter), who had recently come to the post, and was personally unknown to the more remote Indians. By his advice she was made to assume the ordinary dress of a French woman of the country; namely, a short gown and petticoat, with a blue cotton handkerchief wrapped around her head In this disguise she was conducted by Black Partridge himself to the house of Ouilmette, a Frenchman with a half-breed wife, who formed a part of the establishment of Mr. Kinzie, and whose dwelling was close at hand.

"It so happened that the Indians came first to this house, in their search for prisoners. As they approached, the inmates, fearful that the fair complexion and general appearance of Mrs. Helm might betray her for an American, raised a large feather-bed and placed her under the edge of it, upon the bedstead, with her face to the wall. Mrs. Bisson, the sister of Ouilmette's wife, then seated herself with her sewing upon the front of the bed.

"It was a hot day in August, and the feverish excitement of fear and agitation, together with her position, which was nearly suffocating, became so intolerable, that Mrs. Helm at length entreated to be released and given up to the Indians.

"'I can but die,' said she; 'let them put an end to my misery at once.'

"Mrs. Bisson replied, 'Your death would be the destruction of us all, for Black Partridge has resolved that if one drop of the blood of your family is spilled, he will take the lives of all concerned in it, even his nearest friends, and if once the work of murder commences, there will be no end of it, so long as there remains one white person, or half breed, in the country.'

"This expostulation nerved Mrs. Helm with fresh resolution.

"The Indians entered, and she could occasionally see them from her hiding-place, gliding about, and stealthily inspecting every part of the room, though without making any ostensible search, until apparently satisfied that there was no one concealed, they left the house.

"All this time Mrs. Bisson had kept her seat upon the side of the bed, calmly sorting and arranging the patchwork of the quilt on which she was engaged, and preserving an appearance of the utmost tranquility, although she knew not but that the next moment she might receive a tomahawk in her brain. Her self-command unquestionably saved the lives of all present.

"From Ouilmette's house the party of Indians proceeded to the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie. They entered the parlor in which the family were assembled with their faithful protectors, and seated themselves upon the floor in silence.

"Black Partridge perceived from their moody and revengeful

looks what was passing in their minds, but he dared not remonstrate with them. He only observed in a low tone to Wau-bansee—

"'We have endeavored to save our friends, but it is in vain—nothing will save them now.'

"At this moment a friendly whoop was heard from a party of new comers on the opposite bank of the river. Black Partridge sprang to meet their leader, as the canoes in which they had hastily embarked touched the bank near the house.

"'Who are you?' demanded he.

"'A man—who are *you?*'

"'A man like yourself, but tell me *who* you are'—meaning, tell me your disposition, and which side you are for.

"'I am the *Sau-ga-nash!*'

"'Then make all speed to the house—your friend is in danger, and you alone can save him.'

"*Billy Caldwell*,* for it was he, entered the parlor with a calm step, and without a trace of agitation in his manner. He deliberately took off his accoutrements and placed them with his rifle behind the door; then saluted the hostile savages.

"'How now, my friends! A good day to you. I was told there were enemies here, but I am glad to find only friends. Why have you blackened your faces? Is it that you are mourning for the friends you have lost in battle?' (purposely misunderstanding this token of evil designs). 'Or is it that you are fasting? If so, ask our friend here, and he will give you to eat. He is the Indian's friend, and never yet refused them what they had need of.'

"Thus taken by surprise, the savages were ashamed to acknowledge their bloody purpose. They, therefore said modestly that they came to beg of their friends some white cotton in which to wrap their dead, before interring them. This was given to them with some other presents, and they took their departure peaceably from the premises.

"Along with Mr. Kinzie's party was a non-commissioned offi-

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* Billy Caldwell was a half breed, and a chief of the nation. In his reply, "*I am a Sau-ga-nash*," or Englishman, he designed to convey, "I am a *white man*." Had he said, "*I am a Pottowattamie*," it would have been interpreted to mean, "I belong to my nation, and am prepared to go all lengths with them."—*Waubun.*

Billy Caldwell, who died but a short time since, was familiary known to many of our citizens in Chicago. His presence of mind unquestionably saved his friends from massacre. He was a half or quarter breed. His father was an officer in the British army; his mother a Wyandot woman; he was well educated in Montreal before he came hither. Previous to the War of 1812 he was received and adopted as a chief among them—and called the Sau-ga-nash. —*Brown's Ill., published in* 1844.

cer who had made his escape in a singular manner. As the troops were about leaving the fort it was found that the baggage-horses of the surgeon had strayed off. The quarter-master-sergeant, Griffith, was sent to collect them and bring them on, it being absolutely necessary to recover them, since their packs contained part of the surgeon's apparatus, and the medicines for the march.

"This man had been for a long time on the sick report, and for this reason was given the charge of the baggage, instead of being placed with the troops. His efforts to recover the horses being unsuccessful, he was hastening to rejoin his party; alarmed at some appearances of disorder and hostile indications among the Indians, when he was met and made prisoner by To-pee-nee-bee.

"Having taken from him his arms and acoutrements, the chief put him into a canoe and paddled him across the river, bidding him make for the woods and secrete himself. This he did, and the following day, in the afternoon, seeing from his lurking-place that all appeared quiet, he ventured to steal cautiously into the garden of Ouilmette, where he concealed himself for a time behind some currant-bushes.

"At length he determined to enter the house, and accordingly climbed up through a small back window, into the room where the family were. This was just as the Wabash Indians left the house of Ouilmette for that of Mr. Kinzie. The danger of the sergeant was now imminent. The family stripped him of his uniform and arrayed him in a suit of deer-skin, with belt, moccasins, and pipe, like a French engagé. His dark complexion and large black whiskers favored the disguise. The family were all ordered to address him in French, and although utterly ignorant of the language he continued to pass for a *Ween-tee-gosh*,* and as such to accompany Mr. Kinzie and his family, undetected by his enemies until they reached a place of safety.

"On the third day after the battle, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the clerks of the establishment, were put into a boat, under the care of Francois, a half-breed interpreter, and conveyed to St. Joseph's, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of *To-pee-nee-bee's* band. They were then conducted to Detroit, under the escort of Chandonnai and their trusty Indian friend, *Ke-po-tah*, and delivered up as prisoners of war, to Col. McKee, the British Indian Agent.

"Mr. Kinzie was not allowed to leave St. Joseph's with his family, his Indian friends insisting on his remaining and endeavoring to secure some remnant of his scattered property.

* Frenchman.

During his excursions with them for that purpose, he wore the costume and paint of the tribe, in order to escape capture and perhaps death at the hands of those who were still thirsting for blood. In time, however, his anxiety for his family induced him to follow them to Detroit, where, in the month of January, he was received and paroled by Gen. Proctor.

"Capt. and Mrs. Heald had been sent across the lake to St. Joseph's the day after the battle. The former had received two wounds, the latter seven in the engagement.

"Lieut. Helm, who was likewise wounded, was carried by some friendly Indians to their village on the Au Sable, and thence to Peoria, where he was liberated by the intervention of Mr. Thomas Forsyth, the half-brother of Mr. Kinzie. Mrs. Helm had accompanied her parents to St. Joseph, where they resided in the family of Alexander Robinson,* receiving from them all possible kindness and hospitality for several months.

"After their arrival in Detroit, Mrs. Helm was joined by her husband, when they were both arrested by order of the British commander, and sent on horseback, in the dead of winter, through Canada to Fort George on the Niagara frontier. When they arrived at that post, there seemed no official appointed to receive them, and notwithstanding their long and fatiguing journey, in weather the most cold and inclement, Mrs. H., a delicate woman of seventeen years, was permitted to sit waiting in her saddle without the gate for more than hour, before the refreshment of fire or food, or even the shelter of a roof was offered them. When Col. Sheaffe, who had been absent at the time, was informed of this brutal inhospitality, he expressed the greatest indignation. He waited on Mrs. Helm immediately, apologized in the most courteous manner, and treated both her and Lieut. H. with the most considerate kindness, until, by an exchange of prisoners, they were liberated, and found means to reach their friends in Steuben county, N. Y.

"Capt. Heald had been taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who had a strong personal regard for him, and who, when he saw the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. H., released her husband that he might accompany his wife to St. Joseph's. To the latter place they were accordingly carried, as has been related, by Chandonnai and his party. In the meantime, the Indian who had so nobly released his prisoner, returned to his village on the Kankakee, where he had the mortification of finding that his conduct had excited great dissatisfaction among his band. So great was the displeasure manifested, that

* The Pottowattamie chief, so well known to many of the citizens of Chicago, now residing at the Aux Plaines.

he resolved to make a journey to St. Joseph's and reclaim his prisoner.

"News of his intention being brought to To-pee-nee-bee and Kee-po-tah, under whose care the prisoners were, they held a private council with Chandonnai, Mr. Kinzie, and the principal men of the village, the result of which was, a determination to send Capt. and Mrs. Heald to the island of Mackinac, and deliver them up to the British.

"They were accordingly put in a bark canoe, and paddled by Robinson and his wife a distance of three hundred miles along the coast of Michigan, and surrendered as prisoners of war to the commanding officer at Mackinac.

"As an instance of the procrastinating spirit of Capt. Heald, it may be mentioned that even after he had received certain intelligence that his Indian captor was on his way from the Kankakee to St. Joseph's to retake him, he would still have delayed another day at that place, to make preparation for a more comfortable journey to Mackinac.*

"The soldiers, with their wives and surviving children, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawattamies upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock River, and at Milwaukie, until the following spring, when they were, for the most part, carried to Detroit, and ransomed.

"Mrs. Burns, with her infant, became the prisoners of a chief, who carried her to his village and treated her with great kindness. His wife, from jealousy of the favor shown to 'the white woman' and her child, always treated them with great hostility. On one occasion she struck the infant with a tomahawk, and narrowly missed her aim of putting an end to it altogether.† They were not left long in the power of the old hag, after this demonstration, but on the first opportunity carried to a place of safety.

"The family of Mr. Lee had resided in a house on the lake shore, not far from the fort. Mr. Lee was the owner of Lee's Place, which he cultivated as a farm. It was his son who ran down with the discharged soldier to give the alarm of 'Indians' at the fort on the afternoon of the 7th of April. The father,

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* Captain (subsequently Major) Heald, his wife and family, settled in the country of St. Joseph, Mo., after the war, about 1817, where he died, about fifteen years since. He was respected and beloved by his acquaintance. His health was impaired by the wounds he received.—*Western Annals, published in* 1850.

† Twenty-two years after this, as I was on a journey to Chicago in the steamer Uncle Sam, a young woman, hearing my name, introduced herself to me, and raising the hair from her forehead, showed me the mark of the tomahawk which had so nearly been fatal to her.

the son, and all the other members of the family, had fallen victims on the 15th of August, except Mrs. Lee and her young infant. These were claimed by Black Partridge, and carried to his village on the Au Sable. He had been particularly attached to a little girl of Mrs. Lee's, about twelve years of age. This child had been placed on horseback for the march, and as she was unaccustomed to the exercise, she was tied fast to the saddle, lest by any accident she should slip off or be thrown.

"She was within reach of the balls at the commencement of the engagement, and was severely wounded. The horse set off in a full gallop, which partly threw her, but she was held fast by the bands which confined her, and hung dangling as the animal ran violently about. In this state she was met by Black Partridge, who caught the horse and disengaged her from the saddle. Finding her so much wounded that she could not recover, and that she was suffering great agony, he put the finishing stroke to her at once with his tomahawk. He afterward said that this was the hardest thing he ever tried to do, but he did it because he could not bear to see her suffer.

"He took the mother and her infant to his village, where he became warmly attached to the former—so much so, that he wished to marry her, but as she very naturally objected, he treated her with the greatest respect and consideration. He was in no hurry to release her, for he was in hopes of prevailing on her to become his wife. In the course of the winter her child fell ill. Finding that none of the remedies within their reach were effectual, Black Partridge proposed to take the little one to Chicago, where there was now a French trader living in the mansion of Mr. Kinzie, and procure some medical aid from him. Wrapping up his charge with the greatest care, he sat out on his journey.

When he arrived at the residence of M. Du Pin, he entered the room where he was, and carefully placed his burthen on the floor.

"'What have you there?' asked M. Du Pin.

"'A young raccoon, which I have brought you as a present,' was the reply, and opening the pack, he showed the little sick infant.

"When the trader had prescribed for its complaint, and Black Partridge was about to return to his home, he told his friend his proposal to Mrs. Lee to become his wife and the manner in which it had been received.

"M. Du Pin entertained some fears that the chief's honorable resolution might not hold out, to leave it to the lady herself whether to accept his addresses or not, so he entered at once into a negotiation for her ransom, and so effectually wrought upon the good feelings of Black Partridge that he consented to bring his fair prisoner at once to Chicago, that she might be restored to her friends.

"Whether the kind trader had at the outset, any other feeling in the matter than sympathy and brotherly kindness we cannot say —we only know that, in process of time Mrs. Lee became Madame Du Pin, and that they lived together in great happiness for many years after.

"The fate of Nau-non-gee, one of the chiefs of the Calumet village, and who is mentioned in the early part of the narrative, deserves to be recorded.

"During the battle of the 15th of August, the chief object of his attack was one Sergeant Hays, a man from whom he had received many acts of kindness.

"After Hays had received a ball through the body, this Indian ran up to him to tomahawk him, when the Sergeant, collecting his remaining strength, pierced him through the body with his bayonet. They fell together. Other Indians running up soon dispatched Hays, and it was not until then that his bayonet was extracted from the body of his adversary.

"The wounded chief was carried after the battle to his village on the Calumet, where he survived for several days. Finding his end approaching, he called together his young men, and enjoined them in the most solemn manner, to regard the safety of their prisoners after his death, and to take the lives of none of them from respect to his memory, as he deserved his fate from the hands of those whose kindness he had so ill-requited."*

[From Niles Register, Vol. IV, p. 82.]

Saturday April 3d 1813.

Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieut. Helm, who escaped from the butchery of the garrison of *Chicauga* by the assistance of a humane Indian, has arrived at this place, Buffialo. The account of her sufferings during three months' slavery among the Indians and three months' imprisonment among their allies, would make a most interesting volume. One circumstance alone I will mention. During five days after she was taken prisoner, she had not the least sustenance, and was compelled to drag a canoe (barefooted and wading along the stream) in which there were some squaws, and when she demanded food, some flesh of her murdered countrymen, and a piece of Colonel Wells' heart was offered her. She knows the fact that Col. Proctor, the British commander at Malden, bought the scalps of our murdered garrison of *Chicauga*, and, thanks to her noble spirit, she boldly charged him with his infamy in his own house. She knows further from the tribe with whom she was a prisoner, and who were perpetrators of those murders, that they intended to remain true, but that they received orders from the British to cut off the garrison whom they were to escort.

(This last assertion probably originated in the brain of the editor of Niles Register, as Mrs. Helm in her narrative brings no such arraingment against the British.)—AUTHOR.

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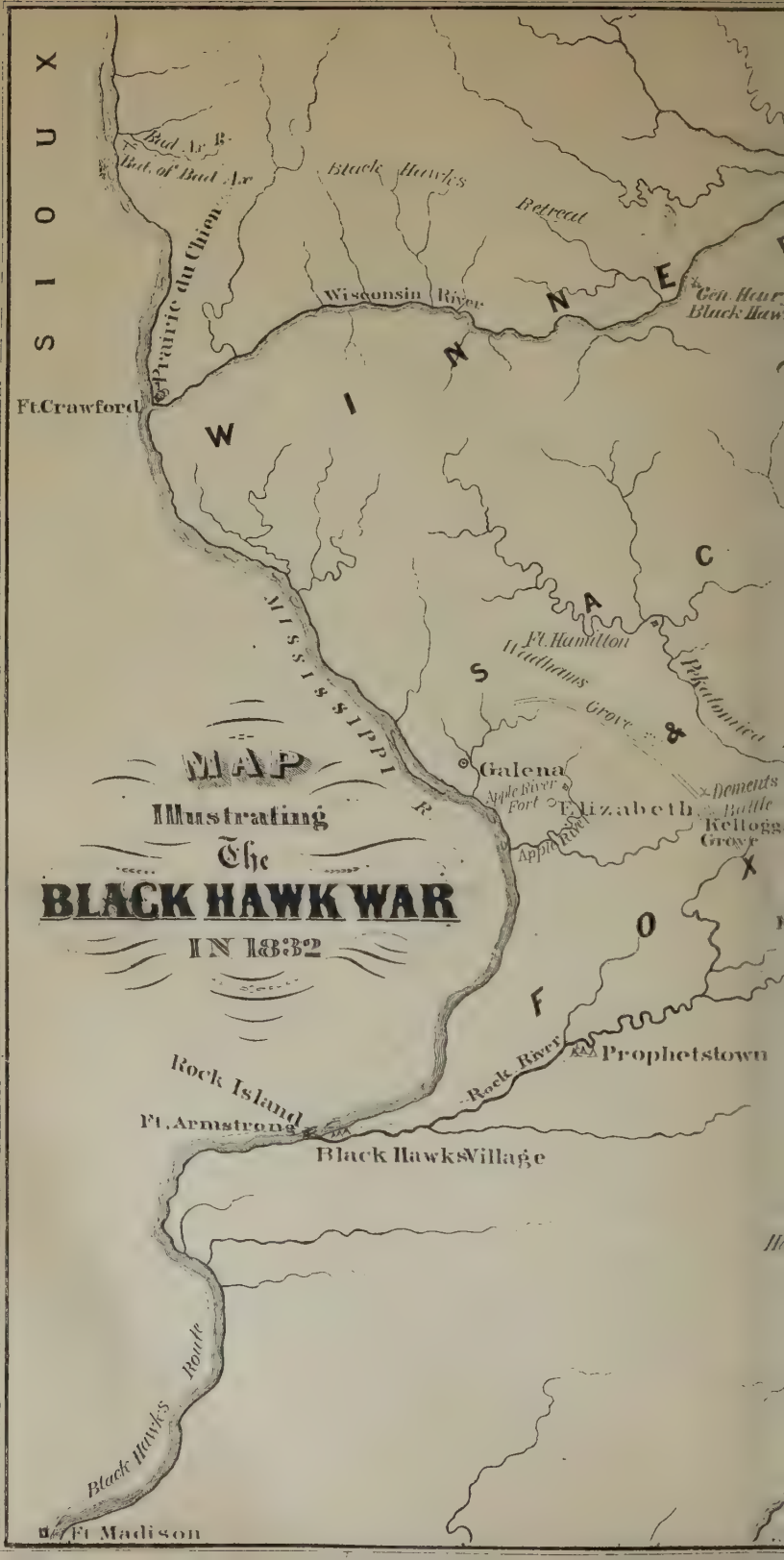
* Mrs. Helm, who after the return of the Kinzie family to Chicago, became the intimate friend of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, has drawn a vivid picture of the Chicago massacre, seldom equaled by a historic pen. In Wabun it has been reproduced in Mrs. Kinzie's lucid style, whose freshness can never be equalled by any future historian, since the hand of time has spread its mantle of oblivion over the incidents of that day. For this reason it has been transferred to these columns.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Rock Island
Ft. Armstrong
Black Hawks Village
Black Hawks Route
Ft Madison

LAKE MICHIGAN

POTTAWATTOMIES

Winnebago

Lake Koshkonong

Black Hawk's Route

Stillman's Defeat

Grove

Ferry

Fox River

Du Page R.

Naperville

Holdermans Grove

Bureau Settlement

Indian Creek Massacre

Ottawa

Ft. Wilburn

Vermillion R.

Des Plaines Riv.

Grosse Pt.

Chicago

Ft Dearborn

Trace

Hubbard's Trading Post

C. S.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The British take the Offensive—Fort Wayne Beseiged by their Indian Allies—Timely Warning to its Defenders—General Harrison Marches to its Defense—Desperate and Successful Defense of Fort Harrison by Captain Taylor—Daring Achievement of Captain Oliver—Arrival of General Harrison at Fort Wayne—Its Beseigers fly—Expedition Against the Indian Towns on the Illinois River—Its Bootless Termination—Governor Reynolds in the Ranks—His Statement—Relentless Attack on Peoria—The English on the Upper Mississippi—Black Hawk's Historical Narration.

No human vision could forecast the future destiny of the country around the Upper Lakes after the surrender of Michilimanackinac, Chicago and Detroit. That the Indians would ever be driven entirely out of the country was an event that no British Canadian ever deemed possible, and accordingly Tecumseh was, in the eyes of General Brock, the head and front of a permanent dynasty to live in the future on the soil. He had accomplished all that was required of him in the late campaign, which had terminated so gloriously to British arms. And now a new one was contemplated, which was to carry the war into the very vitals of the Northwest, by taking Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, which was built by General Harrison during his Tippecanoe campaign. There were then no maps of the country obtainable in the British camp; but to supply this deficiency Tecumseh drew a sketch of its rivers, which indeed were nearly all that could be shown at that time. General Brock was agreeably surprised at his versatility of talent, and with all confidence counseled with him as to future plans. Fort Wayne was the important objective point, and no time must be lost in seizing upon it, lest the Americans should reinforce the place before the attack was made. It was therefore ordered that the Indians should march against the place immediately, and environ it to prevent the escape of the garrison, till a British army could arrive at the spot and make its conquest certain. Prominent among the tribes who volunteered in this enterprise, were the

Pottawattomies, whose achievement at Chicago had emboldened them and whetted their appetites for plunder. The part they were to take was planned at a council at St. Joseph, where their chiefs met the British agents, and were promised if they would lay siege to the place and prevent the escape of the garrison till the British forces came up, they should be allowed to plunder the fort when taken. This inducement was sufficient, and they promptly joined their forces to some Shawanese and Miamis, and appeared before the place before August had passed.

True to their time-honored custom, they made no direct attack, but bent all their efforts to gain the place by stratagy, kill the sentinels and throw the gates of the fort open to their braves, who all the while were crouching in a covert near by. But before this was to be done, the Miamis wished to save their friend, Antoine Bondie, a French trader who had married one of their tribe, and had won their affections by a residence of thirty-eight years among them. Metea, a Pottawattomie chief, was deputied to go privately to his cabin and inform him of the Indians intentions, and make arrangements for the rescue of himself and family. This news placed the trader in an embarassing situation, and he was in a dilemma to know what to do, but finally resolved to betray the confidence of the Indians, and even forfeit their protection, by revealing the plot to Major Stickney, the Indian agent. This he did the next morning under an injunction of secrecy, and from him the information was soon given to Capt. Rhea, the officer who held command of the fort.

All the while the agent was skeptical as to the truth of the news, but on maturing the matter over, both he and Capt. Rhea concluded to take the necessary steps to meet the emergency, in case it should come upon them, and immediately sent a messenger to General Harrison, then at Cincinnati, and one to Governor Meigs, of Ohio, asking assistance, and a third messenger to Ft. Harrison, to warn its inmates of danger. This done, preparations for defending the fort were made.*

While the slender garrison are hotly pressed by their swarthy foes, a furious attack was made on Fort Harrison. It was situated on the Wabash river, ten miles above its present intersection of the eastern boundary line of Illinois. On the 3d of September the Shawanese had visited the Pigeon Roost settlement, not far from the place, with a destructive raid, in which 20 persons were killed, whose scalps were soon dangling from the belts of these merciless knights of the tomahawk.

This fresh alarm drove the immediate settlers around Fort Harrison within its walls for protection. Young Capt. Taylor,

*Brice's History of Ft. Wayne.

the same who afterwards became President of the United States, held command of the place, to defend which he had but 18 men. Nine women and their children had taken refuge within its walls, in a fearful suspense, for the forests were alive with Indians on the war-path. On the night of the 4th, at 11 o'clock, the inmates of the fort were aroused from their disquiet slumbers by the report of a rifle. Captain Taylor sprang from his couch, and found that the shot came from one of his sentinels firing at the skulking foe, who, in great numbers, immediately began the attack. One of the block houses was soon set on fire, and two panic stricken soldiers leaped over the barricades and fled into the forest for an asylum from the scalping knife, while the terrified women pressed their babes to their breasts in despair.

Young Taylor's voice now rose above the din of yells without and wailings within, giving orders to throw off the roof of the building which connnected the burning block house with the main defenses. This arrested the progress of the flames. The sharpshooters now kept the attackers at bay till morning, when they withdrew, to the great relief of the garrison.

Of the two soldiers who forsook the fort in a panic, one was killed and the other after being wounded took refuge behind a barrel close by the pallisades. On the 13th, Capt. Taylor found means to send a messenger to General Harrison, and on the 16th he was rescued from his perilous position by Colonel Hopkins then, at the head of 1200 volunteers, on their way to the Illinois territory. Turning again to Ft. Wayne, we find both beseigers and beseiged waiting for reinforcements. The Indians kept up their wily devices wherewith to gain peaceable admittance to the fort in sufficient numbers to overpower the sentinals, and even the old friendly chief, Winnemac, was a leading spirit in this attempted treachery. At one time he was admitted under a white flag, with thirteen of his comrades, but he found the guard ready to overpower his band when the critical moment came, and the discomfited dissemblers retired by virtue of the same flag by which they had gained admittance.

The next day two soldiers outside of the fort were fired upon by the Indians and both killed. This was an overt act, and made any future pretentions of friendship on the part of the Indians a gossamer fabric of pretense. The beleaguered garrison, which numbered but 80 men, commanded by a drunken parvenu, and surrounded by a countless host of savages thirsting for their blood, were in desperate extremities. While thus eking out their hours of unremitting watchfulness, a yell of triumph saluted their ears from the northern gate, and through its opening ajar rushed their old friend William Oliver and three friendly Indians at his back. His story was soon told to

the anxious garrison, who had not received any tidings from the outside world since their messengers had been sent to General Harrison to apprise him of their danger. Oliver was at Cincinnati on a brief visit, when the news of the attack on Fort Wayne came to General Harrison, and he instantly resolved to hasten back to the beleaguered post, of which he was sutler, to inform them that Harrison would soon arrive at the place with sufficient force to raise the seige, and to assist in its defense till he came. The adventure was a desperate one, which could only be conceived by a bold spirit of hardihood which pioneer life in that day had brought into being on the frontier. Starting from Cincinnati immediately on his mission, he pursued the forest road to the St. Mary's river, where Thomas Worthington commanded an encampment of Ohio militia (the same who afterwards became governor of Ohio). To him Oliver communicated his plan, and animated by Oliver's heroism, Worthington joined him with 68 militia and 16 friendly Shawanese. At the head of this force, the two bold leaders advanced down the St. Mary's river towards the place, but on the second day 36 of the Militia and ten of their Indian allies deserted.

One day's march now brought the reduced but courageous band within the hearing of the enemies' guns, who had crouched around Fort Wayne on every side, to prevent the escape of the garrison.

What was to be done? To attempt with this small force to pierce the lines of the enemy by a direct attack was not to be thought of, and Oliver, with three Indian companions, determined to steal their way to the fort through grounds not occupied by the besiegers. Pursuing the main road leading to the fort, five miles distant from it they found the enemies' rifle-pits, which, happily for Oliver and his party, were not occupied, but fearing to advance further along the road, they made a *detour* to the east through the woods, and came to the banks of the Maumee, one and a half miles below the fort. Here they tied their horses in a thicket, and crept carefully toward the fort to see if it was still in possession of the Americans. After a nearer approach, they beheld the American flag elevated above the bastions, and soon afterwards saw the measured pace of the sentinels at their post. The party then returned, and mounting their horses, put them into a keen run till the inside of the fort was safely reached. *Harrison is coming;* this was the news he brought to the almost spent garrison.*

Harrison had just received from the governor of Kentucky the appointment of Major-General by brevet, and to him was given

*Howes' Great West; Brice's History of Fort Wayne.

the command of 2,000 Kentucky troops, which the patriotic governor had raised for the defense of the Northwest. To these were added 700 Ohio volunteers, who joined the Kentucky forces at Piqua, Ohio, from whence they advanced toward the objective point with all possible speed. When within seventeen miles of the place, General Harrison wrote to the Sceretary of War as follows: "The necessary arrangements for the procuring of provisions and ammunition, added to the trouble of establishing an issuing commissary department, in consequence of the failure of the contractor, has prevented me from reaching Ft. Wayne as soon by one day as I expected. I shall, however, reach it to-morrow; but I have every reason to believe it will not be without a severe contest. No information has been received from the fort since the 3d inst., and should the Indians have been assisted by a British detachment, I fear it would not have been able to hold out. A small detachment which I sent to endeavor to penetrate to the fort has just returned, without accomplishing their object, although they defeated a small party of the enemy."*

The next day, the 12th of September, General Harrison arrived at the place, when the Indians, as they had not been reinforced by the British, fled in hot haste, some to their wilderness lodges, and others to the military headquarters of their English Father, still breathing vengeance. Since the destruction of Chicago there were no white inhabitants in the whole territory of Illinois, north of a line drawn from Shawneetown to Greenville, Bond county, thence to the Mississippi river, a little north of Alton, except some sparse settlements on the west bank of the Wabash, opposite Vincennes, the old town of Peoria, which had never been brought within the jurisdiction of the territorial government, and Prairie du Chien, which was then within the limits of Illinois Territory. At the latter place lived thirty-seven families of mixed nationalities, consisting of French, English, half-breeds and Americans. An Indian Agent named Campbell, appointed by the governor of Illinois, acted as magistrate, to dispense justice, and appears to have exercised these functions to the entire satisfaction of his motley charge. Among his judicial records, which are still extant, are his fees for marrying, which were 100 lbs. of flour, while his fees for divorce were 200 lbs.†

The whole territory was divided into two counties—St. Clair and Randolph—and Ninian Edwards was governor. It contained 12,284 inhabitants, 168 of whom were colored slaves.

While Gen. Harrison was marching to the relief of Ft. Wayne, an

*Dawson, p. 290.

†See Early History of Prairie du Chien, by D. S. Durrie, Librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

expedition was set on foot against the Kickapoo towns on the Illinois river, which was to be composed of 2,000 men, raised by Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, and 350 United States Rangers and Illinois volunteers, stationed at Camp Russell, where Edwardsville, Ill. now stands, subject to the orders of Ninian Edwards, then Governor of Illinois. The command of the Kentucky volunteers was given to General Hopkins, who was to move up the Wabash, destroy the Indian towns on its west bank, and then march westward across the country, to form a junction with the Rangers from Camp Russell. He reached Ft. Harrison on the 26th of October, 1812, where Captain Taylor, with his little handful of men, who had just distinguished themselves by their desperate defense of the place, joined his expedition, and he turned his course to the west into the Illinois prairies. After continuing his march three or four days, the signs of insubordination became apparent among the restive spirits which composed his army. Most of them were raw recruits, who had never seen a shot fired in earnest. Many of them, when they enlisted, mistook a spirit of wild adventure for patriotism; but a few days of camp discipline, with the possibility of a tough Indian battle, or worse, an ambuscade, before them, became unruly. This spirit unfortunately spread from rank to rank, till a majority of the army shared it, and General Hopkins was forced to return, without making any farther attempts to form the expected junction with the forces from Camp Russell.

Meantime the forces under Governor Edwards marched singlehanded against the Indian towns on the Illinois river. Says Governor Reynolds, in his history of his own times: "Colonel Russell marched in the campaign and seemed to take considerably, the immediate command under Governor Edwards. Judge Pope, Nelson Rector and a Lieut. McLaughlin, of the army, acted as aids. Colonel Russell was a plain old man dressed in Kentucky jeans or linsey, seemed to need no aids and had none, but was a good and efficient officer himself. We left Camp Russell, marched up the northwest side of Cahokia creek, nearly to its source, thence across the prairie to Macoupin creek, not far above the present Carlinville. The privates (and myself one) did not know or care much where we were marched, whether into danger or a frolic. We crossed the Sangamon river east of the present Springfield, and passed not far on the east of the Elkheart Grove. We next reached an old Indian village on Sugar creek, where we saw on the bark of the wigwams much painting, generally the Indians scalping the whites. We set it in flames, and traveled in the night towards Peoria. We were afraid that the Indians would know of our approach and leave the villages. We traveled on till towards midnight and camped. We had

guides along who conducted the army to the village of Pottawattomie Indians known as the Black Partridge Village,* situate at the Illinois river bluff opposite the upper end of Peoria lake. We camped within four or five miles of the village, and all was silent as a graveyard—as we expected a night attack as was the case at Tippecanoe. When troops are silent, sulky and savage, they will fight. One thing I recalled, I had a white coat on me, and I considered it too white at night. I *hulled* this coat off in double-quick time. It is said every one with a white coat on in the battle of Tippecanoe was killed. The next morning in a fog, our company of spies met two Indians, as we supposed, and our captain fired on them. Many of us, before he shot, begged for mercy for the Indians, as they wanted to surrender. But Judy† said anybody will surrender when they cannot help it, and that he did not leave home to take prisoners. I saw the dust rise off the Indian's leather shirt when Judy' bullet entered his body. The wounded Indian commenced singing his death song, the blood streaming out of his mouth and nose. He was reeling, and a man from the main army, Mr. Wright, came up within a few yards, but the Indian had just pointed his gun at some of us near him, when we darted off our horses, quick as thought, and presented the horses between him and us. But Wright was either surprised, or something else, and remained on his horse. The Indian, as quick as a steel-trap, shot Wright, and expired. The other Indian, supposed to be a warrior, proved to be a squaw; but before the fact was known, many guns were fired at her. It is singular that so many guns fired at the squaw missed her, but when the whites surrounded her and knew her sex, all was over. She cried terribly, and was taken prisoner, and at last delivered over to her nation. Many of the French in the army understood her language, and made her as happy as possible. In this small matter I never fired my gun, as I saw no occasion for it."

The foregoing words of Governor Reynolds have been used to show the ruling spirit of the expedition, which was the first one ever sent against the Indians of Illinois by the Americans. After relating these adventures, which certainly reflect no credit on those engaged in them, the same historian proceeds to give a history of the burning of Peoria by Captain Craig, and says:

"While the army were in the neighborhood of the old village of Peoria, Captain Craig had his boat lying in the lake adjacent to Peoria. * * * The Captain, supposing the few in-

* The same who the previous year had saved the life of Mrs. Helm, as told in the relation of The Chicago Massacre.

† One of the spies.

habitants of Peoria favored the Indians, burnt the village. Thomas Forsyth, Esq., was in the village at the time, acting as Indian agent, appointed by the government, but Craig and none others knew it, except at Washington city. It was supposed by the President that Mr. Forsyth would be more serviceable to both sides if his old friends, the Indians, did not know his situation. He acted the honorable part to ameliorate the horrors of war on both sides, and risked his life often amongst the Indians to obtain some of the prisoners who had been captured at the massacre at Chicago. In the rage of Captain Craig, he placed the inhabitants of Peoria (all he could capture) on board his boat, and landed them on the bank of the river, below Alton. These poor French were in a starving condition, as they were turned away from their homes, and left their stock and provisions. They were landed in the woods—men, women and children—without shelter or food." *

Before the army of Governor Edwards left the neighborhood, it entered the village of Black Partridge, opposed only by a few shots from the swamps around it. The warriors had fled, and a few wretched squaws and children were all the prisoners taken. The village, with its stores of corn, was burned. The rangers only remained a few hours, but while there a stately warrior approached the place until within rifle shot, discharged his gun at the invaders, laughed defiantly, and walked away with the lofty gait that only an Indian can assume. This brave was supposed to be Black Partridge.

While these events were transpiring in Indiana and Illinois, the English were taking steps to secure the alliance of the Sacs and Foxes, who then occupied the country along Rock river. Robert Dickson, an English fur trader, who lived at Prairie du Chien, was the English agent to accomplish this design; and to this end he visited all the tribes along the Mississippi. Black Hawk was then a young chief of more than common promise, and readily became a disciple to the teachings of the English emissary. His remarkable career now began, which made him a conspicuous actor in the last Indian war in Illinois, which terminated in 1832. The Sacs and Foxes, of whom he was a subordinate chief, were then in their glory and prime, and as a bulwark

* Captain Craig's expedition was executed by the authority of Governor Edwards. It consisted of an armed boat which was rowed or polled up the Illinois river, for the purpose of taking Peoria, where some of the early French settlers lived in harmonious relations with the Indians, and were accused of furnishing them the means wherewith to make war on the Americans. Mr. Craig, in his official despatches, admits that he abducted the French inhabitants from Peoria, and that he made them furnish their own rations. See Balance History of Peoria, pp. 30, 31.

of defense against them, the United States had built Fort Madison in 1804, on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite to the Des Moines Rapids. The consent of the Sacs and Foxes for the construction of it had been obtained under a pretense that it was only to be used as a trading post.

The following extract of a statement from Black Hawk, is a concise piece of documentary history, which adds interest to the points treated on by general history, and furnishes some items not noticed by any other writer. His statement begins by disclaiming against a treaty executed at St. Louis in 1804, by which his people, unwittingly, as he says, relinquished a part of their territory, after which, his story runs as follows. It is copied verbatim from Smith's History of Wisconsin:

"Black Hawk proceeds to relate, that some time after this treaty was made, a war chief with a party of soldiers came up the Mississippi in keel-boats, and encamped a short distance above the head of the Des Moines Rapids, and commenced cutting timber and building houses; this was at the site of Fort Madison, and within the country ceded by the treaty. He also says, that council after council was held in the Indian villages, to ascertain what was the intention of the Americans in building at that place, and having learned that the soldiers had great guns with them, he and a number of his people went down the river to see what was doing, and they found the whites were building a fort. The chiefs held a council with the officers of the party, which Black Hawk did not attend; but he says, "he understood that the Americans war chief had said, they were building houses for a *trader* who was coming there to live, and would sell the Indians goods very cheap, and that the soldiers were to remain to keep him company." The Indians were pleased at this information, but doubted its truth, and were anxious that the building should be discontinued, and that the soldiers should descend the river again. Many more Indians arrived, the whites became alarmed, and an attempt was made by a *dancing* party of the Indians to enter the fort by stratagem, but it was frustrated; and Black Hawk acknowledges that if it had been successful, and the Indians had got into the fort, all the whites would have been killed, as the British soldiers had been, at Mackinaw, many years before.

The Indians returned to Rock Island, and the fort party received a reinforcement from St. Louis.

Black Hawk proceeds with the following relation:—"Soon after our return from Fort Madison, runners came to our village from the Shawnee Prophet, (while others were dispatched by him to the villages of the Winnebagoes,) with invitations for us to meet him on the Wabash. Accordingly a party went from each village.

"All of our party returned, among whom came a *Prophet*, who explained to us the bad treatment the different nations of Indians had received from the Americans, by giving them a few presents, and taking their land from them. I remember well his saying, 'If you do not join your friends on the Wabash, the Americans will take this very village from you'. I little thought then that his words would come true. We agreed not to join him, and he returned to the Wabash, where a party of Winnebagoes had arrived, and preparations were making for war; a battle soon after ensued, in which several Winnebagoes were killed. As soon as their nation heard of this, they started war parties in different directions: one to the mining country, one to Prairie du Chien, and another to Fort Madison. This last returned by our village, and exhibited several scaps which they had taken. Their success induced several other parties to go against the fort. We arrived in the vicinity during the night. The spies that we had sent out several days before, to watch the movements of those at the garrison, gave the following information: 'that a keel-boat had arrived from below, that evening, with seventeen men; that there were about fifty men in the fort, and that they marched out every morning at sunrise, to exercise.'"

Black Hawk then relates his stratagems to distroy the soldiers when they came out, and for the Indians to rush into the fort: they were unsuccessful: three whites were killed—the Indians besieged the fort for three days, during which time an attempt was made to set fire to it, by means of arrows. It succeeded so far as to fire the buildings several times, without effect, as the fire was soon extinguished. The ammunition of the Indians being expended, and finding they could not take the fort, they returned home, having had one Winnebago killed, and one wounded, during the siege.

Soon after their return, news reached them that a war was going to take place between the British and Americans. Runners continued to arrive from different tribes, all confirming the report of the expected war. The British agent, Colonel Dickson, was holding talks with, and making presents to the different tribes. Black Hawk says—"I had not made up my mind whether to join the British, or remain neutral." But he soon afterwards took an active part with the British, having been, as he alleges, "forced into war by being deceived." His own account of the causes of his conduct is as follows:—

"Several of the chiefs and head men of the Sacs and Foxes were called upon to go to Washington, to see their Great Father. On their return they related what had been said and done. They said the Great Father wished them, in the event of a war taking place with England, not to interfere on either side, but to

remain neutral. He did not want our help, but wished us to hunt and support our families and live in peace. He said that British traders would not be permitted to come on the Mississippi to furnish us with goods, but we should be well supplied by an American trader. Our chiefs then told him that the British traders always gave us credits in the fall for guns, powder, and goods, to enable us to hunt and clothe our families. He replied, that the trader at Fort Madison* would have plenty of goods; that we should go there in the fall, and he would supply us on credit, as the British traders had done. The party gave a good account of what they had seen, and the kind treatment they received.

"This information pleased us all very much. We all agreed to follow our Great Father's advice, and not interfere with the war. In a short time we were ready to start to Fort Madison to get our supply of goods, that we might proceed to our hunting grounds. We passed merrily down the river, all in high spirits. I had determined to spend the winter at my old favorite hunting ground on Skunk River, and left part of my corn and mats at its mouth, to take up when I returned; others did the same. Next morning we arrived at the fort and made our encampment. Myself and principal men paid a visit to the war-chief, at the fort. He received us kindly and gave us some tobacco, pipes, and provisions. The trader came in, and we all rose and shook hands with him, for on him all our dependence was placed, to enable us to hunt and thereby support our families. We waited a long time, expecting the trader would tell us that he had orders from our Great Father to supply us with goods; but he said nothing on the subject. I got up, and told him in a short speech, what we had come for, and hoped he had plenty of goods to supply us, and told him he should be well paid in the spring; and concluded by informing him that we had determined to follow our Great Father's advice, and not go to war.

"He said he was happy to hear that we intended to remain at peace. That he had a large quantity of goods; and that if we made a good hunt, we should be well supplied; but remarked that he had recieved no instructions to furnish us anything on credit—nor could he give us any, without receiving the pay for them on the spot.

"We informed him what our Great Father had told our chiefs at Washington, and contended that he could supply us if he would, believing that our Great Father always spoke the truth. But the war-chief said, that the trader could not furnish us on credit, and that he had received no instructions from our Great

* On the Mississippi, in the Sac and Fox country.

Father at Washington. We left the fort dissatisfied, and went to our camp. What was now to be done we knew not. We questioned the party that brought us the news from our Great Father, that we should get credit for our winter supplies at this place. They still told the same story, and insisted upon its truth. Few of us slept that night; all was gloom and discontent.

"In the morning a canoe was seen ascending the river. It soon arrived, bearing an express, who brought intelligence that La Gutrie,* a British trader, had landed at Rock Island with two boats loaded with goods, and requested us to come up immediately, because he had news for us, and a variety of presents. The express presented us with tobacco, pipes, and wampum.

"The news ran through our camp like fire in the prairie. Our lodges were soon taken down, and all started for Rock Island. Here ended all hopes of our remaining at peace, having been forced into war by being deceived.

"Our party were not long in getting to Rock Island. When we came in sight and saw tents pitched, we yelled, fired our guns, and commenced beating our drums. Guns were immediately fired at the Island, returning our salute, and a British flag hoisted. We landed and were cordially received by La Gutrie, and then smoked the pipe with him. After which he made a speech to us, that had been sent by Colonel Dickson, and gave us a number of handsome presents, a large silk flag, and a keg of rum, and told us to retire, take some refreshments and rest ourselves, as he would have more to say to us on the next day.

"We according retired to our lodges, which had been put up in the mean time, and spent the night. The next morning we called upon him, and told him that we wanted his two boats load of goods to divide among our people, for which he should be well paid in the spring, with furs and peltries. He consented; told us to take them and do as we pleased with them. While our people were dividing the goods, he took me aside and informed me that Colonel Dickson was at Green Bay with twelve boats, loaded with goods, guns, and ammunition, and wished me to raise a party immediatey and go to him. He said that our friend, the trader at Peoria, was collecting the Pottawatomies, and would be there before us. I communicated this information to my braves, and a party of two hundred warriors were soon collected and ready to depart. On our arrival at Green Bay we found a large encampment, and were well received by Colonel Dickson and the war-chiefs that were with him. He gave us plenty of provisions, tobacco, and pipes, and said he would hold a council with us the next day.

*La Gutrie, or La Goterie, was an Indian trader at Portage des Sioux—a Canadian Frenchman, probably of mixed blood.

"In the encampment I found a large number of Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, and Winnebagoes. I visited all their camps and found them in high spirits. They had all received new guns, ammunition, and a variety of clothing. In the evening a messenger came to me, to visit Colonel Dickson. I went to his tent, in which there were two other war-chiefs, and an interpreter. He received me with a hearty shake of the hand, and presented me to the other chiefs, who shook my hand cordially and seemed much pleased to see me. After I was seated, Colonel Dickson said, 'General Black Hawk, I sent for you to explain to you what we are going to do, and the reasons that have brought us here. Our friend La Gutrie informs us in the letter you brought from him, what has lately taken place. You will now have to hold us fast by the hand. Your English Father has found out that the Americans want to take your country from you, and has sent me and his braves to drive them back to their own country. He has likewise sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and we want all your warriors to join us.'

"He then placed a medal round my neck, and gave me a paper,* (which I lost in the late war,†) and a silk flag saying, 'You are to command all the braves that will leave here the day after to-morrow, to join our braves near Detroit." I told him I was very much disappointed, as I wanted to descend the Mississippi, and make war upon the settlements. He said he had been ordered to lay the country waste around St. Louis; that he had been a trader on the Mississippi many years; had always been kindly treated, and could not consent to send brave men to murder women and children. That there were no soldiers there to fight; but where he was going to send us, there were a number of soldiers, and if we defeated them, the Mississippi country should be ours. I was pleased with this speech; it was spoken by a brave.

"The next day, arms and ammunition, tomahawks, knives, and clothing, were given to my band. We had a great feast in the evening, and the morning following, I started with about five hundred braves to join the British army. The British war-chief accompanied us. We passed Chicago. The fort had been evacuated by the American soldiers, who had marched for Fort Wayne. They were attacked a short distance from that fort and *defeated*.‡ They had a considerable quantity of powder in the fort at Chicago, which they had promised to the Indians; but the

*This paper was found at the battle of Bad Axe—it was a certificate of his good behavior, and attachment to the British.

† In 1832.

‡ Slaughtered, being defenceless.

night before they marched they destroyed it. I think it was thrown into the well. If they had fulfilled their word to the Indians, I think they would have gone safe.

"On our arrival I found that the Indians had several prisoners. I advised them to treat them well. We continued our march and joined the British army below Detroit, and soon after had a fight. The Americans fought well, and drove us with considerable loss. I was surprised at this, as I had been told* that the Americans could not fight.

"Our next movement was against a fortified place. I was stationed with my braves to prevent any person going to or coming from the fort. I found two men taking care of cattle, and took them prisoners. I would not kill them, but delivered them to the British war-chief. Soon after, several boats came down the river full of American soldiers. They landed on the opposite side, took the British batteries, and pursued the soldiers that had left them. They went too far without knowing the forces of the British, and were defeated. I hurried across the river, anxious for an opportunity to show the courage of my braves; but before we reached the ground all was over. The British had taken many prisoners, and the Indians were killing them. I immediately put a stop to it, as I never thought it brave, but cowardly, to kill an unarmed and helpless enemy.†

"We remained here some time. I cannot detail what took place, as I was stationed with my braves in the woods. It appeared, however, that the British could not take this fort,‡ for we were marched to another, some distance off. When we approached it, I found it a small stockade,‖ and concluded that there were not many men in it. The British war-chief sent a flag; Colonel Dickson§ carried it and returned. He said a young war-chief¶ commanded, and would not give up without fighting. Dickson came to me and said, 'You will see to-morrow how easily we will take that fort.' I was of opinion that they would take it; but when the morning came I was disappointed. The British advanced, commenced an attack, and fought like braves; but by braves in the fort were defeated, and a great number killed. The British army were making preparations to retreat. I was now tired of being with them, our success being bad, and having got no plunder. I determined on leaving them and returning to

* By the British.

† General Proctor commanded the British—his brutal conduct is well known in history.

‡ Fort Meigs.

‖ Fort Stephenson.

§ He is mistaken in the name—Chambers and Mason carried the flag.

¶ Lieutenant Croghan.

Rock Island, to see what had become of my wife and children, as I had not heard from them since I started. That night I took about twenty of my braves and left the British camp for home. We met no person on our journey until we reached the Illinois River."

The foregoing piece of history from Black Hawk, is certified to by Antoine L. Claire, United States interpreter, dated at the Indian Agency, Rock Island, Oct. 16th, 1832, as copied from Smith's Documentary History of Wisconsin, Vol. III. The remaining part of his statement refers to the Sac war of 1832, and will be noticed in its proper place.

The appearance of the British on the Upper Mississippi, and their threatened invasion of Southern Illinois, is verified by Black Hawk's statement, and without doubt, the fear of such a calamity was the chief incentive to Governor Edward's attack on Peoria, and the Indian towns adjacent. At that time the British had received no check in their victorious career, Michigan and Wisconsin both being in their possession, while the Indian tribes of the country were largely inclined to join their fortunes with them, as the best means by which to preserve their hunting grounds from the greed of their white neighbors. That Illinois was spared such an invasion, was due to the activity with which the Americans were at the same time pushing the campaign against Detroit, under General Harrison, to oppose whom all the British forces and their Indian allies finally proved insufficient.*

The war soon began to rage on the Niagara border, as well as along the Detroit, and the death of General Brock, who was slain in battle here, was the severest blow the British had yet received. General Proctor, who was opposed to General Harrison in the famous campaign of 1813, was deficient in those high and soldierly qualities which distinguished General Brock, who had done so much honor to English arms in the campaign of 1812, which had terminated in the surrender of General Hull. The tide was now turning, as will be seen in succeeding pages.

*See Reynolds' Hist. of his own times, p. 130.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Harrison Appointed to the Command of the Northwestern Army—Ten Thousand Men Raised to Reclaim Detroit and Invade Canada—A Wilderness of Mud Interposes between the Combatants—General Winchester Reaches the Rapids of the Maumee—Advances to Frenchtown, on the River Raisin—Battle of the River Raisin, Ending in Defeat, Capitulation and Treacherous Slaughter of War Prisoners—Fort Meigs Built at the Rapids—General Proctor Advances Against the Place—Desperate Attack and Successful Defense of the Post—The British Retreat and Attack Ft. Stephenson—The Masked Six-pounder and its Fatal Effects—Rout of the British—The War Transferred to Canada—The American War Fleet Sails from Erie—The Naval Battle—The American Army in Canada—Battle of the Thames—Tecumseh Slain—Michigan Reclaimed—Peace.

The last campaign was now at hand, which was substantially to complete the conquest of the Northwest, from the Indians, who up to this time had not entirely relinquished the hope that they could establish a permanent boundary between themselves and the whites, which should stop farther encroachments on their territory. This had been the early hope of Tecumseh, in which fatal dream he was at least not disheartened in his confidential councils with the British. In him was centered the last hopes of the Indians, and he may be set down as the last of that illustrious line of chiefs whose eloquence and commanding power, and inflexible resolution have challenged admiration, not only from the world, but from the foes against whom they fought. Under him the red man was still powerful, though tainted with the vices of civilization, without being elevated by its virtues.

On the part of the white settlers all eyes were turned towards General Harrison, whose star had risen the year before on the field of Tippecanoe, and under pressure of an intelligent, popular will he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Northwestern army, on the 17th of September.

This news reached him on the 24th, while at Piqua, on his way to relieve Ft. Wayne, at the head of 2,000 Kentucky volunteers, as told in the foregoing chapter. At his disposal were placed 10,000 men, composed of volunteers from Virginia, Pennsylvania,

Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, together with a regiment from the regular army. The full quota had been raised, and in Kentucky the backwoods men, brimming over with patriotism, came forward in such numbers, that many had to be refused admittance into the service after the ranks were full. The instructions to General Harrison, were first to provide protection to the frontier, after which Detroit was to be taken, Michigain reclaimed from British rule, and lastly Canada was to be invaded. This was an undertaking of no small magnitude; but western blood was up, and nothing short of its fulfillment would satisfy the frontierers. The only posts the Americans held on the entire chain of the lakes, were Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland and Sandusky, any one of which were ever liable to a hostile visitation from the English fleet on the lakes. The volunteers were impatient to come to battle with the British, but ere this could be brought about, a broad wilderness had to be traversed, whose spongy soil was an almost bottomless pool of mud in the low grounds, and whose unbridged streams with their alluvial margins, were a treacherous path for the ponderous machinery of war. To overcome these obstacles, Harrison immediately set himself to work. The Rapids of the Maumee was the strategic point to be made the base of his movements, and he gave orders to the different army corps to proceed to this place. Of these there were three detatchments, one to march by the way of Upper Sandusky, another by Urbana and a third by the way of the Auglaize river. Each of these divisions had struggled through the oozy savannas with which the forest abounded, as fast as their zeal and muscle could carry them, but so slow was their progress that it was not till the 10th of January, 1813, that the Rapids were reached by the Advance corps, led by General Winchester, while General Harrison himself was still at Upper Sandusky, with the right wing of the army, and General Tupper, of whom McAfee, the cotemporary historian, speaks very disparagingly, was at Ft. McArther with the Centre.

The following is copied from Dawson's Life of Harrison:

"The roads were bad beyond description; none but those who have actually seen the state of the country, seem ever to have formed a correct estimate of the difficulties to be encountered. The road from Loramie's blockhouse to St. Mary's, and thence to Defiance, was one continuous swamp, knee-deep on the pack-horses, and up to the hubs of the wagon. It was found impossible in some instances to get even the empty wagons along, and many were left in the mire, the wagoners being glad to get off with the horses alive. Sometimes the quartermaster, taking advantage of a temporary freeze, would send off a convoy, which would be swamped by a thaw ere it reached its destination. These natural difficulties were also increased by a great deficiency of funds and inadequacy of the other resources which were requisite in the quartermaster's department. The only persons who could be procured to act as pack-horse drivers, were generally the most worthless creatures in society, who took care neither of the horses nor the goods with which they were entrusted. The horses were of

course soon broken down, and many of the packs lost. The teams hired to haul were also commonly valued so high on coming into the service, that the owners were willing to drive them to death with a view to get the price. In addition to this, no bills of lading were used or accounts kept with the wagoners. Of course each one had an opportunity to plunder the public without much risk of detection."

Shortly after the arrival of General Winchester at the Rapids, messengers came to him from Frenchtown on the River Raisin, imploring his protection from the British and Indians, who had taken possession of the place soon after the surrender of General Hull, at Detroit.

The request was granted, and on the 17th, 550 men were sent on this mission under command of Colonel Lewis, supported by 110 more under command of Colonel Allen. They reached the place the next day, attacked the British and drove them out. As soon afterwards appeared, this advance was hazardous in the extreme, Malden, the headquarters of General Proctor, who had recently been appointed as commander of the British troops, being only eighteen miles distant, from which place a superior force could be brought against the post in a few hours. Notwithstanding this, General Winchester unwisely determined to maintain the position, and reinforced the place with 250 more men from the Rapids, accompanying them in person. As might be supposed, the British were no idle spectators of the situation, and stealthily marched against the place on the night of the 21st with a heavy force. The next morning General Winchester beheld with surprise, the batteries of the enemy, erected within commanding distance of his camp.

An obstinate battle immediately ensued, which is best described by Dawson, in his Life of Harrison, as follows: "The American army in this affiair lost upwards of 290 in killed, massacred and missing. Only 33 escaped to the Rapids. The British took 547 prisoners, and the Indians about 45. The loss of the enemy, as the Americans had no chance to ascertain, it was of course never known to the public. From the best information that could be obtained, it is believed to have been in killed and wounded, between three and four hundred. The Indians suffered greatly, and the 41st regiment was very much cut up.* Their whole force in battle was about 2000—one-half regulars and Canadians, commanded by Cols. Proctor and St. George; the other composed of Indians, commanded by Round Head and Walk-in-the-Water—Tecumseh was not there; he was still on the Wabash collecting the warriors in that quarter." The prisoners were transported to Amherstburg, where they were

*The large number of Americans killed was the result of the merciless slaughter by the Indians immediately after some retreating fragments of the army had surrendered to them.

crowded into a muddy woodyard without shelter. A heavy rain fell upon them the succeeding night, which greatly increased their suffering in that inclement season, especially as they were thinly clad and without blankets. Here they remained till the 26th, when they were marched, in two divisions, through Upper Canada to Ft. George, on the Niagara, where they were paroled and returned home by the way of Erie and Pittsburg, and thence down the Ohio river. The conditions of their parole were, that they not to bear arms against his majesty or his allies during the present war until exchanged. On the reception of these terms, some of the inquisitive Kentuckians asked who were his majesty's allies. The question was designed as a rebuke to the British, for accepting an alliance with the Indians. The reply was, that "His majestie's allies were well known."* Besides the prisoners thus paroled, were the 45 taken by the Indians, a few of whom were massacred, but most of them held for ransom, at Detroit.†

Soon after this, General Proctor issued a proclamation, requiring the citizens of Michigan to take the oath of alliegance to his majesty, or leave the state.‡

As stated in a previous chapter, after the massacre at Chicago, the Kinzie family were sent to Detroit, where they were living as paroled prisoners at the time of the river Raisin horror. The house occupied by them was their old mansion, on the corner of Jefferson and Wayne streets. §

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* Dawson's life of Harrison, p. 357.

† Dawson; Wabun.

‡ Against this, Judge Woodard, of Detroit, remonstrated, averring that it was contrary to the law of nations. That a subject cannot transfer his allegiance in time of war, without incurring the penalty of treason.

§ "It had been a stipulation of Gen. Hull at the surrender of Detroit, that the inhabitants of that place should be permitted to remain undisturbed in their homes. Accordingly the family of Mr. Kinzie took up their quarters with their friends, in the old mansion, which many will recollect as standing on the northeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Wayne street.

The feelings of indignation and sympathy were constantly aroused in the hearts of the citizens, during the winter that ensued. They were almost daily called upon to witness the cruelties practiced upon the American prisoners brought in by their Indian captors. Those who could scarcely drag their wounded, bleeding feet over the frozen ground, were compelled to dance for the amusement of the savages, and these exhibitions sometimes took place before the Government House, the residence of Col. McKee. Some of the British officers looked on from their windows, at these heart-rending performances; for the honor of humanity, we will hope such instances were rare.

Every thing that could be made available among the effects of the citizens were offered, to ransom their countrymen from the hands of these inhuman beings. The prisoners brought in from the River Raisin—those unfortunate men who were permitted, after their surrender to Gen. Procter, to be tortured and murdered by inches, by his savage allies, excited the sympathies and called for the action of the whole community. Private houses were turned into hospi-

The calamitous result of this affair, well nigh frustrated the plan of General Harrison to maintain his position at the Rapids, and on his arrival at the place the next day after the battle, its few survivors came in with such alarming news, that he, after holding a council of war, thought it prudent to retreat as far as Portage river, which he did the day following, after destroying the provisions and burning the block house. Here, being re-inforced on the 1st of February, he again advanced to the Rapids, and determined to make a stand against the audacious enemy.

A fort was built, which was named Fort Meigs, in honor of the governor of Ohio. It was situated on the east bank of the Maumee, opposite the battle ground where General Wayne, eighteen years before, had overwhelmed the Indians with defeat under the very guns of the English, who at that time had a fort on this historic ground, on the north side of the river just below the present site of Fort Meigs. Harrison was now in a critical position. Of the 10,000 men which had been raised for his service, many were lingering on the way under the duress of a mud blockade; some were posted at points where a force was necessary to overawe the Indians, and not a few had been wasted with the malarious diseases of the country, whose immense valleys had not yet been disinfected by the smoke of the pioneer. The British, by means of their vessels on the lake, could quickly bring to the front all the supplies they wanted for the campaign, while the Americans had to transport their camp-supplies over a hundred miles of quagmire, and the same difficulties that had beset the path of General Hull * now threatened General Harrison. The most he

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tals, and every one was forward to get possession of as many as possible of the survivors. To effect this, even the articles of their apparel were bartered by the ladies of Detroit, as they watched from their doors or windows, the miserable victims carried about for sale.

In the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, one large room was devoted to the reception of the sufferers. Few of them survived. Among those spoken of as objects of the deepest interest, were two young gentlemen of Kentucky, brothers, both severely wounded, and their wounds aggravated to a mortal degree, by subsequent ill-usage and hardships. Their solicitude for each other, and their exhibition in various ways of the most tender fraternal affection, created an impression never to be forgotten.

The last bargain made, was by black Jim; and one of the children, who had permission to redeem a negro servant of the gallant Col. Allen, with an old white horse, the only available article that remained among their possessions.

A brother of Col. Allen, afterwards came to Detroit, and the negro preferred returning to servitude, rather than remaining a stranger in a strange land.—— *Waubun*, p. 249.

* Says General Harrison in his report to the War department, a few weeks previous to this time: "If there were not some important political reason urging the recovery of Michigan Territory and the capture of Malden as soon as those objects can possibly be effected, and that to accomplish them a few weeks sooner, expense was to be disregarded, I should not hesitate to say, that if a small pro-

could hope was to defend Fort Meigs and Sandusky till reinforced with sufficient numbers to pursue the original plan of the campaign by advancing on Detroit. Well knowing that General Proctor was better prepared to take the offensive than himself, and rightly judging that he would do so, General Harrison made the earth defenses of Fort Meigs as perfect as military skill could make them, and awaited his approach. The winter passed with but little freezing weather, and a boundless sea of mud interposed between Fort Meigs and its expected reinforcements, till General Proctor and Tecumseh appeared before the place with 3,000 British and Indian troops. It was now the 26th of April, and an active summer campaign was at hand, for which General Harrison was by no means prepared. The tenants of Fort Meigs now beheld the enemy planting their batteries from the high bank on the opposite side of the river, which were soon to vomit forth a tempest of hot shot and shells into Fort Meigs.

While these preparations were being made on the part of the British, their red allies under Tecumseh crossed over the river and took a position in the rear of the fort among the forest trees. To encourage them, General Proctor had promised an easy victory over the Americans to Tecumseh. It was said with doubtful authority, that he promised to deliver to Tecumseh General Harrison's person, as war prisoner, as soon as Ft. Meigs should be taken. A furious fire was now opened upon the fort from the British batteries by day and night, while the Indians climbed the tall forest trees and kept up a fire of small arms against the garrison. To protect themselves from the bursting shells which were constantly exploding inside of the fort, the soldiers dug burrows in the ground and crept into them when a shell fell near by, remaining till it had exploded, from which circumstance the Indians said they fought like ground hogs. Day after day the attack was kept up with unremitting fury, the fire of the defenders all the while responding.

On the 3d of May, after three days of unusually heavy firing, General Proctor sent a flag of truce to General Harrison, demanding the surrender of the place. Major Chambers was its bearer, and when introduced to General Harrison, the following words passed between them:

Major Chambers:—General Proctor has directed me to demand the surrender of this post. He wishes to spare the effusion of blood.

General Harrison:—The demand under the present circumstances is a most

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portion of the sums which will be expended in the quarter-master's department in the active, prosecution of the campaign during the winter was devoted to obtaining the command of Lake Erie, the wishes of the government in their utmost extent, could be accomplished without difficulty,'' in the months of April and May. Dawson, p. 333.

extraordinary one. As General Proctor did not send me a summons to surrender on his first arrival, I had supposed that he believed me determined to do my duty. His present message indicates an opinion of me that I am at a loss to account for.

MAJOR CHAMBERS:—General Proctor could never think of saying anything to wound your feelings, sir. The character of General Harrison as an officer, is well known. General Proctor's force is very respectable, and there is with him a larger body of Indians than has ever before been embodied.

GENERAL HARRISON:—I believe I have a correct idea of General Proctor's force; it is not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest, whatever shape he may be pleased hereafter to give to it. Assure the General, however, that he will never have this post surrendered to him upon any terms. Should it fall into his hands, it will be in a manner calculated to do him more honor and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than any capitulation could possibly do.

The messenger then returned to the British camp, and the attack began again with increased fury.

At the opening of the siege, General Harrison had sent messengers for the purpose of hurrying forward reinforcements, and in response to them, General Green Clay at the head of 1,200 Kentucky and Ohio volunteers, were now within three hours march of Ft. Meigs on the banks of the Maumee, just above the Rapids; but the danger of an ambuscade was so imminent, that he durst not advance another step till he had communicated with General Harrison. Who dared undertake such a dangerous mission? The first man who volunteered to do this, was Captain Leslie Combs, of Kentucky. At the head of a few picked men, he crept within a mile of the fort, when he was discovered by the enemy, and nearly all his party were killed, Combs himself narrowly escaping the fate of his daring companies. Fortunately Captain William Oliver was in the camp, the same dashing young ranger who had penetrated through the Indian lines around Fort Wayne a few months before, and carried a message to its defenders, that Harrison was marching to their relief; and now, by the changing fortunes of war, it became his lot to take a message to General Harrison, that relief was at hand for him. Fifteen brave Ohioans promptly volunteered to follow him in this dangerous adventure. Late in the evening on the 4th, they seated themselves in their boat and silently rowed down the Maumee, till the camp fires of the besiegers were visible, when the party landed and crept along the margin of the river towards the fort. Inside of it silence and darkness reigned, for their fires had been extinguished, lest they might afford direction for the enemy's shot. The sentinels were on the alert, for there was a purpose there brooding over the situation in the darkness of their vengeful solitudes, and when Oliver's party came to the gate they were mistaken for the enemy about to make an assault, and were fired upon; fortunately none of them were wounded, and they soon found means to make themselves known, and entered the fort,

Oliver immediately going to the quarters of General Harrison. Now the whole situation was changed. The beleaguered garrison could take the offensive. A hardy messenger, (Captain Hamilton, of the Ohio volunteers), was immediately dispatched to General Clay Green, to advance and attack the British batteries on the north side of the river opposite the fort, with 800 men, while with the remaining 400 men he was to fight his way through the enemy's lines into the fort. While these movements were in progress, a sortie was to be made from the fort against the British batteries, farther up the river on the south side. Early the next morning, Clay made his appearance according to orders, and suddenly the enemy found their whole line of batteries attacked by a foe whom they had hitherto beheld with contempt. Colonel Miller led the assault on the South side, drove the gunners from their guns, spiked them and returned to the fort, while Colonel Dudley, from Clay's command, attacked the batteries on the north side. They were also taken, but unfortunately in the flush of victory, the dashing Kentuckians followed in hot pursuit after the retreating columns. This was contrary to the orders of General Harrison, who beheld from the fort the fatal pursuit with deep anguish. The pursuers were led into an ambuscade, and all but 150 of the gallant 800 were killed or taken prisoners. The Indians kept on their work of slaughter after they had surrendered, till Tecumseh interposed his authority, to put a stop to the fiendish work.*

The results of the day were, that Harrison was reinforced by over 500 men, notwithstanding his losses, and many of the besieger's guns were spiked. Besides these advantages, General Proctor had received the first lesson in Volunteer practice, which was quite sufficient to convince him that Ft. Meigs could not be taken. He therefore determined to retreat, lest he might be attacked by fresh reinforcements. Complete preparations for this were made by the 9th, when his force, consisting of 600 regulars, 800 Canadian militia and 1800 Indians, suddenly withdrew down the river, giving one tremendeous discharge from their cannon, back towards the fort as they left.† This parting salute killed 10 in the fort, and wounded as many more, said one of the officers "we were glad enough to see them off, on any terms." Of this whole army retreating from American soil, not one felt the sting so bitterly as Tecumseh. Little did he then think he should never again return. His unrelenting courage, however, was not shared by his army of 1800 Indians. Not that they lacked the

*Drake, Howe's Hist. of Ohio.

†Howe's Hist. Ohio, p. 531.

dashing qualities of good soldiers, but the ordinary discipline by which the armies of civilized nations are held together, are wanting in an Indian army, for it has no provision against desertion. If the meanest soldier gets discouraged, or takes a homsick fit to return to his lodge and see his squaw, the chief has no other means but moral suasion, to prevent it. As long as the Indian sees progress and a hope of booty, he will cheerfully endure hunger and other discomfitures, but he is a poor dependence for besieging well defended forts, and the English, much to their chagrin, found this to be the case before the war was over, although it was to them they owed their first successes at its opening. After giving up the siege of Ft. Meigs, General Proctor and Brigadier General Tecumseh (to give him his title), determined to make a sudden dash against some vital point occupied by the Americans. Of such points, Upper Sandusky, where a large amount of provisions and other military stores were collected, and Erie, where a fleet was being built, were by far the most important. Apprehensive of an attack on Upper Sandusky, General Harrison stationed himself, with what forces he could command, at Seneca, which laid in the path between Sandusky bay and this place, as by means of his scouts he had ascertained that the enemy were massing their forces in this direction.

At the head of navigation on the Sandusky river, was Ft. Stephenson, a small stockade defended by less than 200 men under command of Captain Crogan, a nephew of the famous General George Rogers Clark, whose timely conquest of the Illinois country in the days of revolutionary memory, will not be forgotten. Fort Stephenson, also laid in the path of the enemy on their way to Upper Sandusky, the vital point of the Americans. Meantime, while General Proctor's fleet had put into Sandusky Bay, and were approaching Ft. Stevenson, Tecumseh's Indians had crossed the country by a hasty march, and were threatening Upper Sandusky. Under these circumstances, instructions were sent to Captain Crogan to retire from Ft. Stevenson, if he could do so with safety, but the orders did not come in time to affect the retreat with a reasonable hope of success, and he determined on defending the post.

On the 31st of July, the British fleet made their appearance before the place commanded by General Proctor himself, his force consisting of 500 regulars and as many Indians, the vigilant Tecumseh all the while lying back with his army, ready to intercept any intended reinforcements to the place from Ft. Meigs, as well as to co-operate with General Proctor in a descent on Upper Sandusky, as soon as Ft. Stephenson should fall into their hands. After the usual investment, which occupied the time till the 2nd of

August, General Proctor sent a summons to Captain Crogan to surrender. This he promptly refused to do, and when admonished of the fate which awaited them from the vengeful Indians, in case the fort had to be taken by assault, Mr. Shipp, with whom the messenger conferred, replied: "There will none of us be left to kill."

The messenger now retired and the attack began by a heavy cannonading, to which the besieged could only retort with a single six-pounder.

Little execution was done on either side by this method, and General Proctor, not wishing to waste his time by the slow process of a siege before so insignificant a post, ordered an assault. This had been expected by Captain Crogan, and he had made ample provision for it by masking his cannon so as to command the ditch where the attack was to be made. The piece was loaded with a double charge of small shot and destructive missiles, and but half a charge of powder, as he intended, before firing it, to wait till the attackers were close enough to get the full force of the contents, which, with its light charge of powder, would scatter and mow down all the larger swath of men when near enough to receive it at its greatest force.

Unconscious of immediate danger, the assailants approached within 30 feet of its muzzle, when the peice was unmasked and fired at their solid phalanx of men, who were advancing with the scaling ladders in their hands, with which to climb the walls of the fort. Never before in the history of the war, was the effect of a single cannon-shot so terrible; more than 50 men fell, of whom above half never rose again. An instantaneous discharge of small arms from the defenders followed, and when the smoke was lifted from the scene of slaughter, the immense army of besiegers were seen flying from the field, while 150 of their number were left dead or dying behind.* Crogan's loss was 1 killed and 5 wounded.† Proctor's hopes of penetrating the country, so as to take Upper Sandusky, thus dashed to the ground, he resolved to retreat, and so apprehensive was he that Harrison would attack his rear, that he left a sloop-load of stores behind, as

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* The besieged let down pails of water from the wall of the fort, for the relief of the wounded, immediately after the assault had ceased.—*Howe's History of Ohio*

† Black Hawk was at this seige, which he describes in his statement, already given in the foregoing pages, thus: "Dickson came to me and said, you will see to-morrow, how easily we will take that fort. I was of the opinion they would take it, but when the morning came I was disappointed. The British advanced, commenced an attack, and fought like braves, but by braves were defeated, and a great number killed.

his vanquished army in hot haste crowded sail down the Sandusky river.*

The disappointed Indians baulked of their prey, vanished into the forests, wending their way northwardly towards their British attraction, as the needle turns towards the pole. While this ill-starred expedition of Proctor's had been in progress, another one was planned against Erie, intended to destroy the American fleet now almost ready to sail from the place.

This was entrusted to Captain Barclay, and sailed from Malden down the lake on the 18th of July. After reconnoitering the American defenses, it returned without making the attempt.†

On to Malden, again became the watchword throughout the northwest. Ohio proposed to raise 10,000 volunteers for the service, and Kentucky was not less zealous in the cause, but the government had proposed to furnish regulars for the service, and it was not possible to accept all the volunteers who felt eager to take a hand in the invasion of Canada. A clamor of discontent

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*General Harrison's fame now stood so high, especially in the estimation of the friendly Indians, that the most prominent chiefs among the Delawares and Senecas, and even some of the Shawaneese chiefs, offered their services to him with their respective braves. They were accepted and joined his army at Seneca, his head-quarters on the Portage river; but among the Shawaneese chiefs, one named Blue Jacket (not the one of the same name whose high-bred virtues had made him conspicuous in bringing about the peace of Greenville), perhaps under an impression that if General Harrison could be killed the Indian cause would be gained, determined on assassinating him. True to the Indian custom, he confided this secret resolution to his best friend, and begged his assistance in the affair. Such assistance his friend was not bound to give, according to the measure of Indian honor, but he was bound to preserve the secret. Here was a dilemma. He loved Harrison, not only for his charity for the Indian race, but for the kindness he had shown him from his early youth, ever since his father had been executed by the laws of his tribe for the crime of sorcery. Moreover, he was impressed with a full sense of the bad consequences sure to result to his tribe (the Delawares), should the intentions of Blue Jacket be carried out. While thus painfully brooding over the issue a few days latter, the would-be assassin came into his presence in a towering rage. Colonel McPherson, an officer in General Harrison's army, had just turned him out of his presence for some breach of decency, and he swore vengeance on him for the insults, declaring he would kill him also. This roused the indignation of the young chief, to whom the murderous intention had been confided, and he felled him to the ground with a single blow from his tomahawk, and despatched him with a second. He next ordered his dead body sent to his tribe, and bade defiance to popular resentment for the act.

Instead of passing an unfavorable verdict upon the hero, he was applauded, and two years later General Cass made him a handsome present as a reward for his fidelity to General Harrison. The name of this chief was the Beaver; he now became a great favorite with General Harrison, and later with Commodore Perry, who christened him The General's Mameluke.—*Dawson's Life of Harrison, p.* 415.

†The impossibility of his larger vessels getting over the bar, might have been his reason for relinquishing the attack more than his fear of the American defenses.

among the Ohio militia was the result, and General Harrison wrote a letter to Governor Meigs to allay it, of which the following is a part:

"The exceptions you have made, and the promptitude with which your orders have been obeyed to assemble the militia and repel the late invasion, is truly astonishing, and reflect the highest honor on your State. * * * It has been the intention of the government to form the army destined for operation on Lake Erie, exclusively of regular troops if they could be raised. The number was limited to 7,000. The deficiency of regulars was to be made up from the militia. * * I have, therefore, called on the governor of Kentucky for 2,000 men; with those there will still be a deficiency of about 1,200. Your Excellency has stated to me that the men who have turned out on this occasion, have done it with the expectation of being effectually employed, and that should they be sent home, there is no prospect of getting them to turn out hereafter, should it be necessary. To employ them all is impossible. With my utmost exertions, the embarkation cannot be effected in less than fifteen or eighteen days, should I even determine to substitute them for the regular troops which are expected. To keep so large a force in the field, even for a short period, would consume the means which are provided for the support of the campaign. Under these circumstances, I would recommend a middle course to your Excellency, viz: to dismiss all the militia but two regiments. * * It appears that the venerable governor of Kentucky is about to take command of the troops of that State. Could your Excellency think proper to follow his example, I need not tell you how highly grateful it would be, dear sir, to your friend,

W. H. Harrison."*

Agreeable to the request of General Harrison, the 2,000 Ohio volunteers were sent to Upper Sandusky by Governor Meigs, to await his orders, but unfortunately their enlistment had only been for forty days, and on these terms, General Harrison declined to accept their services. This raised a storm of indignation against the commanding general, unjust as it was fleeting, for it could hardly be supposed that raw recruits could accomplish the requirements of the campaign in so short a time. The new American fleet had now cut loose from its moorings, and for the first time the American Jack was thrown to the breeze on Lake Erie. It sailed up the lake to Sandusky about the 18th of August, where Commodore Perry, who held command of it, anchored off the harbor and conferred with General Harrison,

*Dawson's Life of Harrison, p. 412.

who came on board his vessel. The fleet was still deficient in men, and General Harrison furnished him 150 to complete his crew. The Commodore now sailed for Malden, where the English fleet lay protected by the land batteries.

In vain the American flag was flaunted in full view; the English fleet did not accept the challenge, and Commodore Perry retired to Put-in-bay, on the American side. On the 10th of September, however, the English fleet left Malden, and Commodore Perry immediately sailed out to meet it. The following is his own account of the battle which followed:

"At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing; at 5 minutes before 12 the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow-line being shot away, she became unmanageable,* * * The Lawrence, which was the flag-ship, finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her. * * At half past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, into close action. I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish, by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. * * At 45 minutes past 2 the signal was made for close action. The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance.

The smaller vessels at this time, having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig and a schooner surrendered, a schooner and a sloop making a vain attempt to escape."*

The furious cannonading of the battle was heard at Malden, while its smoke rose in portentious clouds into the calm autumn sky that overhung the lake, dying away in the distant haze of its tranquil face. Who had won the victory? was the question that rung through the lines of Proctor's army of 4,000 white and red soldiers, assembled there awaiting its issue. Besides these, were many American prisoners not less anxious, among whom was John Kinzie, who had been brought to the place in the following manner, as told in Waubun:

Mr. Kinzie, as has been related, joined his family at Detroit in the month of January. A short time after suspicions arose in the mind of Gen. Proctor that

*American State Papers, Vol. II, p. 295.

he was in correspondence with Gen. Harrison, who was now at Fort Meigs, and who was believed to be meditating an advance upon Detroit. Lieut. Watson, of the British army, waited upon Mr. Kinzie one day, with an invitation to the quarters of Gen. Proctor, on the opposite side of the river, saying he wished to speak with him on business. Quite unsuspicious, he complied with the invitation, when to his surprise he was ordered into confinement, and strictly guarded in the house of his former partner, Mr. Patterson of Sandwich. Finding that he did not return to his home, Mrs. Kinzie informed some of the Indian chiefs, his particular friends, who immediately repaired to the head-quarters of the commanding officer, demanded their "friend's" release, and brought him back to his home. After waiting a time until a favorable opportunity presented itself, the General sent a detachment of dragoons to arrest him. They had succeeded in carrying him away, and crossing the river with him. Just at this moment a party of friendly Indians made their appearance.

"Where is the Shaw-nee-aw-kee?" was the first question. "There," replied his wife, pointing across the river, "in the hands of the red-coats, who are taking him away again."

The Indians ran to the river, seized some canoes that they found there, and crossing over to Sandwich, compelled Gen. Proctor a second time to forego his intentions.

A third time this officer was more successful, and succeeded in arresting Mr. Kinzie and conveying him heavily ironed to Fort Malden, in Canada, at the mouth of the Detroit River. Here he was at first treated with great severity, but after a time the rigor of his confinement was somewhat relaxed, and he was permitted to walk on the bank of the river for air and exercise.

On the 10th of September, as he was taking his promenade under the close supervision of a guard of soldiers, the whole party was startled by the sound of guns upon Lake Erie, at no great distance below. What could it mean? It must be Commodore Barclay firing into some of the Yankees. The firing continued. The time alotted the prisoner for his daily walk expired, but neither he nor his guard observed the lapse of time, so anxiously were they listening to what they now felt sure was an engagement between ships of war. At length Mr. Kinzie was reminded that the hour for his return to confinement had arrived. He petitioned for another half-hour.

"Let me stay," said he. "till we can learn how the battle has gone."

Very soon a sloop appeared under press of sail, rounding the point, and presently two gun-boats in chase of her.

"She is running—she bears the British colors," cried he—"yes, yes, they are lowering—she is striking her flag! Now," turning to the soldiers, "I will go back to prison contented—I know how the battle has gone."

The sloop was the Little Belt, the last of the squadron captured by the gallant Perry on that memorable occasion, which he announced in the immortal words:

"We have met the enemy, and they are ours!"

On the 17th of September, Shelby, the venerable revolutionary father and governor of Kentucky, arrived at Harrison's head-quarters on the Portage River, with 2,000 Kentucky troops. On the 21st everything was in readiness, and the embarkation of troop for the invasion of Canada began. All the available water-craft of the Americans, together with the captured British fleet, were brought into service, and with the assistance of all these, the army had to be transported by piece meal, part of them being conveyed at a time to the Middle Sister Island. While the transportation of the troops was going on, General Harrison and Commodore Perry made a reconnoisance off Malden, to select a place for the debarkation of the army. This done, the troops were

quickly transported from the island to the Canada shore, and Malden was entered by them on the 27th.

Governor Shelby led the advance, but the enemy had fled, and in their place a deputation of well-dressed women met him, with those irresistable courtesies which always win the heart of a gallant soldier. Their request for protection was granted, and the army passed on in pursuit of Proctor and Tecumseh, who were in full retreat up the valley of the Thames. On the 5th of October they were overtaken, and the battle of the Thames followed, a description of which is here given, in General Harrison's official report, taken from Dawson, p. 427:

"The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under His Excellency, Gov. Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and Col. Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above 3,000. No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major General Henry; the whole of Gen. Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Col. Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do anything on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this

idea. I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under their Colonel (Paull) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front line, and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable Governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant Adjutant General, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer Aid-de-camp, and Brigadier-General Cass, who having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy; and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His Excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat."

Tecumseh was slain in this battle. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, afterwards vice-president of the United States, without

doubt, believed himself to be the one who achieved the honor. There is good testimony that he killed an Indian whom he thought to be him,* but there is conflicting testimony as to who killed Tecumseh. Shabonee, whose integrity may be vouched for by many of the old settlers of Chicago, who are still living, was near Tecumseh when he was killed, and attributed his death to Colonel Johnson.†

Mr. William Hickling, a well-known citizen of Chicago, was familiarly acquainted with Shabonee and Caldwell, who both lived at Chicago in her early day, and in a paper which he read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1877, the following statement is made, which brings to light some new facts relative to the battle of the Thames:

Caldwell held in high regard, and often spoke of the military genius and other qualifications of Tecumseh, looking upon him as the greatest warrior chief of his time. Caldwell, like his leader Tecumseh, during the last year of their military career, while operating in connection with the British on our frontier, and in Canada, lost all confidence in the ability of Gen. Proctor, the British commander. It is well known that Tecumseh was bitterly opposed to the evacuation of Fort Malden, and subsequently, when the British commander halted in his retreat, and formed his lines for a combat at the Moravian Towns, it was because Gen. Tecumseh informed him that he and his Indians thought the army had retreated far enough, and were not going any further without first having a fight. Tecumseh was summoned to the British headquarters to discuss the plan of battle. We have the authority of Caldwell to say that Tecumseh and Gen. Proctor had a violent quarrel over the plans laid out by the latter for the conflict. That Tecumseh left the British headquarters in disgust, after only a short interview, and returned to the old position occupied by him an hour or so previous, and then sending Caldwell to see Gen. Proctor, and urge upon him the necessity of changing his plan of battle. Soon after the departure of Caldwell from his Indian allies, the battle commenced with great fury. The death of Tecumseh, and route of the British and Indian forces are well known in history. Caldwell was not able to again join his Indian friends, until after the battle was over. He always expressed himself as well satisfied, that had Gen. Tecumseh, instead of Gen. Proctor, held command over both armies (British and Indians) that the result of the campaign, and especially its fatal finale at the "Thames," would have been different. Shabonee, Tecumseh, Caldwell, and Black Hawk were in counsel together, sitting on a log, or fallen tree, smoking their pipes, and talking over the events of the times, when the messenger from Gen. Proctor arrived, summoning Tecumseh to his headquarters.

The soil of the northwest was now unpressed by the foot of any armed foe except at Michilimacinac. The campaign thus closed, Governor Shelby's volunteers were honorably discharged, and General Harrison, with his force of regulars, embarked from Detroit on the 23d of October, in obedience to orders from the war department, after having appointed General Cass as provisional governor of Michigan, and leaving a force of 1,000 troops under his command. Early the next spring, in 1814, the gover-

*See Hist. Coll. State Hist. So. of Wis. p. 372.

†See Hist. Coll. State Hist. So. of Wis., p. 373.

ernment authorities of St. Louis, apprehensive of a British invasion from Michilimackinac, sent a detachment of soldiers to repair the old fort at Prairie du Chien, and defend the place against an attack.

That these apprehensions were well grounded, soon became apparent, for a large force of British and Indians shortly afterwards came down the Wisconsin river, under Colonel McKay, and laid siege to the place. It was taken after an obstinate defense, its garrison paroled and sent to St. Louis. In the month of July, the same year, an expedition was fitted out at Detroit to capture Michilimackinac, Commodore Sinclair commanding the fleet, and Colonel Crogan, the hero of Ft. Stephenson, the land forces. The latter landed on the Island, but fell into an ambuscade in approaching the fort, and were severely repulsed, when the expedition returned without affecting its object, and Michilimackinac, as well as Prairie du Chien, remained in British possession till given up by the terms of peace, at the close of the war. The first hostile blow in this war had fallen upon the northwest on the upper lakes, under an impression that having conquered this part of the country, and guaranteed a goodly portion of it to certain Indian tribes as independent nations, the New England States would, through their influence in the English end of the scale to put an end to the war in a peaceful solution of the question, even with these conditions, and in that early age, such a solution of the issue to English eyes, seemed possible, especially as it was no secret to English diplomatists that if the counsels of the New England States had ruled alone, the war would not have been declared, at least till more time had transpired to tone down the pretentious spirit of the English, jaded to frenzy, as they were, by the formidable conquests of their great adversary, Napoleon.

In this dream, the English calculated without their host, for when the pinch came, the New England States manifested no disposition to desert the west, or to give it up, either to English or Indian hands, although from conscientious scruples they did object to invade Canada. The attempt to establish an independent nation of savages north of the Ohio river, was equally impracticable, and as might have been supposed, resulted in the English breaking faith with the Indians when peace was made, without fulfilling their obligation. The proof that such an obligation was entered into by the English with the Indians, is implied by the tenacity with which they insisted (even as a *sine qua non* to a treaty of peace) on the integrity of an Indian confederacy, with its distinct boundaries.

The boundary was to be the same as that established at the

treaty of Greenville, in 1795. It would have given the Indians the northern portions, and the largest half of the entire northwest.

At or before the breaking out of the war, this allurement was held out to Tecumseh, and by it his alliance secured and his masterly energies brought to bear in favor of the English, notwithstanding the fatal results of the prophet's defeat at Tippecanoe. Besides, the manifest evidence of this, which was brought to the surface during the peace negotiations at Ghent, is the oral testimony of two witnesses, Rev. Mr. Ruddel, of Kentucky, and Billy Caldwell, chief of the Pottawattomies, who lived at Chicago. Mr. Ruddel was taken captive by the Shawaneese, raised by them to manhood, and delivered up to his kindred at the treaty of Greenville. On coming into the walks of civilization, he soon educated himself, and became an efficient minister of the Gospel in the Christian denomination. After the close of the war of 1812, he felt a strong desire to visit his early friends among the Shawaneese, and especially those of Tecumseh, to learn what he could of the history of the fallen chief; and from them he learned that the English did pledge to Tecumseh, to secure for the Indians as allies, permanent possession of the territory, not included in the lands relinquished to the whites, at the treaty of Greenville. With this guarantee, Tecumseh again took up the sword, although his tribe had made peace with General Harrison, after the Tippecanoe campaign. The first year of the war justified his expectations, but when the recoil came, and Proctor retreated from American soil, Tecumseh became dissatisfied, and doubted the ability of the English to fulfil their obligations. This he freely expressed at a private conference with his chiefs, just before the battle of the Thames. Billy Caldwell was at this conference, and at Chicago in 1833, when interviewed by Mr. Peck, the author of the Western Annals verified the statements of Mr. Ruddel.

Says Mr. Peck, in his history, page 647:

"He was anxious to find some trustworthy American citizen to write the biography of Tecumseh, and gave as a reason that no British officer should ever perform that service to his distinguished friend," remarking at the same time: "The British officers promised to stand by the Indians until we gained our object. They basely deserted us, got defeated, and after putting in our claims in the negotiations at Ghent, finally left us to make peace with the Americans on the best terms we could. The Americans fairly whipped us, and then treated with us honorably, and no Briton shall touch one of my papers."

"Mr. Caldwell had a trunk well filled with papers and documents, pertaining to Tecumseh."

The conditions and issues that came before both the English and Americans at the negotiations of peace at Ghent, were peculiar. It was necessary, in order to bring about peace, that both nations should make humiliating concessions.*

The following is copied from reports of the American peace commissioners at Ghent, to the Secretary of State, asking instructions:

GHENT, 19th of August, 1814.

It was a *sine qua non* that the Indians should be included in the pacification and as incident thereto: that the boundaries of their territory should be permanently established. Peace with the Indians is so simple as to require no comment.

With respect to the boundary which was to divide their territory from that of the United States, the object of the British government was, that the Indians should remain as a permanent barrier between our western settlements and the adjacent British provinces, to prevent them from being conterminous to each other; and that neither the United States nor Great Britain should ever hereafter have the right to purchase or acquire any part of the territory thus recognized as belonging to the Indians. British State papers, Vol. I, Part II, p. 1589.

Peace was necessary for both nations; England had been in the vortex of European war for twelve years; American discontent was cropping out in protests from the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut,† and from the Hartford convention, composed of delegates from throughout New England.

The handiwork of the sword had exhausted Europe, and he who would try to prolong its devastations was an enemy to mankind. Conservatism was above par, and the American Government set the example by instructing her peace commissioners to add no fuel to the council-fires at Ghent, by mentioning the subject of *Right of Search* or *Impressment of American Seamen*. This was an admission that time, and not the sword, had won our cause. It also rebuked the policy of Jefferson, which rejected the terms offered by England to Messrs. Monroe and

*What is the probable result of this negotiation is hard to suppose. The question of a speedy peace we rather apprehend, depends on the prospects of things in Europe, and the turn of events in the congress of Vienna. In case peace should not be made, this fact will be apparent to every one, that the war on our part, if offensive in its onset, will be purely defensive in its future progress and termination. With the general pacification of Europe, the chief causes for which we went to war with Great Britain, have, from the nature of things, ceased to affect us; it is not for us to quarrel for forms. Britain may pretend to any right she pleases, provided she does not exercise it to our injury.—*Niles Register, Dec. 10th,* 1814.

†Early in 1814, the Legislature of Connecticut passed a resolution to consider what measures should be taken to preserve the liberties and rights of her citizens, when the Secretary of War called upon her for troops to invade Canada; and on the 7th of October, the same year, the Governor of Massachusetts convened an extra session of the legislature, to take into consideration the dangers of an English invasion of her State, as a consequence of the war, which many of her statesmen deemed unnecessary.

Pinckney in 1808, which were that an informal assurance should be given that the practice of Right of Search should be discontinued.* History would fail to fulfil its mission if it did not state here that when the war was declared Napoleon was in the height of his power. Now he was an exile at Elba, and England's well drilled army was released from the service at home which had placed him there, and consequently ready for an American campaign.

Still she was not ambitious to undertake it, choosing rather to relinquish her first terms than prolong the war. Besides her plan for an independent Indian nation in the northwest, was another provision, which was to bar the Americans from building any fortifications on the shores of the lakes, or placing any armed vessels of war on their waters,† on the ground that such a provision was necessary to preserve Canada from the danger of an American invasion. These impracticable terms being given up, an attempt was made to define the boundary between the two governments on the northeastern and on the northwestern frontier, but this involved more complications than were expedient to be undertaken at the time, and the matter was left for future adjustment, and so remained till settled by the Ashburton treaty of 1846. The treaty was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified at Washington on the 17th of February, 1815.‡

The battle of New Orleans was fought during this interval, after the signing of the treaty, for then its combatants had not heard the news of the peace.

The war was not without its glories to American arms, though its main issue was a dead one a few days after its declaration, when the British revoked their orders in council, which had been so obnoxious to American interests, as told in a previous chapter.

Treaties of peace with the various western tribes of Indians

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*Jefferson's rejection of the terms was because he declined to insert them in the treaty. Perhaps his residence in Paris as American minister, had dazzled his eyes with French glory to the detriment of England and he was not unwilling to exact from her both the letter and the spirit of radical justice.

†Am. State Papers, 1811 to 1815, p. 607.

‡In considering the conditions of the peace, as we have been informed of them, we cannot but regard them as honorable to this country. The American Government began the war on account of the orders in council, and to enforce the relinquishment of impressment on board their merchant vessels. The orders in council were repealed by our government before they knew of the commencement of the war. The war was continued by America, after she knew of the repeal of the orders in council, to compel us to relinquish the right of impressment. It was America, and not Great Britian, which claimed stipulation on this point. The war is concluded by a peace in which no such stipulatian is made.—*London Courier, Dec. 27th*, 1814.

who had been victimized into participation in the war followed the successful negotiations at Ghent, of course, for these hapless wretches were no longer able to raise a hostile arm.*

General Harrison and Lewis Cass, on the part of the United States, negotiated with the Delawares, Shawanees, Senecas and Miamis, at Greenville, where, nineteen years before, Gen. Wayne had held the famous treaty with Western tribes, which took the first half of the country from them, and the moiety had been taken by piecemeal, till but little was left to give. William Clark, Governor of Missouri, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, and Hon. Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis, treated with the Northwestern tribes, among whom were the Pottowattomies, in July, 1815, on the east bank of the Mississippi river, just above the mouth of the Missouri. The Sac nation did not attend this convention, but the September following a treaty was made with such portions of their tribe as felt friendly with the United States. Black Hawk was not among these, and did not attend the treaty. This tenacious brave still clung to British interests, even after hope had fled, and remained in this moody frame of mind till the western march of settlements began to encroach on the rights of his tribe, by occupying the beautiful Rock River Valley, in 1832. Then came the Black Hawk war, which will be told in its place.

Kaskaskia was at this time the capital of Illinois Territory, where the executive court was held in an antique French building made during that early civilization that had been begun in the valley of the Mississippi, at this historic place, in 1700. Here its charitable mantle had fallen upon three generations, and here it now extended good-fellowship to the new regime though about to bring more progressive institutions to the country destined to overshadow French social life in Illinois. Several of the buildings erected in the past century are still standing here in a good state of preservation. Its civil and church records are very extensive, dating back to the time of its first settlement.

An interesting chapter of early French history and heraldry, has lately been gleaned from them by E. G. Mason Esq. of Chicago, which was published in the Chicago Times. It brings to light new data for the romancer, as well as the historian. Some future day Kaskaskia, as the old mediæval land mark between savage and civilized life, will be looked upon with increasing interest. But as yet, the onward march of western settlments have exhausted nearly all their force in laying the dimension stone, on which to build permanent institutions in the broad wilds, to which the war of 1812 opened the doors.

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*The history only of such campaigns in this war has been written here as bore relation to the northwest.

CHAPTER XX.

The Great West as a New Arena for Progress—Religious Freedom—Its Effects—Distributive Versus Concentrated Learning—Our Norman Pedigree and Its Effects—The Lakes a Highway to the West—Fort Dearborn Rebuilt—Preliminary Survey for the Illinois and Michigan Canal—John Kinzie Returns to Chicago—Indian Treaty Relinquishing Lands from Chicago to the Illinois River—Illinois Admitted Into the Union as a Sovereign State—Its Northern Boundary Extended—Reasons for it—Chicago The Central Key of The Nation.

When universal enthusiasm in any one direction dissolves into apathy from exhaustion of the forces which pulled in that direction, then comes an epoch when mankind enter upon new fields of labor quite different from the ones that have last engrossed their attention, and new energies that have long lain dormant are awakened into life. Such a point was reached when Europe sheathed the sword after the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. Renown at the cannon's mouth was no longer sought after, for it was evident to the simplest understanding, that industry to build up what war had torn down would pay best, and with these nobler purposes in view, Europe and America went to work.

England's problem was how to keep the balance of trade in her favor, and how to pay the interest on her public debt which had so recently been contracted. America's was how to build turnpikes, canals and school houses throughout the, as yet, unknown and illimitable northwest. Both nations set about their respective callings immediately, to fulfill which, the inventive genius of the artisan was stimulated, and new machinery sprang into existence by which creative power to supply the wants of man was multiplied.

Besides this, America on her part brought to her aid new achievements in religion and public policy. The State was relieved from any responsibility in the former, each individual conscience being left free to choose its own forms of worship due

to divine grace. Here it is not too much to say that to the west belongs the honor of sweeping away every vestage of legal authority over religion from the first, while in New England a public tax in the early day was levied for the support of the gospel by the authority of the State.* This one idea is worth more than all the moral results of Napoleon's campaigns, which employed the available forces of nearly all Europe for more than ten years. The prosperity of the west is in part due to this principle, nor has its exemplary blessings stopped where they began, but by their moral force have already undermined the religious policy of England by presenting a contrast so much in favor of individual accountability when pitted against state authority in matters of conscience. †

In ancient times the fruit of the tree of knowledge was forbidden to the masses, and a penalty attached to those who tasted it. Now, the interest of neither king, priest or pedagogue is advanced by a monopoly of this boon. On the contrary, it is presented to the people under the most enticing forms which universities, colleges, schoolhouses, books and newspapers are able to offer. Under this condition, the philosophy which once gave such singular fame to Confucius, Zoroaster, Plato and others, and later to Copernicus, LaPlace and their kindred spirits, is now familiar to millions of men, and within the reach of every one. America was offered as a field where this learning could be cultivated on a new soil, where there was no danger to be apprehended from the overshadowing influences of clannishness in politics or religion, or the rights of feudalism. The result is shown in poetry, song, oratory and literature. The vital forces of a nation are on

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* In 1638 the following appeared in the Colonial Records of Massachusetts, Vol. 1, p. 240:

"This Court, takeing into consideration the necessity of an equall contribution of all comon charges in townes, and observing that the cheife occation of this defect hearin arriseth from hence that many of those who are not freemen nor members of any church do take advantage thereby to withdraw thier helpe in such voluntary contribution as are in vse—It is therefore hearby declared, ev'ry inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges both in church and comonwelthe whereoff hee doth or may receive benefit; and withall it is also ordered that such inhabitants who shall not voluntarily contribute p'portionately to his ability wth other freemen of the same towne to all comon charges, as well as for upholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, shal be compelled thereto by assessment and distress, to bee levied by the cunstable."

Modifications of this old law inherited from England, too numerous to mention, have had place in various New England States, even since they, with the other colonies, gained their independence; and it is still within the memory of the middle-aged men of our day that its last vestiges were released from the statute books.

† The modification of England's system of tithes is a proof of this assertion.

an unremitting strain to grasp at new reaches in science and artisanship, and life now sees abundant diversity to animate its pathway.

Such is America, particularly the West, in her crowning glory. Among those who live in this age of activity there are censors who protest against its turmoil, and sigh for the quietude of olden times. Perhaps the restive spirits of the ambitious West would run mad without the restraining influence of these counselors. They may be necessary to prune off the tangent points which may be called the deformities of our cycle in history, nevertheless unparalleled in grandeur—a cycle in which not such architectural piles as the Pyramids, the Pantheon or the Coloseum have been built by enforced labor, but one in which humbler edifices, dedicated to science and religion, have been distributed throughout the land. Mental alchemy has economized her most potent forces within unpretentious domicils; and where this is the universal condition, national issues hang upon the turn of a subtle power, gathering its force from a considerate public opinion as a result of distributive instead of concentrated learning. This force is comparatively perfect when it is adequate to checkmate the sinister purposes of private ambition, used against the public interest; and that it should ever be up to this standard, is essential to the success of a Republican form of government.

* From the ancient Normans, have we undoubtedly inherited through ancient Briton blood, our love of literature, and our ambition to outrival the rest of the world in national grandeur, and although Americans love to date their patent from Plymouth Rock or Jamestown, it can only be claimed that these were way stations, on the road from the original starting point. The literature of the ancient Normans and even their mythology, is a sublime study of which their descendants, though diluted with the evolutions of centuries, may justly be proud. Their brain power has crept through the attenuations of European revolutions, and like the whirlwind, has seemed to gather force, till it has found its way to the great interior of North America, to set up a nucleus, around which to build up our States as soon as the country became accessible to settlers. The termination of the war of 1812 opened the gates to it, down to which time the intrigues of

* The Normans or North men settled in Norway, as emigrants from Asia, while Rome was in her glory. They settled Iceland in 860, and Greenland in 986. They conquered both England and France in the day of their glory, and in 1066, William the Conqueror, a pure Norman, became king of England, many generations after his people had first overrun the country and settled there. From this period dates the commencement of England's greatness.

Spain, the lingering power of the English on the lakes, and the Indian occupation, were insurmountable barriers to emigration. The true pioneer spirit now began in earnest. The great chain of lakes as a highway to the far west, rapidly grew into importance, and soon became a rival of the Ohio river, which had hitherto been the only road to the west, except the track of the emigrant wagon through the crooked paths of the wilderness.

Chicago was now thought of again with increasing interest—not merely as a suitable place for a fort, which should command the fur trade of the back country, but as the terminus of a thoroughfare between the Upper Mississippi and the lakes. With this end in view, President Madison, in his message at the opening of Congress, in 1814, recommended its attention to the importance of a ship canal, connecting the waters of Lake Michigan at Chicago, with the Illinois river. This was the first official mention of such a scheme, however much it might have been talked of among the geographers of the country; and the next year, the Secretary of War, in his instructions to General Harrison, D. McArthur and John Grahame, recommended the erection of military posts, connecting Chicago with St Louis, by way of the Illinois river.* The attention of the war department appears to have been ever directed to the importance of this thoroughfare, since its necessity had become apparent by the purchase of Louisiana, and especially after its practicability had been assured by the successful termination of the late war with England. A year later, in 1816, the war department gave orders for the rebuilding of Ft. Dearborn. Captain Hezekiah Bradley, who had entered the United States service April 19th, 1814, and whose honorable record had won confidence in his abilities, was commissioned for the undertaking.† As chance would have it, he arrived on the ground with his men (two companies) on the 4th of July, just thirteen years after his predecessor, Captain Whistler, had landed with his men, to build the first fort.‡

The bones of the victims of the massacre of 1812 still laid scattered over the sand-drifts, amongst the sparse growth of bunch grass and stunted shrubbery that grew there, and thus remained till 1822, when they were carefully gathered and buried with the measured respect of military etiquette, and they are now a part of the dust beneath the feet of a countless throng of busy citizens. The new fort was built on the same spot where the first had stood before its destruction. It consisted of a single

*Am. State Papers, Vol. II, p. 13.

†Am. State Papers, Vol. I, p. 633.

‡Jacob B. Varnum, of Massachusetts, was appointed Factor, and Chas. Jouett, of Virginia, Indian Agent.

block-house, immediately east of which were barracks for the soldiers, and other buildings for storage, etc., the whole enclosed with high palisades. Besides re-building Ft. Dearborn, the government sent Major Long to make a preliminary survey of the rivers between Chicago and the Illinois river, to ascertain the practicability of a ship-canal uniting them.*

During the summer, Mr. John Kinzie returned with his family to Chicago. Owing to the friendship which the Indians had entertained for him, his house had been spared from the flames, and during his absence of four years, a Frenchman named Du-Pin, resting under the usual immunity from Indian depredation vouchsafed to his nation, had occupied Mr. Kinzie's house a part of the time as a trading-station.

The same year at St. Louis, an important treaty was concluded with the Indians, as follows:

TREATY WITH THE OTTAWAS, CHIPPEWAS AND POTTAWATTOMIES.

A treaty of peace, friendship and limits, made and concluded between Ninian Edwards, William Clark, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of said States of the of the one part, and the chiefs and warriors of the united tribes of Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies residing on the Illinois and Milwaukee rivers and their waters, and on the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan, of the other part.

Whereas, a serious dispute has for some time past, existed between the contracting parties relative to the right to a part of the lands ceded to the United States by the tribes of the Sacs and Foxes on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four, and both parties being desirous of preserving an har-

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*The following facts relative to the topography of the country around Chicago in 1816, are taken from his report to George Graham, Secretary of War. After describing the Illinois, the Desplaines and the Kankakee rivers, he speaks of the Chicago river, and calls it "merely an arm of the lake." The north branch he sets down as thirty miles long; and continues, "it receives a few tributaries. The south branch has an extent of only five or six miles, and has no supplies except from a small lake," (evidently what was Mud lake a few gears ago). "The river and each of its branches are of variable widths, from fifteen to fifty yards, and for two or three miles inland have a sufficient depth of water to admit vessels of almost any burden. The entrance into Lake Michigan, however, which is thirty yards wide, is obstructed by a sand-bar about seventy yards broad, upon the highest part of which the water is usually no more than two feet deep. * * * The water course, which is already opened between the river Desplaines and Chicago river, needs but little more excavation to render it sufficiently capacious for all the purposes of a canal."

The report of R. Graham and Joseph Phillips, dated Kankakee, April 4, 1819, concludes with the following: "The route by the Chicago, as followed by the French since the discovery of the Illinois, presents at one season of the year an uninterrupted water communication for boats of six or eight tons burden, between the Mississippi and the Michigan lake. At another season, a portage of two miles; at another, a portage of seven miles, from the bend of the Plien (Desplaines), to the arm of the lake. And at another a portage of fifty miles from the mouth of the Plien to the lake, over which there is a well beaten wagon-road. Boats and their loads are hauled by oxen and vehicles, kept for that purpose by the French settlers at Chicago.

Am. State Paper, Mis. Vol II, P. 555.

monious and friendly intercourse, and of establishing permanent peace and friendship, have, for the purpose of removing all difficulties, agreed to the following terms:

ART. 1. Thesaid chiefs and warriors, for themselves and the tribes they represent, agree to relinquish, and hereby do relinquish, to the United States, all their right, claim and title to all the land contained in the before-mentioned cession of the Sacs and Foxes, which lies south of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. And they moreover cede to the United States all the land contained within the following bounds, to wit: beginning on the left bank of the Fox river of Illinois, ten miles above the mouth of said Fox river; thence running so as to cross Sandy creek ten miles above its mouth; thence, in a direct line, to a point ten miles north of the west end of the Portage, between Chicago creek, which empties into Lake Michigan, and the river Des Plaines, a fork of the Illinois; thence in a direct line, to a point on lake Michigan, ten miles northward of the mouth of Chicago creek; thence, along the lake, to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of the said Chicago creek; thence, in a direct line, to a point on the Kankakee, ten miles above its mouth; thence, with the said Kankakee and the Illinois river, to the mouth of Fox river; and thence to the beginning: *Provided, nevertheless,* that the said tribes shall be permitted to hunt and to fish within the limits of the land hereby relinquished and ceded, so long as it may continue to be the property of the United States.

ART. 2. In consideration of the aforesaid relinquishment and cession, the United States have this day delivered to said tribes, a considerable quantity of merchandise, and do agree to pay them, annually, for the term of twelve years, goods to the value of one thousand dollars, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in which they shall be purchased, without any charge for transportation; which said goods shall be delivered to the said tribes at some place on the Illinois river, not lower down than Peoria. And the said United States do moreover agree to relinquish to the said tribes all the land contained in the aforesaid cession of the Sacs and Foxes which lies north of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, except three leagues square at the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, including both banks, and such other tracts on or near to the Ouisconsin and Mississippi rivers as the President of the United States may think proper to reserve: *Provided,* That such other tracts shall not, in the whole, exceed the quantity that would be contained in five leagues square.

ART. 3. The contracting parties, that peace and friendship may be permanent, promise that, in all things whatever, they will act with justice and correctness towards each other; and that they will, with perfect good faith, fulfill all the obligations imposed upon them by former treaties.

In witness whereof, the said Ninian Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the aforesaid tribes, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this twenty-fourth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and of the independence of the United State the forty-first.

NINIAN EDWARDS,
WILLIAM CLARK.
AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU.

[Signed also by the chiefs and warriors of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottowatomies.]

Black Partridge, whose name is now nobly associated with Chicago history, was then chief of the Pottowatomies, and signed the treaty.

The object in securing this strip of land was to construct a military road to facilitate the building of the proposed ship canal. Of all the Indian treaties ever made, this will be remembered when all others, with their obligations, are forgotten. When the country came to be surveyed in sections, inasmuch as

the surveys on both sides of the treaty lines were not made at the same time, the section lines did not meet each other, and diagonal offsets along the entire length of the Indian grant were the result. An occasional gore of land is left open to discussion as to what range and township it belongs, and all sectional maps must ever be disfigured with triangular fractions, as lasting monuments of early Indian power around Chicago.

With the opening of the year 1817, Capt. Bradley was still busy in completing the various appendages to Fort Dearborn, such as a magazine made of brick, rescued from the ruins of the old fort factory building, etc. A commodious parade ground was also laid out, and a large field immediately south of the fort was enclosed with a worm fence. This was planted with corn and garden vegetables for the subsistence of the garrison. Convenient gate-ways, both on the north and south, gave ingress and egress. The block-house itself was more substantially built than the original one, and afforded an ample assurance of safety from Indian outbreaks. Communications were soon opened with the settlements of Southern Illinois, by the way of the south branch of the Chicago river, Mud Lake, the Desplaines and Illinois rivers. Along this channel supplies of flour, meat and other necessaries were brought to the fort by means of small row-boats, and the short portage from the Desplaines to the Chicago river. The settlements of Southern Illinois had at that time attained proportions sufficient to qualify the territory for a state in the Federal Union, and the next year, 1818, Nathaniel Pope, delegate to Congress, applied for and obtained the admission of Illinois as a sovereign state. Although the northern half of the state was then unsettled, except at a very few places; its importance was not overlooked by Mr. Pope, who seemed gifted with a remarkable intuition into the future. Illinois as a territory was bounded on the north by a line due west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, as shown on all maps previous to 1818. To this line Mr. Pope objected for the following reasons, which are copied from Ford's History of Illinois:

"By the Ordinance of 1787, there were to be not less than three, nor more than five States in the territory northwest of the Ohio river. The boundaries of these States were defined by that law. The three States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were to include the whole territory, and were to be bounded by the British possessions in Canada on the north. But Congress reserved the power, if they thereafter should find it expedient, to form one or two States in that part of the territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan. That line, it was generally supposed, was to be the north boundary of Illinois. Judge Pope, seeing that the port of Chicago was north of that line, and would be excluded by it from the State, and that the Illinois and Michigan canal (which was then contemplated) would issue from Chicago, to connect the great northern lakes with the Mississippi, and thus be partly within and partly without the State of Illinois, was thereby led to a critical examination of the Ordinance, which resulted in a clear and

satisfactory conviction, that it was competent for Congress to extend the boundaries of a new State as far north as they pleased; and he found no difficulty in convincing others of the correctness of his views.

But there were other and much more weighty reasons for this change of boundary, which were ably and successfully urged by Judge Pope upon the attention of Congress. It was known that in all confederated republics there was danger of dissolution. The great valley of the Mississippi was filling up with a numerous people; the original confederacy had already advanced westward a thousand miles, across the chain of mountains skirting the Atlantic; the adjoining States in the western country were watered by rivers running from every point of the compass, converging to a focus at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi at Cairo; the waters of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, carried much of the commerce of Alabama and Tennessee, all of Kentucky, considerable portions of that of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, and the greater portion of the commerce of Ohio and Indiana, down by the Point at Cairo, (situate in the extreme south of Illinois,) where it would be met by the commerce to and from the lower Mississippi with all the States and territories to be formed in the immense country on the Missouri, and extending to the head waters of the Mississippi. Illinois had a coast of 150 miles on the Ohio river, and nearly as much on the Wabash; the Mississippi was its western boundary for the whole length of the State; the commerce of all the western country was to pass by its shores, and would necessarily come to a focus at the mouth of the Ohio, at a point within this State, and within the control of Illinois, if, the Union being dissolved, she should see proper to control it. It was foreseen that none of the great States in the west could venture to aid in dissolving the Union, without cultivating a State situate in such a central and commanding position.

What then was the duty of the national government? Illinois was certain to be a great State, with any boundaries which that government could give. Its great extent of territory, its unrivalled fertility of soil, and capacity for sustaining a dense population, together with its commanding position, would in course of time give the new State a very controlling influence with her sister States situate upon the western rivers, either in sustaining the federal union as it is, or in dissolving it, and establishing new governments. If left entirely upon the waters of these great rivers, it was plain that, in case of threatened disruption, the interest of the new State would be to join a southern and western confederacy. But if a large portion of it could be made dependent upon the commerce and navigation of the great northern lakes, connected as they are with the eastern States, a rival interest would be created, to check the wish for a western and southern confederacy.

It therefore became the duty of the national government, not only to make Illinois strong, but to raise an interest inclining and binding her to the eastern and northern portions of the Union. This could be done only through an interest in the lakes. At that time the commerce on the lakes was small, but its increase was confidently expected, and indeed it has exceeded all anticipations, and is yet only in its infancy. To accomplish this object effectually, it was not only necessary to give to Illinois the port of Chicago and a route for the canal, but a considerable coast on Lake Michigan, with a country back of it sufficiently extensive to contain a population capable of exercising a decided influence upon the councils of the State.

There would, therefore, be a large commerce of the north, western, and central portions of the State afloat on the lakes, for it was then foreseen that the canal would be made; and this alone would be like turning one of the many mouths of the Mississippi into Lake Michigan at Chicago. A very large commerce of the centre and south would be found, both upon the lakes and the rivers. Associations in business, in interest, and of friendship, would be formed, both with the north and the south. A State thus situated, having such a decided interest in the commerce, and in the preservation of the whole confederacy, can never consent to disunion; for the Union cannot be dissolved without a division and disruption of the State itself. These views, urged by Judge

Pope, obtained the unqualified assent of the statesmen of 1818; and this feature of the bill, for the admission of Illinois into the Union, met the unanimous approbation of both houses of Congress."

That the wisdom of Mr. Pope has been amply verified by events which have transpired since 1860, is apparent to every one. The interest of Chicago was united by the strongest ties which commercial relations could bind, both to the north and the south, and had the southern limits of Wisconsin included the city of Chicago, the State of Illinois would have been under the complete control of southern influences during the early stages of the rebellion, with but slender ties to bind her to the north. On the hypothesis that this State turned the scale in favor of the Union when the question trembled in the balance, the geographical position of Chicago may, with no impropriety, be called the centre key of the nation. Such it was deemed by Mr. Pope when the place had but two white families as residents—John Kinzie and Ouilimette; and it is not too much to say that to the broad-guage spirit of Chicago, representatives in the councils of the nation, the administration has sometimes looked for support in issues of difficult solution. Nor is it too much to say that the positions which have from time to time been taken by the people of Chicago on the vital questions of the day, have been sustained in our national policy (not necessarily because Chicago came to their support), but because her people were sufficiently cosmopolitan to comprehend the situation, and see at the first glance the real wants of the nation, for the obvious reason that within her toils, the East, the South and the far West are drawn.

At this time the Mississippi river was teeming with flat boats engaged in the carrying trade of western productions to market, by the way of New Orleans. Six hundred and forty-three of these rude vessels were counted by a passenger, in his passage by steamboat up the river, on a trip in 1818.*

This early channel of western commerce has now a rival along our lakes, which has already eclipsed it in importance, and points to their shores as the future metropolitan centres of trade and artisanship.

*Niles Register, Vol. XIV, p. 344.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Fur Trade of Canada Under a French Charter—The Huguenot Sailors—Dutch Rivalry—The Hudson Bay Company—The Northwest Company Its Rival—The Two Companies Merged into One—The American Fur Company under John Jacob Astor—Astoria Founded, and Taken by the Hudson Bay Company—Mr. Astor Begins Anew at Mackinaw—Hardihood of the Engagees—The American Fur Company Establish a Branch at Chicago—Gurdon S. Hubbard as Clerk for the American Fur Company—Arrives at Chicago—His Report of the Place—Descends the Desplaines—His Report of the Indians and their Wigwams—Hostile Reporter with an Indian—The Factory System—First Wedding in Chicago—Great Indian Treaty at Chicago—Governor Cass Opens the Council—Three Thousand Indians Eat Rations at Government Expense—Speech of Metea—Colonel E. Childs' Description of the Country.

Soon after Champlain had made the first permanent settlement of Canada at Quebec, in 1608, it became evident to his patron sovereign, the French king, that the fur trade was the great secular interest of the country. Indeed, its magnitude was too tempting a bait even for the court of France, and it compromised its dignity by establishing a control over it by which it should reap a portion of its profits. Accordingly the company of St. Malo was formed, with chartered rights, paying a tribute to the French king, offset with plenary power to dole out privileges to the miserable *courier du bois* of Canada to obtain furs as best they could, and sell them to the company at stipulated prices. Serious abuses soon grew out of this monopoly, and the king was obliged to cast about for more competent men with whom to entrust the patent, or, rather, men who would not abuse the trust by conniving at a contraband trade and sharing its illegitimate profits. Now the king was in a dilemma. It was all important to him that Canada should have no taint of heresy (which meant

Protestantism), and yet among all his subjects it was difficult, if not impossible, always to select material for positions of trust without recourse to the Huguenots, who really were composed of the most efficient men of France at that time. Under this pressure, two Huguenot brothers, the DeCaens, were appointed to succeed the company of St. Malo in 1621. They immediately sailed for Quebec, and as might be supposed, enlisted a crew of Huguenot sailors to man their vessels for the carrying trade. All went smoothly till their arrival at Quebec, where the psalm singing and prayer of the customary morning and evening devotions of these conscientious seamen offended the priests, as well as Champlain, the governor.* Here was a fresh difficulty, that threatened a dead-lock on the start; but the matter was compromised by allowing the sailors to pray as usual, but not to indulge in psalmody while in the harbor of Quebec; "A bad bargain," said Champlain, the governor, "but the best I could make." Under these auspices the fur trade was resumed, and it soon brought increased revenues to the crown. Traders and priests advanced into the wilds—the former to gather crops of furs, and the latter crops of souls. These were the incentives which pushed French discovery into the upper lakes, and over the prairies and into the forests, where now crops of corn, instead of furs, are harvested.

The next drawback that affected the Canadian fur trade, was the rivalship of the Dutch at Albany. They could buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, unshackeled by royal tributes. This competition augmented the animosity which nationality and religion had already enkindled between the Canadian and English settlements, and it was fanned to a flame in 1754, when the French and Indian war commenced.

This war having resulted triumphantly to the English, in 1759 the whole fur trade fell into their hands as soon as they could take possession of the immense country then embraced within the limits of New France, and thus remained till the American Revolution had shorn from them the fairest portions of their late conquest. Notwithstanding this, however, the immensity of the English possession in those far northern regions that grow the best furs still ensured to the English the fur trade with no diminution in its volume. The English company engaged in it was chartered in 1670, under the name of The Hudson Bay Company. It had no rival till one sprung into existence in 1805, called the North West Company. The latter pushed their trade into forest recluses never before entered by white men, carrying the Indian trade to remote Indian lodges with a success that

* To verify this, the reader is referred to any detailed history of New France.

astonished the old company, and in a few years forced them to take in the new company as partners. Thus the two rival interests were merged into one stupendous body, under direction of the most wealthy and influential lords of the British realm.

Thus matters stood till 1809, when John Jacob Astor, of New York, formed the bold design of bearding the British Lion in his den, by establishing The American Fur Company, under a charter from the State of New York. The first steps to be taken in the grand designs of this company, was to establish a permanent station on the Pacific Coast, at a locality which could command the Russian trade as well as that of the Indians along the coast. The first ship destined for this enterprise, sailed from New York in Sept. 1810, doubled Cape Horn, and arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River the next year. A fort was built and named Astoria, in honor of the illustrious man who conceived the enterprise. As might be supposed, the Hudson Bay company looked upon this venture as a piece of unparalleled audacity, especially inasmuch as the English at that time claimed Oregon as their own territory, and they set themselves about the accomplishment of the ruin of their fearless rival. The next year, 1812, a pretext was offered them, to fulfill this design by the American declaration of war against England. When the Hudson Bay Co. learned this they attacked Astoria, took the Americans prisoners, took possession of the station, and changed its name to Fort George. This was a severe blow to Mr. Astor, but he was by no means disheartened; no further steps could be taken to repair the damages while the war lasted, especially as the British fleet swept the lakes, and their emissaries were almost omnipresent among the northern tribes of Indians along these waters. But as soon as the war had closed, Mr. Astor, with characteristic energy, determined to begin anew, and established his headquarters at Mackinaw, as a base of operations. This was an undertaking not less bold than arduous. A small army of men must be employed to carry on the operations of the company, from every one of whom were expected services which would be looked upon as too hard for the effeminate men of our day. Even the confidential clerks who took charge of the goods, enjoyed no immunity from the hardships of camp life in the wilderness, where the wolves prowled around their camp, and the owls talked and laughed with them at midnight.* Happily for Mr. Astor, there was already an efficient force in the field, who had hitherto acted, each one for himself, without the advantages which come

*These birds will answer a human voice in the stillness of the night, and give hoots in such quick succession as to resemble laughing, which fact is ascertained from personal experience of the writer.

from large and concerted movements, and were ready to co-operate with him, inasmuch as he could make it for there interest to do so.

Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart were selected from these, to whom was given the control of the whole Northwest. From Michilimackinac, their base of operations, they sent men into every nook and corner of their territory, where the Indian and the beaver lived and grew.

At Montreal they established a house under charge of Mr. Mathews, to enlist the men for service, both as clerks and voyageurs. The latter manned the boats called batteaux, into which the goods were packed and rowed to the various stations throughout the wilderness, at which places they were unloaded, and the batteaux filled with furs to be sent on their return trip to Mackinaw. Their record forms a page in our history never to be reproduced. Their daily routine was hard labor in rowing the heavy laden batteaux or carrying them and their freights across portages. At night the roof that covered them was the sky, their bed the earth, and they were happy. They were all Canadian French, trained to servility, and toughened into almost incredible endurance by hard usage. The Hon. James H. Lockwood,* of Prairie du Chien, in a paper read before the State Wisconsin Historial Society says of them:

The traders and their clerks were then the aristocracy of the country: and to a Yankee at first sight, presented a singular state of society. To see gentlemen selecting wives of the nut-brown natives, and raising children of mixed blood, the traders and clerks living in as much luxury as the resources of the country would admit, and the *engagees* or boatmen living upon soup made of hulled corn with barely tallow enough to season it, devoid of salt, unless they purchased it themselves at a high price—all this to an American was a novel mode of living, and appeared to be hard fare; but to a person acquainted with the habits of life of the Canadian peasantry, it would not look so much out of the way, as they live mostly on pea soup, seasoned with a piece of pork boiled down to grease, seldom eating pork except in the form of grease that seasons their soup. With this soup, and a piece of coarse bread, their meals were made; hence the change from pea soup to corn is not so great, or the fare much worse than that which they had been accustomed to, as the corn is more substantial than peas, not being so flatulent. These men engaged in Canada generally for five years for Mackinaw and its dependencies, transferable like cattle to any one who wanted them, at generally about 500 livres a year, or in our currency, about $83 33; furnished with a yearly equipment or outfit of two cotton shirts, one three point or triangular blanket, a portage collar, and one pair of beef shoes; being obliged, in the Indian country to purchase their moccasins, tobacco, pipes, and other necessaries, at the price the trader saw fit to charge for them. Generally at the end of five years, these poor *voyageurs* were in debt from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars, and could not leave the country until they had paid their indebtedness; and the policy of the traders was, to

* Mr. Lockwood was born in Clinton, N. Y., in 1793. He emigrated to Green Bay in 1815, and has ever since been a resident of Wisconsin or Illinois, always living a temperate life, and always a steadfast champion of justice.

keep as many of them in the country as they could; and to this end they allowed and encouraged their *engagees* to get in debt during the five years, which of necessity required them to remain.

These new hands were by the old *voyageurs* called in derision, *mangeurs de lard—pork-eaters*—as on leaving Montreal, and on the route to Mackinaw, they were fed on pork, hard bread, and pea soup, while the old *voyageurs* in the Indian country ate corn soup, and such other food as could conveniently be procured.* These *mangeurs de lard* were brought at considerable expense and trouble from Montreal and other parts of Canada, frequently deserting after they had received some advance in money and their equipment. Hence it was the object of the traders to keep as many of the old *voyageurs* in the country as they could, and they generally permitted the *mangeurs de lard* to get largely in debt, as they could not leave the country and get back into Canada, except by the return boats or canoes which brought the goods, and they would not take them back if they were in debt anywhere in the country, which could be easily ascertained from the traders at Mackinaw.

The whole country at that time was divided into districts by the American Fur Company, each having a principal director who superintended the clerks and voyaguers detailed to his station from the parent office at Mackinaw, allotting to each his especial territory.

In the year 1817, the enterprising house of Conant & Mack, whose headquarters were at Detroit, had established a branch fur trading station at Lee's place, on the south branch of the Chicago river, under the superintendence of Mr. John Crafts. When the American Fur Company came to establish a branch at Chicago soon afterwards, a rivalry of interests would have followed immediately if both establishments had kept on; but rather than attempt this, the Detroit house sold out to the American company, who in turn employed their men at once, inasmuch as they were on the ground, and familiar with the required duties. To Mr. Crafts was given the superintendence of the post at Chicago, as a part of the bargain, and the former agent of the company, Mr. John Baptiste Beaubien was displaced. Mr. Craft's territory included the Rock river and Fox river countries, besides the immediate neighborhood of Chicago.

Among the most efficient agents of the company was Antoine Dechamps. This gentleman had the agency of the whole State of Illinois, except the portion taken out for the Chicago Agency. He was a man of education and talents, both versatile and effective. If any imposing ceremonies among the Catholics were to have place, the priests always invited him to take a part, and his counsels were equally sought after by the Indians who could readily discriminate between minds of high and low degree. He was one of the first founders of Opa (Peoria), at which place he had been a law-giver and kind of deputy priest among his people, the French, previous to its relentless destruction un-

* The experienced *voyageurs* are called *hivernans* or *winterers*, according to Snelling's work on the Northwest. L. C. D.

der Captain Craig, as spoken of in a previous chapter. As agent of the American Fur Co., Mr. DeChamp's head-quarters were located at various convenient places in southern Illinois.

Such was the situation of Chicago and the contiguous country in 1818, as reported by Gurdon S. Hubbard, who is at this time, 1880, a well known citizen and living witness among us. At that time he was a lad in his 16th year, residing at Montreal with his parents. Anxious to get into the fur trade he offered his services as clerk to Mr. Mathews, its agent there. His youth was an objection, and no encouragement was given him. But by dint of perseverance, during the winter of 1817–8, Mr. Mathews finally agreed to take him providing his father would sign the indenture papers binding him to serve the company five years, at $120.00 per year. He did not believe the father would sign an indenture by which his son was to be taken into the wilds, out of the reach of his protecting care. Nor did the father believe that Mr. Mathews would take so young a stripling into a rough service which required a more tenacious pith than sixteen years would be able to furnish. But between the mutual doubt of both the contracting parties, by making the bond contingent from one to the other, young Gurdon managed to lobby his bill through both houses and became duly engaged for a five years' term.

On the 13th of May, 1818, every thing was ready, and the clerks and voyagers, 130 in all, started in thirteen batteaux, bound for Mackinaw. Their way lay up the St. Lawrence river, and along the shore of Lake Erie, to Toronto, thence by a portage to Lake Simcoe, crossing which another portage was made to Notawasauga river, down which they rowed to lake Huron, thence along its northern shore to Mackinaw. Here they arrived on the 4th of July, and young Hubbard was immediately set at work in the warehouse till the middle of September. He was then detailed into the Illinois brigade, under Mr. DeChamps, and started for his destination along the eastern shore of lake Michigan. Doubling its southern extremity, his party, consisting of about 100 men and twelve batteaux, containing the goods, arrived at Chicago about the first of November, 1818.

Here Mr. John Kinzie lived in the house he first occupied before the massacre, following his occupation of silversmith, relying chiefly on the Indians for patronage. No wonder these simple children of nature looked upon him who could make and repair fire locks for their guns as a marvelous prodigy as well as an indispensable man among them. These mechanical accomplishments, associated as they were with ability to give wise counsel tempered with the spirit of justice, placed Mr. Kinzie so high in the estimation of his swarthy friends, that his social

position had transcended the angry passions of war, as already shown in preceding pages. His family consisted of John H., who has ever since lived at Chicago till his death in 1865,* and was highly esteemed as one of her able business men; Eleanor, who afterwards married Alexander Wolcott, Indian agent, and Maria, who married General Hunter, and is now living with her husband at Washington; Robert A. late United States paymaster at Chicago, who died Dec. 13th, 1873, and was buried in Graceland Cemetery, and Mrs. Helm, daughter of Mrs. Kinzie by her first husband. Her father, Captain McKillip, was an officer in the British service at the time of Wayne's campaign. Besides the Kinzie family was the family of Antoine Ouilimette, a Frenchman, with a Pottawatomie wife and four children: J. B. Beaubien was then away on some tour through the country, and these two families, besides the garrison, composed the entire population of Chicago, except the Indians, who at that time were far more numerous than the whites, throughout the entire country. And had they been told that the new comers would eventually crowd them out and occupy the country themselves, such a prediction would have been received with no small measure of astonishment and indignation.

After resting at Chicago three days, during which time young Hubbard was the guest of Mr. Kinzie, he started with his party for their destination, which was the territory under the superintendence of Mr. DeChamps. The batteaux were again loaded, and they paddled up the tranquil waters of the south branch of the Chicago river, sending tiny ripples among the tall grasses on each bank of the stream, which were then but a monotonous alluvial of mud, in no respect different from what they were when Marquette first passed them, one hundred and fifty-six years and two months before. After rowing about to the present site of Bridgeport, a portage had to be made to the Desplaines. This was a laborious task. The water was unusually low, and mud lake, the natural estuary between the two streams, was an uninviting succession of mud-bars and stagnant pools, where sun fish, frogs and tadpoles were huddled together in close quarters. Seeing the work before them, it was deemed advisable to encamp till the portage could be made without damage to the store of goods of which their freight consisted. This done, package after package was carried on the shoulders of the men nine miles to the banks of the Desplaines. The empty batteaux were polled or dragged through Mud lake and transported to the Desplaines

* He died June 21st, on board the cars, near Pittsburgh. He had conversed in his usual vein of agreeableness to the last moment; and was in the act of giving alms to a poor woman, when he expired without warning.

with the goods, but not without many a heavy strain. After the portage was made and the party were gliding down the Desplaines, congratulating themselves that they should meet no more obstructions on their way, they suddenly came upon sand-bars in the river that in its low stage of water extended from shore to shore, and the goods had to be again taken out of the batteaux and carried over them, as well as the batteaux themselves. By these tardy advances the Illinois river was finally reached, down which they paddled their way to finally disband into small parties, each of which had some particular station allotted to them respectively, as a trading post under the general direction of Mr. DeChamps, the agent.

The Pottawatomies were then the all-prevailing Indian power of central and northern Illinois. Their principal village was near the present site of Utica, on the Illinois river, and numbered about 2000 inhabitants. At the mouth of the Mazon river they had a village of 700 inhabitants, of which Wabansie was chief. They also had villages at Cashe Island on the Desplaines, at Mount Joliet, Kankakee, and various other places besides Chicago, all of which Mr. Hubbard reports with accurate details of their social conditions, and the style of their architecture, if an Indian camp deserves that name. They were made of flags, woven and lapped ingeniously together, like a web of cloth. This was wound around a frame work of poles set up in a tripod, or rounded at the top and bent over so as to form a cone-shaped roof. Through this an aperture was made at the top for the smoke to escape. The floor consisted of mats spread around the outermost circumference, while the centre was the bare ground, on which the fire was made. Around this all could sit in a circle facing each other. Their beds were skins thrown over the mats. The door was an opening in the wall of drapery enclosing the lodge, over which a blanket or skin was suspended. All slept soundly in this simple shelter without fear of burglars, and many a night has my informant, Mr. Hubbard, reposed after the toils of camp life in these lodges with his Indian friends. Almost all of Mr. Hubbard's experience was of a friendly character, but on his way towards St. Louis he made a short stop at Peoria, in company with Mr. DeChamps, and at this place encountered a beligerent Indian which adventure he has told in Ballance's History of Peoria, as follows:

CHICAGO DEC. 30TH, 1867.

C. BALLANCE, Esq.

Dear Sir: In reply to yours of the 26th, I have to say that I was in Peoria the last days of 1818, for the first time, on my way to St. Louis passing there, returning about the 20th November, and wintering about one mile above Hennepin. It was my first year as an Indian trader.

As we rounded the point of the lake, above Peoria, on our down trip, noticed that old Fort Clark was on fire, just blazing up. Reaching it, we found about 200 Indians congregated, enjoying a war-dance, painted hideously, with scalps

COSTUMES, ARMS, AND HABITATIONS OF EARLY INHABITANTS

on their spears and in their sashes, which they had taken from the heads of Americans in the war with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815. They were dancing, rehearsing their deeds of bravery, etc. These were the only people then there or in that vicinity. I never knew of a place called Creve-Cœur. . . .

I have a vivid recollection of my first arrival there. A warrior, noticing me (then a boy of 16), asked Mr. DesChamps, the chief of our expedition, who I was. He replied that I was his adopted son, just from Montreal; but this was not credited. The Indian said I was a young American, and seemed disposed to quarrel with me. Des Champs, wishing to mix with the Indians, left a man on the boat with me, telling him not to leave, but take care of me, not to go out. Through this man, I learned what the purport of the conversation was. The Indian remained at the bow of the boat, talking to me through this man, who interpreted, saying, among other things, that I was a young American, and taking from his sash scalp after scalp, saying they were my nation's, he saw I was frightened. I was never more so in my life, fairly trembling with fear. His last effort to insult me was taking a *long-haired* scalp, . . . (Here the Colonel describes the particular way in which the Indian made it very wet, and then proceeds) and then shaking it so that it sprinkled me in the face. In a moment all fear left me, and I seized Mr. DesChamp's double-barreled gun, took good aim, and fired. The man guarding me was standing about half way between us, and, just as I pulled the trigger, he struck up the gun, and thereby saved the life of the Indian, and perhaps mine also. It produced great confusion, Des Champs and all our men running to their boats. After a short consultation among the old traders, Des Champs ordered the boats to push out, and we descended the stream and went down three or four miles, and camped on the opposite side of the river. That was the first experience of hostile array with my red brethren. Yours, etc.,

G. S. Hubbard.

After each party of Mr. De Champ's men had distributed themselves at various stations, which were generally on the bank of some stream, the first business was to secure their goods in a kind of store built of logs, in the rear of the building in which they lived. This done, all but two or three sallied forth into the back country, in squads of two or more, to seek the locality where the Indians were transiently encamped for a hunt. Having found them, the bartering began. Blankets, knives, vermilion and trinkets were spread in tempting display, as a shopman would exhibit his goods in show windows. The furs obtained for these were carried back to the stations, and a new recruit of goods brought out for exchange. In this way the winter was spent, and when spring opened, the whole corps of traders returned to Mackinaw, with their batteaux loaded with the results of their winter's trade.

The Indians gave up the fur hunting, and betook themselves to their lodges in time to dig up the ground with sharp sticks and plant a crop of the ever essential corn for subsistence. This routine was repeated annually by the traders and Indians, till the beaver and other fur-bearing animals vanished before the plow and spade of civilization.

Besides the garrison and the American Fur Company at Chicago, was the Indian agency, an indispensible institution wherewith to settle disputes which might arise between them and the whites,

and to keep them in good humor by the judicious distribution of occasional presents. This was established in 1817, shortly after the completion of the fort, and Charles Jowett,* of Kentucky, appointed to its charge with a salary of one thousand dollars per year. The factory system established at various places on the frontier had for its principal object the fulfillment of such clauses in Indian treaties as bound the United States to supply them with goods for sale, but the energy and thrift of private enterprise always outrivals any project undertaken by the unwieldly machinery of government. Hence the establishment of the American Fur Company soon made the U. S. factory at Chicago a useless institution; for although the factor, Jacob Varnum, was instructed to sell goods to the Indians for ten per cent. less than the price of the same to white men, yet the Fur Company, by their superior facilities for sending goods into the depths of the forest, were able to monopolize the trade by underselling the factor, and as a consequence, his duties as agent for the Government were assigned to the authorized Indian agent, and the factors' offices were always discontinued soon after private enterprise had fulfilled the necessary conditions of supplying the Indians with goods.

The following letter from Mr. Varnum to the superintendent of Indian affairs at Washington, was evidently written with a commendable desire to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness to the Government at a time when the American Fur Co. were monopolizing the trade with the Indians;

UNITED STATES FACTORY, CHICAGO, June 20th, 1819.

The exclusion of foreigners (the Hudson Bay Co.) from the Indian trade will, it is believed, justify the extension of the operation of this establishment. This, together with the consideration of the large supply of blankets and cloths now on hand, induces me to recommend a distribution of the goods of this factory among the adjacent villages for trade, to such an extent as will insure the sale of nearly all by the expiration of the trading season. Such a measure, I am well convinced will be highly gratifying to the Indians, as a great number by this means will be enabled to supply themselves with goods on more reasonable terms than could otherwise be done; nor do I apprehend any difficulty in effecting it to the advantage of the Government, as gentlemen of unquestionable integrity have already applied for such outfits. JACOB R. VARNUM.

The above proposition was declined in a respectful letter from the Supt. at Washington. See Am. State Papers, Vol. II, p. 361.

Mr. Hubbard, after his return to Mackinaw in the spring of 1819, was the next winter detailed to Michigan, and did not pass through Chicago again till the fall of 1820, at which time he was on his way back to his old trading ground in Illinois, with the same companions.

No change had taken place in Chicago; the same garrison was there and Mr. Kinzie's and Ouilimette's families still lived in contentment amidst their wild associations, hardly dreaming of

* His name is spelled Jowett in the State Papers but in the histories of the day incorrectly spelled Jewett.

what was soon to become a reality around them in the way of settlements.

In the year 1816, Alexander Wolcott, of Connecticut, succeeded Mr. Jewett as Indian agent. Miss Eleanor Kinzie was then a blooming miss of twelve. She certainly had no rival charmers to alienate the affections of her suitor, Mr. Wolcott; or if she had, it is fair to assume that she would have eclipsed them, for the happy couple were married, Mr. John Hamlin, a justice of the peace from Fulton county, Illinois, officiating on the occasion, the two lovers, with commendable serenity, waiting many days for him to be sent for for that purpose. This may be set down as the first wedding ever celebrated in Chicago according to the approved style of modern days. Its date was 1820.

The next year, 1821, an event took place which was significant of the progress of settlements in the country, as well as of the waning fortunes of the Indians. The country on the east bank of Lake Michigan was in undisputed possession of the Pottawatomies, the Ottawas and Chippewas, each holding their respective portions; but the settlements of Michigan were rapidly trenching on their grounds, and the Indians were not unwilling to sell out to the United States, under an assurance that west of the lake an asylum was open to them. A treaty was therefore proposed for the purpose of purchasing their lands, and Chicago selected as the place for it, and the time appointed for its session was late in August, 1821. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan, and Solomon Sibley, acted in behalf of the United States; and a large band of Indian chiefs (among whom Metea, the Pottawatomie, was conspicuous) united their wisdom to make the best terms they could with the United States in parting with their country.

At the time of this treaty, Henry R. Schoolcraft was on his way from St. Louis to his headquarters, as Indian Agent, near the outlet of Lake Superior, and his account of this great Indian council at Chicago, which place he passed while it was in session, is detailed in his usual lucid style in his book entitled "Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley," published in 1825.

But first, let us listen to his description of the great fossilized tree, which was found in this early day in the Desplaines river, a little above its junction with the Kankakee. Of it he says: "The part which is exposed, according to our measurement, is fifty-one feet and a few inches in length, and its diameter at the largest end three feet. But there is apparently a considerable portion of its original length concealed in the rock."* After ex-

*Thomas Tousey, Esq., of Virginia, visited that locality the next year, and verifies Schoolcraft's description of this remarkable petrifaction.

amining this tree, Mr. Schoolcraft passed Mount Joliet, which he accurately describes, and with his party passed on up the west side of the Desplaines to the fording place, not far from the present site of Riverside. After crossing he says: "We found the opposite shore thronged with Indians, whose loud and obtrusive salutations caused us to make a few minutes' halt. From this point we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties, all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses and appareled in their best manner, and decorated with medals, silver bands and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians, with the jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding, created a scene as novel as it was interesting. * * * * After crossing the south fork of the Chicago, and emerging from the forest that skirted it, nearly the whole number appeared on the extensive and level plain that stretches on the shore of the lake, while the refreshing and noble spectacle of the lake itself, with 'vast and sullen swell,' appeared beyond."

To accommodate the numerous delegation who gathered at Chicago, at this council, great preparations had to be made at the expense of the government. Rations must be issued, not only to the chiefs who took part in the deliberations, but to all who came as spectators to grunt out gutteral approbation to the various speeches to be made. These numbered over 3000; they had wearily toiled around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and reached Chicago with a keen relish for the "mess of pottage for which their birthright was to be sold, and he who would deny this poor pittance to them ought to be branded with anathema. The northern bank of the river immediately opposite the fort was the spot selected for the council, within the range of its guns—perhaps as a measure of caution. In the center of the grounds an open bower was erected, with rustic seats for the chiefs. Two or three days were taken up in formalities essential to the etiquette of Indian customs in all important negotiations, and the council was opened by a speech, from Governor Cass, setting forth the objects of the convention, in which the politic orator emphasized his words describing the benefits resulting to the Indians through the money and goods they were to get for their lands, and after reminding them that their country was now nearly destitute of game, formally proposed to buy it, generously offering to let them still retain portions of it till wanted for settlements, although they were receiving annuities for the same.

A short pause ensued after the respectful attention which the Indians had given to this speech, and after two days considera-

tion, Metea replied to it in his happiest vein of oratory. The following are extracts from it.

"My Father, our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our corn fields upon, to live upon, and to make our beds upon when we die; and he would never forgive us should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke to us of the lands of the St. Marys, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us again. You are never satisfied! We have sold you a great tract of land already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to leave some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have you may retain, but we shall sell no more. You think perhaps I speak in passion, but my heart is good towards you. We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken, is the voice of my nation. But do not think we have a bad opinion of you. We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend."

Governor Cass replied to this speech, indulging in soft words not unjustly applied, as due in the main to the honor and good faith of the Indians, to which various Indian Chiefs replied in the usual style of Indian oratory. John Kinzie also made a speech, in which he refuted a charge of non-fulfillment of treaty obligations on the part of the United States. These deliberations lasted till the 23d, pending which no one doubted, either white or Indians, that the latter would come to the terms required of them and sell their lands, but no signs of yielding the issue were yet manifest in the impenetrable countenances of the chiefs, as the council was closed on this day by one of the chiefs who said:

"My Father, it is late; I shall do no more to-day; but to-morrow you shall hear our final council. You are hungry by this time. You white men eat at certain fixed hours; we Indians do what we have to do and eat when it is convenient.

The deliberations lasted till the 29th, when the treaty was signed by both parties.

The Indians made a cession of their lands in Michigan, amounting to over five million acres, for which the Pottowatomies were to receive an annuity of five thousand dollars per annum for twenty years, in specie, and the sum of one thousand dollars expended annually among them during the time to support a blacksmith and a teacher, and the right to immediately construct roads through the territory ceded, connecting Detroit, Fort Wayne and Chicago, was guaranteed.

The Ottawas were to receive a perpetual annuity of one thousand dollars, and for ten years the sum of fifteen hundred dollars expended annually to furnish them a blacksmith and a teacher.

The next year, 1822, passed off with few incidents to diversify the seeming inanity of life on the frontier. The officers of the

garrison, together with the few citizens of the place, amused themselves with hunting, fishing, and such sports as their infinite leisure could invent in their immunity from the burdens of society, as it now is. Their supplies for subsistence were obtained from Detroit by a sailing vessel in her annual trip, and also from Southern Illinois, up the Illinois and Desplaines rivers, to this then obscure post, environed by a hundred miles of wilderness, without an inhabitant except the Indians. The following report from Col. Ebenezer Childs, of LaCrosse, to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, will give a faithful picture of the country at this date:

In 1821 I made a trip to St. Louis in a bark canoe up Fox River, across the Portage, and down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, and thence down the Missis-ippi. I was sixteen days on my journey, and saw but seven white men in the whole distance, outside the forts. I met one keel-boat on the Mississippi bound up for Fort Armstrong at Rock Island. There was a small garrison opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River. There were but few Americans and few Spaniards at St. Louis; the inhabitants were mostly French. There was but one brick building in the place, and no buildings were located on Front street, or where the levee now is. I encamped on the sand beach, near where the old market is located. I remained two weeks, did my business, when I was advised to return by way of the Illinois River.

I started by that route, and the next day was taken down with the ague and fever, and the day following one of my men was also taken with the same complaint, which left me with one Indian and one Frenchman to paddle my canoe. I did not provide a sufficiently large stock of provisions when I left St. Louis, presuming that I could get plenty on the Illinois. But all I was able to obtain, was one ham full of maggots, and one peck of Indian meal. I saw but one house from the mouth of the Illinois to Fort Clark, where Peoria now is, at which latter place one French trader resided. When we reached there, I was completely exhausted, and remained a few days to recruit a little, when we left to prosecute our journey. We continued up the Illinois to the junction of the Kankakee and Eau Plaine, and thence up the Eau Plaine to where I suppos d we had to make a portage to Chicago River; but I could not see any signs of the portage. There had been heavy rains for several days, which had so raised the streams that they overflowed their banks. I concluded that I had gone far enough for the portage, so I left the Eau Plaine and took a northeast direction. After traveling a few miles, I found the current of the Chicago River. The whole country was inundated; I found not less than two feet of water all the way across the portage.

That night I arrived at Chicago, pitched my tent on the bank of the lake, and went to the fort for provisions. I was not, however, able to obtain any; the commissary informing me that the public stores were so reduced that the garrison were subsisting on half rations, and he knew not when they would get any more. I went to Col. BEAUBEIN, who furnished me with a small supply. I found two traders there from Mackinaw; and as my men were all sick, I exchanged my tent and canoe for a horse, and took passage on board the Mackinaw boat as far as Manitowoc. One of our party had to go by land and ride the horse. There were at this time but two families residing outside of the fort at Chicago, those of Mr. KINZIE and Col. BEAUBEIN.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Name Chicago First Appears on School Atlases — The Mysteries Beyond — Adventures of James Galloway and What Grew out of Them — Arrival of The Clybourns at Chicago — Chicago Surveyed and Laid Out in Village Lots — The Winnebago Scare — The Illinois and Michigan Canal Located — Civil History of Early Chicago — County Organization — Adjacent Settlements — David McKee's Narration.

There are yet many persons living throughout the Northwest, but little past middle age, who were born in the old fashioned New England cottage. It stood upon a level sward of green, but scanty in extent, among the diversified hills and valleys around. Near its side door was the well, with its "old oaken bucket" suspended from the elevated extremity of the well-sweep by means of a slender pole cut from the adjacent woods. The kitchen was the largest and most important room in the house. One door led from it directly into a parlor half its size, but this door was seldom opened except when distinguished guests came to occupy the room sacred to their entertainment. Two other doors opened into bedrooms below, and a stairway led directly to apartments above, used for sleeping rooms or clutter-lofts. The fire-place was large enough to accommodate a large baking oven, reached through an aperture in the jamb on the right hand side, where the "rye-Indian" bread and pork and beans were baked. All provident husbands kept on hand a stock of fine-split dry wood to heat the oven—hence the old familiar couplet:

"You must be kind, you must be good,
And keep your wife in oven wood."

The fuel used for heating the room in the winter was a green rock-maple back-log, in front of which small dry wood, laid upon two iron "fire-dogs," burned brightly, and in the long winter evenings pine knots were used, that blazed with such brilliancy as

to send a glaring light into the remotest part of the kitchen. By their light a bashful suitor to one of the daughters would lose a few games of checkers with her brother, who had nothing to distract his attention. While this was going on, the fair one sits nearer the fire, busy with her slate-pencil and arithmetic. When nine o'clock comes, all retire but the two lovers; but before doing this, the father assures the young man by inviting him nearer the fire. The invitation is accepted, not without some reserve on the part of the young man as he draws up to the fire, and consequently nearer the object of his affections. All these old-fashioned ways are changed now, but yet some of the cottages are still standing that have witnessed them; and let us look into one of their garrets and see if we can find something to freshen our memories of early days. The garret is lighted by a six-light window in each gable end, fitted with seven-by-nine glass, and by their light we will look for what we wish to find. Here are the treadles of the old loom, that "mother's" feet have pressed with measured round as she twilled the web she was weaving; the spinning-wheel, and the wooden "finger" with which she turned it into a sonorous hum. Here is the old hand-reel, two feet long, with a cross-bar on each end like a **T**. Here is the flax-wheel and its distaff, with some of the tow still clinging to it. Next comes the old "foot stove." It is a sheet-iron box set in a wooden frame, in which a small sheet-iron dish of live coals is placed, on which "mother's" feet rest while she sits in church in the winter, before the introduction of stoves. Ah! here comes something that would make the tears channel down the crow-tracks of age, if these original tenants of this piece of furniture could see it. It is the old wooden cradle, from the sides of which the hands of "mother" have worn off the paint in her efforts to rock to sleep her rollicking babies. It is full of a medley of cast-off relics—hand-cards, old newspapers, old copy-books filled up with straight marks, pot-hooks and curves. At the bottom are the old school-books; among which are Marshall's Spelling-book, the English Reader, the Columbian Orator, Murray's Grammar, and lastly, Woodbridge's Geography. This is what we have been looking for all this time, for on it the name "Chicago" first made its appearance in our school-book literature.

It was suggestive of reckless adventure far beyond the restraints of civilization; a place around which clustered Indian tents, ornamented with scalps hung out to dry as we boys stretched our coon skins on boards, and he who would dare to go there must be a prodigy of pluck. Beyond this place on our school maps interposed a vast plain between lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, on which were names of Indian tribes whose pronunciation set our stammering tongues at defiance.

St. Anthony's Falls, Prairie du Chien, Ft. Armstrong, on Rock Island, and Ft. Madison, at the Des Moines Rapids, were the only names on the Upper Mississippi above St. Louis, except the inevitable nomenclature of Indian names, which were always such a puzzle to us.

The Mississippi river was as far west as our maps of the United States went; but on the map of North America the immense void between this river and the Pacific coast was filled up with large spaces lettered *unexplored;* and on its extreme western verge was a stiff range of mountains, studding the Pacific coast like the bold headlands of a river. Here the majestic forces of nature crowned the mountain tops with everlasting snow, and warmed the valleys with perennial spring. Here were tenantless deserts and basins below tide water, having no connection with the sea—so our geographies said. Whatever else was there was left to conjecture, and our timid imaginations would paint the sublimest grandeurs of savage life, basking in the assurance of a perpetual lease among their mysterious and impregnable fastnesses.

Our fathers, from whose fanciful imagery the wire edge had been taken off by the adaptation of ways and means to ends, looked more practically upon the matter, and saw a glorious future spectacle opening before the world in the development of this exhaustless region of supply, though now beyond the limits of civilization. They beheld the vast chain of lakes on the map extending into the interior of a continent almost to the dividing ridge of the Mississippi Valley, with an eye to the useful. Here unmeasured plains must be upturned by the plow, farm houses erected, churches, school houses and highways must be built, cities laid out, and all the ornamentation which belongs to them must be introduced. Where was to be the central metropolis of these productions of man's handiwork in the great plateau of North America—the high and salubrious plain from whence the Mississippi found its sources, where the great inland seas secreted their waters, like reservoirs for the use of a nation? The solution of this was yet a sealed book whose secrets were to be revealed in their own fortuitous way. Little by little the question has been answered as the progress of private and public enterprise has unveiled the destiny of Chicago.

The first settlers along the alluvial intervals of the rivers in Ohio and Indiana, especially in the wooded districts, had a sorry experience for the first few years; not for want of supplies wherewith to subsist, for these were easily obtained from the forest, but the fever and ague was ever present during the malarial months of spring and fall, and few escaped it sooner or later. It was not generally known then that the Illinois prairies were

almost exempt from this scourge, and even if it had been, its great distance into the wilds was an objection to emigrants who journeyed west in their own wagons.

At the close of the war of 1812 James Galloway, a native of Pennsylvania, emigrated to Erie Co., Ohio, in this way, where he lived till 1824. He then resolved to try his fortune on the Illinois prairies at or near Chicago, where the ague was less prevalent than at his home in Ohio. With this end in view he obtained a wagon with much exertion, and secured the services of a Mr. Slater, an experienced trapper, to accompany him to his new destination. On the 1st of September, his outfit, consisting of a gun, an Indian tomahawk, ammunition, steel traps, blankets and a sack of corn meal, was ready, and the two started with a horse and wagon, westward into the wilds. Besides shooting the necessary game on which to live as they traveled day after day, they set their traps near their encampment each night, and thus obtained a stock of furs which increased daily, till their arrival at Ft. Wayne. Here they disposed of them and resumed their journey through the forests, following military roads or Indian trails, to St. Joseph, which was the next point to be reached. Thence they followed the old Indian trail which had for many years been a well known route from Detroit westward around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, thence branching off in various directions to important points in Indian estimation, such as Chicago, Rock Island, and the Illinois river at Starved Rock, Mr. Galloway and his companion took the Chicago trail. It led principally along the sands of the lake and brought them directly to the spot by a better road than the average path through the wilderness. Here Mr. Galloway made the acquaintance of Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson, two notable Indian chiefs, often mentioned in preceding pages, and a Scotchman named Wallace, all of whom showed him many favors, and subsequently were of essential service to him. Besides these, Mr. Galloway mentions Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. Woolcott and Ouilimette, as permanent residents, and several others who were only transient visitors at the place. Such was Chicago, late in the autumn of 1824.

After sufficient rest, Mr. Galloway with his companion started into the interior, and arriving at the present locality of Marsailles they found a squatter named Weed. Of him Mr. Galloway bought his title, which was nothing more than a moral claim to twenty acres of land of which he had taken possession and improved with a log cabin. Here he wintered and made preparations for a home. The following spring he returned to his family in Ohio by way of the lakes, and suddenly surprised them by his appearance in their midst without warning, as no means were

then at hand to communicate from one distant point to another, and they had received no tidings from him since he had left home the previous fall. His adventures were soon told, and his plans laid to emigrate to Illinois. The next year every thing was made ready, and he with his family embarked from Sandusky, in October. Their vessel landed at Detroit, where, after making a week's stop, it sailed for Mackinaw. Here the captain fell among some boon companions, and wasted a week's fine weather in dissipation, although the season of autumnal storms was near at hand. About the middle of October the final start was made for Chicago during a severe storm. The vessel rode the waves successfully till rounding the island of St. Helena she struck a rock and sunk on the beach within three or four rods of the shore. Fortunately all the passengers reached the land, but through a drenching rain, and here they remained two days without shelter, amidst the tamarac swamps of the wild place, living on such provisions as could be saved from the stranded vessel in the confusion of the hour. Mr. Galloway had on board 150 bbls. of flour, 90 bbls. of salt and 15 bbls. of pork. The salt was entirely lost, but the flour and pork were unloaded in order to repair the vessel. The repairs were made by two ship carpenters who fortunately happened to be on board as passengers. This done, the merchandise was re-loaded, except what was lost, and the vessel again put to sea, bound for the port from whence she had last started, Mackinaw, which they reached after two day's sail by dint of hard pumping to keep the disabled vessel afloat. Here the American Fur Company had a vessel commanded by Capt. Ransom, about to sail for Chicago, on her annual trip. Mr. Galloway's griefs did not end here, for he was obliged to submit to extortionate terms in order to secure a passage for his freight and family. Besides paying $60.00, it was stipulated that on arriving at Chicago the most valuable portion of the freight should be placed in the hands of the American Fur Company, where it should remain till the 10th of the following May.* On arriving at Chicago, however, Mr. Galloway, through the assistance of the passengers managed to get the flour and pork, one spinning-wheel, and one loom into his possession. The Fur Company retaining 1 bbl. cherry bounce, 1 bbl. peach brandy, 1 bbl. vinegar, perhaps on the ground that they could appreciate the use of these articles better than a private family.

There were then no temperance societies to bring consolation to Mr. Galloway for the loss of this questionable merchandise, all of which he had made himself, pure and tasteful. This, however, was no time to despond; provision for the winter must be

*The reasons for this unusual demand were not stated by my informant.

made immediately, and under very adverse circumstances. His quarrel with the American Fur Company had made it impossible for him to get quarters in Chicago where their influence was potent, and but for the kindness of Alexander Robinson, he might have been obliged to camp out all winter. He owned a vacant house at Hard Scrabble (Lee's place), and offered it to him rent free, which proposal Mr. Galloway accepted, and at once occupied the place with his family for the winter.

Joseph LaFromboise, Mr. Wallace, a Mr. Weicks, and an Indian trader (well known to some of the old settlers of Chicago, still living) named Barney Lawton, were at the time living at Lee's place, and were near neighbors to Mr. Galloway. Now the tide began to turn with him; Mary, his oldest daughter, was a comely miss of fourteen years, and began to receive invitations to dances and other social gatherings at Chicago, and though the prudential mother declined these overtures, she often entertained Chicago society at her house, and frequently on these occasions, were brought back to her bottles of the delectable, drawn from the Malmsey butt, which the Fur Company had retained unjustly, as Mr. Galloway claimed, and in this way these free wines were shared partially by the original owners, not as a measure of justice, but with that air of profusion which often accompanies dissipation in its early fascination, ere its excesses have crossed the Rubicon between decorum and degradation. When this line of demarkation was left to the censorship of public opinion only, its restraints were stronger and more salutary than when the temperance issue is complicated with politics to lacquer over private schemes with a shallow disguise of public good, as is sometimes the case now, particularly in large cities. But Chicago at this time was only a trading post, and was subject to little or no restraint except what grew out of a natural discrimination between justice and injustice, and though it was made-up with savage life and the active spirits of civilized life, that brimmed over its confines, yet no acts of violence were committed, and in the main the ends of justice were answered and the people averaged as temperate then as now.

The fur trade was the great interest of the place, and it would have been premature at that time to have attempted the introduction of any other, farther than to supply the limited wants of the place. Ouilimette kept a flock of sheep by dint of much care to protect them from the ravages of the wolves. The flesh of these animals found a ready market for home consumption, but the wool was a drug, and Mr. Galloway purchased what he wanted of it for twenty-five cents per pound. This the industrious Mary carded, spun, and knit into stockings, which she sold readily at from seventy-five cents to one dollar a pair, according to the

length. This young Miss is now, 1880, Mrs. Archibald Clybourn, residing on Elston Ave., Chicago; and to her is the writer indebted for the preceding facts relating to her father. In the spring following their residence at Lee's place, 1827, her father, Mr. Galloway, moved with his family to the home he had purchased the year before. His transportation to the place was effected by means of a large boat fashioned on the dug-out plan, which he made himself from a black walnut tree, on the banks of the Chicago river. Taking advantage of the usual spring freshets, he navigated this vessel, freighted with his family and all his valuables, through Mud lake and down the Desplaines and Illinois rivers, to his home. The place was then called the Grand Rapids of the Illinois. Here Mr. and Mrs. Galloway spent the remainder of their days, highly esteemed by all who knew them. Mrs. Galloway died in 1830, and Mr. Galloway survived till 1864, when he died, and many of the present inhabitants of Chicago will doubtless remember reading the becoming obituary notices which the Chicago papers gave of him at the time.

In a former chapter, the adventures of Margaret and Elizabeth McKenzie were related, and it will be remembered that Elizabeth, after having been raised from her childhood among the Shawanese, married a Mr. Clark, a trader near Detroit, by whom she had two children, John K. and Elizabeth Clark; and her father getting news from her and his older child Margaret, sought and found them, and both of the captives left their husbands, and with their children returned with their father to Virginia, their old home. Soon after their return, Elizabeth married a Mr. Jonas Clybourn, and Mr. Archibald Clybourn, so well known as one of the esteemed early citizens of Chicago, was the oldest son of this union. Brim full of the spirit of adventure, nurtured into activity by the associations of frontier life, he made his appearance in the little town of Chicago on horseback, late in the summer of 1823. Alighting at the house of John Kinzie, he presented his diploma. This consisted of his elastic step, his honest countenance and his wiry form, hardened into ready service by his training. He had made the long journey on horseback armed with a rifle, with which to procure food on the way, and equipped with a blanket for a bed at night. His story was soon told to Mr. Kinzie; he was the son of Elizabeth, who was sister of Margaret. This reached a sensitive spot in Mr. Kinzie's heart, and he employed him at once as a clerk in his store, which he then kept on the north bank of the river.

After remaining in his service a year, young Archibald went back to Virginia for the purpose of bringing his father and mother to Chicago, as he had determined to make the place his permanent home, and wished to settle his parents close by him,

where he could cherish and protect them in their declining years. In accordance with this filial resolution, they with himself, came to Chicago the next year, arriving on the 23d of August, 1824. They made the journey in a lumber wagon, John K. Clark, the oldest son of Elizabeth (Mrs. Clybourn), by her first husband, accompanying them, to assist in attending to the wants of the parents on the way.* On arriving at Chicago, Mrs. Clybourn readily recognized the place as a familiar spot, where the Indian father who adopted her had taken her with his family in his erratic wanderings during her captivity. Several times had he been here to trade with Shawne-au-kee (John Kinzie), and pay his respects to his brethren, the Pottawatomies, and Mrs. Clybourn felt all the more at home at the place for this reminiscence.

On Mr. Clybourn's arrival at the place he took possession of a parcel of land, now known as Sheffield Addition to Chicago, where he built a log house and made preparations for farming. Nearly the entire north half of the State of Illinois was then in its wild state, while the southern half was well settled, and Chicago was dependent on it for various supplies, of which beef was the one most wanted. To supply this demand, young Archibald, after having comfortably settled his parents, went into the business of butchering, and was obliged to go as far south as Sangamon county to buy his cattle. This long trip brought him past the home of Mr. Galloway, on the Illinois river, which was a kind of half-way station between Chicago and the settled portions of Illinois. Here amidst the dreary wastes of the broad prairie, relieved only by narrow fringes of woodland along the streams, Mr. Galloway's solitary home welcomed the occasional travelers who passed that way. This home was enlivened by the youthful Mary, and when young Archibald, quartered on the hospitalities of the venerable father, and talked over their forest adventures together, other thoughts came to his mind, and other emotions to his heart, that eclipsed even the social affinities of backwoodsmen.

In the summer of 1829, a stylish carriage drawn by two mettlesome steeds, arrived at Chicago from over the southern prairies. In it were Mary and Archibald. She was Mrs. Clybourn now. In 1835 they built a fine brick house on their farm, which was then a model to be admired by every one who saw it, and at this time is still a respectable as well as commodious house, bearing the appearance of an ancient landmark of the prairies. Such it was for many years after it was first built, the whole country to the westward, being an open prairie of such exceeding fertility,

*John K. Clark had been to Chicago four or five years previously, and it was owing to his commendations of the place that young Archibald and others came, as told in a preceding chapter.

that the grass in many places was tall enough to hide a horse and his rider. At the time of Mr. Clybourn's marriage, 1829, Chicago consisted of the several white families and persons already mentioned, and a few other emigrants, whose names are not remembered by those to whom the writer is indebted for the details of that early day. Besides these and the garrison, were perhaps a dozen families of half-breeds living in huts, who were more like Indians than white people, and many of them cast their lot with the former when they were moved westward, in 1835 and '6; some of them were above par in those refined virtues which bring love and peace to the domestic circle; of these, several young girls have been mentioned to the writer who married respectable white men, and whose descendants are now among our esteemed citizens.

In 1821 Chicago and its environs were surveyed in government sections.* In 1829 Chicago was surveyed and platted into village lots, and a map of it engraved and published the next year. This was done, not by private enterprise, the usual method of laying out towns, but by state authority, for the purpose of selling lots and applying the proceeds to the construction of the canal, which was to connect the lakes with the Mississippi river. This scheme had long been thought of, and the expectation of its ultimate fulfillment had drawn thither a little nucleus to a future metropolis. On the 14th of February, 1823, the legislature of Illinois, then holding its sessions at Vandalia, passed an act constituting and appointing a board of canal commissioners to make preliminary surveys. The next year, 1824, five different routes were partially surveyed, and estimates made of the cost of constructing the canal. Colonel R. Paul, an engineer of St. Louis, was one of the board. Their highest estimate was only $716,110.60. Nothing more was done till January 18th, 1825, when the Illinois legislature passed an act incorporating the Illinois and Michigan canal, with a capital of one million dollars. The stock was not taken, and all hope of building the canal by the state vanished. Those interested in the completion of this work, without which Chicago would be a forlorn hope, next looked to Congress for aid: and two years later, in 1827 on the 2nd of March, through the influence of Hon. Daniel P. Cook, it came. Every alternate section of public land in a belt twelve miles wide, through the center of which the canal was to pass, was donated to the State of Illinois by the general government, to aid in its construction.

Unfortunately the State was then under too heavy a load of debt to avail itself of this generous endowment to build the canal, and its commencement was destined to be again postponed.

Even at this date, 1827, Chicago was by no means exempt from Indian alarms, of which the "Winnebago Scare" was no incon-

*See copy Gov't Survey at Handy & Co.'s, Chicago.

siderable one, and is worthy of notice, more as a record of the times than as an item of history as to the event itself. It has been well told by Gurdon S. Hubbard and Mr. H. Cunningham, a citizen of Edgar Co., beginning with the relation of Mr. Hubbard, as follows:

"At the breaking out of the Winnebago war, early in July, 1827, Fort Dearborn was without military occupation.*

Doctor Alexander Wolcott, Indian Agent, had charge of the Fort, living in the brick building, just within the north stockade previously occupied by the commanding officers.

The old officers' quarters built of logs, on the west, and within the pickets, were occupied by Russell E. Heacock, and one other American family, while a number *voyageurs*, with their families were living in the soldiers' quarters, on the east side of the enclosure. The store-house and guard-house were on either side of the southern gate; the sutler's store was east of the north gate, and north of the soldiers' barracks; the block-house was located at the southwest and the bastion at the northwest corners of the Fort, and the magazine, of brick, was situated about half-way between the west end of the guard and block-houses.

The annual payment of the Pottawatomie Indians occurred in September of the year 1828. A large body of them had assembled, according to custom, to receive their annuity. These left after the payment for their respective villages, except a portion of Big Foot's band.

The night following the payment, there was a dance in the soldiers' barracks, during the progress of which a violent storm of wind and rain arose; and about midnight these quarters were struck by lightning and totally consumed, together with the store-house and a portion of the guard-house.

The sleeping inmates of Mr. Kinzie's house, on the opposite bank of the river, were aroused by the cry of "*fire*," from Mrs.

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* Says Wm. Hickling, as to the cause of this war:

Should any one be curious enough to inquire into the causes which led to, and brought about, this so-called "Winnebago War," let him consult "Reynolds' Life and Times," and also an interesting article on the subject furnished the Jacksonville (Ill.) *Journal*, August 17, 1871, by the Hon. Wm. Thomas, of that city, and which article was also reproduced in one of our city papers a few months since, under the head of "Fifty Years Ago."

This speck of war with a portion of our aboriginal inhabitants, on the then Western frontier, was caused, like too many others of a similar character, which for more than two centuries past, have from time to time, been the cause which has deluged our frontier settlements in blood, by the wanton brutality, outrage, and total disregard of decency and right, perpetrated by a few semi-civilized, drunken white men, upon a portion of the band of Winnebagoes, then encamped near Prairie du Chien, whose motto at that time seemed to be, as is too often the case now-a-days, *viz:* "That the poor Indians have no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

Helm, one of their number, who from her window had seen the flames. On hearing the alarm, I, with Robert Kinzie, late Paymaster of United States' Army, hastily arose, and only partially dressed, ran to the river. To our dismay, we found the canoe, which was used for crossing the river, filled with water; it had been partially drawn up on the beach and became filled by the dashing of the waves. Not being able to turn it over, and having nothing with which to bail it out, we lost no time, but swam the stream. Entering by the north gate we saw at a glance the situation. The barracks and store-house being wrapped in flames, we directed our energies to the saving of the guard-house, the east end of which was on fire. Mr. Kinzie, rolling himself in a wet blanket, got upon the roof. The men and women, about 40 in number, formed a line to the river, and with buckets, tubs and every available utensil, passed the water to him; this was kept up till daylight before the flames were subdued. Mr. Kinzie maintaining his dangerous position with great fortitude, though his hands, face, and portions of his body were severely burned. His father, mother, and sister, Mrs. Helm, had meanwhile freed the canoe from water, and crossing in it, fell into line with those carrying water.

Some of the Big Foot band of Indians were present at the fire, but merely as spectators, and could not be prevailed upon to assist; they all left the next day for their homes. The strangeness of their behavior was the subject of discussion among us.

Six or eight days after this event, while at breakfast in Mr. Kinzie's house, we heard singing, faintly at first, was gradually growing louder as the singers approached. Mr. Kinzie recognized the leading voice as that of Bob Forsyth, and left the table for the piazza of the house, where we all followed. About where Wells street now crosses the river, in plain sight from where we stood, was a light birch bark canoe, manned with 13 men, rapidly approaching, the men keeping time with their paddles to one of the Canadian boat songs; it proved to be Gov. Cass and his Secretary, Robert Forsyth, and they landed and soon joined us. From them we first learned of the breaking out of the Winnebago war, and the massacre on the Upper Mississippi. Gov. Cass was at Green Bay by appointment, to hold a treaty with the Winnebagoes and Menomonee tribes, who, however, did not appear to meet him in council. News of hostilities reaching the Governor there, he immediately procured a light birch bark canoe, purposely made for speed, manned it with 12 men at the paddles and a steersman, and started up the river, making a portage into the Wisconsin, then down it and the Mississippi to Jefferson Barracks below St. Louis.

Here he persuaded the commanding officer to charter a steamer

and embarking troops on it, ascended the Mississippi in search of the hostile Indians, and to give aid to the troops at Fort Snelling. On reaching the mouth of the Illinois River, the Governor (with his men and canoe, having been brought so far on the steamer), here left it, and ascending that stream and the Des Plaines, passed through Mud Lake into the south branch of the Chicago River, reached Chicago. This trip from Green Bay round, was performed in about 13 days, the Govenor's party sleeping only 5 to 7 hours, and averaging 60 to 70 miles travel each day. On the Wisconsin River they passed Winnebago encampments without molestation. They did not stop to parley, passing rapidly by, singing their boat songs; the Indians were so taken by surprise that, before they recovered from their astonishment, the canoe was out of danger. Gov. Cass remained at Chicago but a few hours, coasting Lake Michigan back to Green Bay. As soon as he left, the inhabitants of Chicago assembled for consultation. Big Foot was suspected of acting in concert with the Winnebagoes, as he was known to be friendly to them, and many of his band had intermarried with that tribe.

Shab-o-nee was not here at the payment, his money having been drawn for him by his friend, Billy Caldwell. The evening before Gov. Cass' visit, however, he was in Chicago, and then the guest of Caldwell. At my suggestion, he and Caldwell were engaged to visit Big Foot's village (Geneva Lake), and get what information they could of the plans of the Winnebagoes; and also learn what action Big Foot's band intended taking. They left immediately, and on nearing Geneva Lake, arranged that Shab-o-nee should enter the village alone, Caldwell remaining hidden.

Upon entering the village, Shab-o-nee was made a prisoner, and accused of being a friend of the Americans, and a spy. He affected great indignation at these charges and said to Big Foot: "I was not at the payment, but was told by my braves that you desired us to join the Winnebagoes and make war on the Americans. I think the Winnebagoes have been foolish; alone they cannot succeed. So I have come to council with you, hear what you have to say, when I will return to my people and report all you tell me; if they shall then say, we will join you, I will consent." After talking nearly all night they agreed to let him go, provided he was accompanied by one of their own number; to this proposal Shab-o-nee readily consented, though it placed him in a dangerous position. His friend Caldwell was waiting for him in the outskirts of the village, and his presence must not be known, as it would endanger both of their lives. Shab-o-nee was equal to the emergency. After leaving, in company with one of Big Foot's braves, as the place of Caldwell's concealment was neared, he commenced complaining in a loud voice of being suspected

and made a prisoner, and when quite near, said, "We must have no one with us in going to Chicago. Should we meet any one of your band or *any one else*, we must tell them to go away; we must go by ourselves, and get to Chicago by noon to-morrow. Kinzie will give us something to eat, and we can go on next day."

Caldwell heard and understood the meaning of this, and started alone by another route. Strategy was still to be used as Shab-o-nee desired to report; so on nearing Chicago, he said to his companion, "If Kinzie sees you, he will ask why your band did not assist in putting out the fire? Maybe he has heard news of the war and is angry with Big Foot; let us camp here, for our horses are very tired." This they did, and after a little, the Big Foot brave suggested that Shab-o-nee should go to the Fort for food and information. This was what he wanted to do, and he lost no time in reporting the result of his expedition, and procuring food returned to his camp. Starting the next morning with his companion for his own village; on reaching it he called a council of his Indians, who were addressed by Big Foot's emissary; but they declined to take part with the Winnebagoes, advising Big Foot to remain neutral.

On receiving Shab-o-nee's report, the inhabitants of Chicago were greatly excited; fearing an attack, we assembled for consultation, when I suggested sending to the Wabash for assistance, and tendered my services as messenger. This was at first objected to, on the ground that a majority of the men at the Fort were in my employ, and in case of an attack, no one could manage them or enforce their aid but myself. It was, however, decided that I should go as I knew the route and all the settlers. An attack would probably not be made until Big Foot's embassador had returned with his report; this would give at least two weeks' security, and in that time I could, if successful, make the trip and return. I started between 4 and 5 P. M., reaching my trading house on the Iroquois River by midnight, where I changed my horse and went on; it was a dark, rainy night. On reaching Sugar Creek, I found the stream swollen out of its banks, and my horse refusing to cross, I was obliged to wait till daylight, when I discovered that a large tree had fallen across the trail, making the ford impassable. I swam the stream and went on, reaching my friend Mr. Spencer's house at noon, tired out. Mr. Spencer started immediately to give the alarm, asking for volunteers to meet at Danville the next evening, with five days' rations. By the day following at the hour appointed, 100 men were organized into a company, and appointing a Mr. Morgan, an old frontier fighter, as their Captain, we immediately started for Chicago, camping that night on the north fork of the Vermillion River. It rained continually, the trail was very muddy, and we

were obliged to swim most of the streams and many of the large sloughs, but we still pushed on, reaching Fort Dearborn the seventh day after my departure, to the great joy of the waiting people."

The following particulars relating to Mr. Hubbard's perils in reaching Chicago with his volunteers and his reception there, are taken from Mr. Cunningham's account; edited by H. W. Beckwith of Danville, Ill.*

"We arrived at the Vermillion River about noon on Sunday, the day after assembling at Butler's Point. The river was up, running, bank full, about a hundred yards wide, with a strong current. Our men and saddles were taken over in a canoe. We undertook to swim our horses, and as they were driven into the water the current would strike them and they would swim in a circle and return to the shore a few rods below. Mr. Hubbard, provoked at this delay, threw off his coat and said, "Give me old Charley," meaning a large, steady-going horse, owned by James Butler and loaned to Jacob Heater. Mr. Hubbard, mounting this horse, boldly dashed into the stream, and the other horses were quickly crowded after him. The water was so swift that "old Charley" became unmanageable, when Mr. Hubbard dismounted on the upper side and seized the horse by the mane, near the animal's head, and swimming with his left arm, guided the horse in the direction of the opposite shore. We were afraid he would be washed under the horse or struck by his feet and be drowned; but he got over without damage, except the wetting of his broadcloth pants and moccasins. These he had to dry on his person, as we pursued our journey.

We reached Chicago about four o'clock on the evening of the fourth day, in the midst of one of the most severe rainstorms I ever experienced, accompanied by thunder and vicious lightning. The rain we did not mind; we were without tents and were used to wetting. The water we took within us hurt us more than that which fell upon us, as drinking it made many of us sick.

The people of Chicago were very glad to see us. They were expecting an attack every hour since Col. Hubbard had left them, and as we approached they did not know whether we were enemies or friends, and when they learned that we were friends they gave us a shout of welcome.

They had organized a company of thirty or fifty men, composed mostly of Canadian half-breeds, interspersed with a few Americans, all under command of Capt. Beaubien; the Americans seeing that we were a better looking crowd, wanted to leave their

* Mr. Cunningham is at this time an esteemed citizen of Danville. He was among the volunteers under Mr. Hubbard to go to the rescue of Chicago, and has related some circumstances omitted by him.

associates and join our company. This feeling caused quite a row, and the officers finally restored harmony and the discontented men went back to their old command.

The town of Chicago was composed at this time of six or seven American families, a number of half-breeds, and a lot of idle, vagabond Indians loitering about. I made the acquaintance of Robert and James Kinzie, and their father, John Kinzie.

We kept guard day and night for some eight or ten days, when a runner came in—I think from Green Bay—bringing word that Gen. Cass had concluded a treaty with the Winnebagoes, and that we might now disband and go home.

The citizens were overjoyed at the news; and in their gladness they turned out one barrel of gin, one barrel of brandy, one barrel of whiskey, knocking the heads of the barrels in. Everybody was invited to take a free drink, and, to tell the plain truth, everybody *did* drink.

The ladies at Fort Dearborn treated us especially well. I say this without disparaging the good and cordial conduct of the men toward us. The ladies gave us all manner of good things to eat. They loaded us with provisions and gave us all those delicate attentions that the kindness of woman's heart would suggest. Some of them—three ladies whom I understood were recently from New York—distributed tracts and other reading matter among our company, and interested themselves zealously in our spiritual as well as temporal welfare."

In 1829, on January 22nd, the Legislature appointed Dr. Jayne, of Springfield, Edmund Roberts, of Kaskaskia, and Charles Dunn, to locate the canal, lay out towns and sell lots, and apply the proceeds to building the canal. James Thompson, a surveyor of St. Louis, was employed by them to lay out Chicago in lots as already stated. The map which he made of the place was engraved on stone in St. Louis, and bears the date of August 4th, 1830. It was duly recorded on the county records at Peoria, it being the county seat of the county in which Chicago then was. Many lots were sold at auction the same year, and brought from ten to two hundred dollars each.*

Chicago was now re-inforced by many speculators and adventurers by the official action taken as to the canal, it being looked upon as an incipient city, though of uncertain destiny, yet a venture worth taking chances for; and while the villagers of the town were watching the progress of the canal which was to connect their lonesome place to the world of progress to which they could as yet only get occasional glimpses, the forms of local

* Those who wish fuller details of the action of the Illinois Legislature as to the building the canal, will find them in Bross' History of Chicago, published by Jansen, McClurg & Co.

government began to be instituted as a fitting preparation for the sphere to which they aimed. Their progress in this undertaking has been well told by Hon. John Wentworth, in a historical Lecture which was published by Mr. Fergus, 1876, and runs as follows:

"From St. Clair county, what is now Cook county, was set off in the new county of Madison; thence in the new county of Crawford; in 1819 in the new county of Clark; and so little was then known of the northern country, that the act creating Clark county extended it to the Canada line. In 1821 we were set off in the new county of Pike; in 1823, in the new county of Fulton; and in 1825 in the new county of Peoria. I have not only caused the county records of these counties to be examined, but have also corresponded with their earliest settlers, and I can find no official recognition of Chicago until we reach Fulton county. The clerk of that county writes me, that the earliest mention of Chicago in the records is the order of an election at the term of the Fulton county Commissioner's Court, Sept. 2, 1823, to choose one Major and company officers, polls at Chicago, to be opened at the house of John Kinzie. The returns of this election cannot be found, if they were ever made. As the county was organized in 1823, this, of course, was the first election under the organization of the county. The same Court ordered, April 27, 1824, that the sheriff, Abner Eads, be released from paying the money tax collected at Chicago by Rousser. In those days the Sheriffs were ex-officio collectors of taxes. The name indicates that our Tax-Collector was then a Frenchman, or a mixed-breed French and Indian. It seems that they had defaulters in those days, as well as now.

"The clerk of Peoria county writes me, that his earliest records commence March 8, 1825. From these records I learn that John Kinzie was commissioned justice of the peace July 28, 1825. He was the first justice of the peace resident at Chicago. Alexander Wolcott, his son-in-law, and John B. Beaubien, were commissioned Sept. 10, of the same year.

"I have also the assessment-roll of John L. Bogardus, assessor of Peoria county, for the year 1825, dated July 25, which is as follows:

Tax-Payers' Names.	Valuation.	Tax.
1 Beaubien, John B.	§1000	$10.00
2 Clybourne, Jonas,	625	6.25
3 Clark, John K.	250	2.50
4 Crafts, John,	5000	50.00
5 Clermont, Jeremy,	100	1.00
6 Coutra, Louis,	50	.50
7 Kinzie, John,	500	5.00
8 Laframboise, Claude,	100	1.00

	Tax Payers' Names.	Valuation.	Tax.
9	Laframboise, Joseph,	50	.50
10	McKee, David,	100	1.00
11	Piche, Peter,	100	1.00
12	Robinson, Alexander,	200	2.00
13	Wolcott, Alexander,	572	5.72
14	Wilemet [Ouilmette], Antoine,	400	4.00

"The entire valuation, land then being not taxable, of all the property in Chicago was $9,047, and the rate was one per cent. But the property of the American Fur Company was assessed to John Crafts, its agent, at $5,000. He was a bachelor, and died the next year, and Mr. Kinzie was appointed in his place. Deducting the American Fur Company's assessment, we have only $4,047 as the personal property of Chicago, in 1825, $40.47 as the tax, and thirteen as the number of the tax-payers.

"The clerk sent me a copy of two-poll books used at Chicago —one at an election held Aug. 7, 1826, containing thirty-five names; the other at an election held Aug. 2, 1830, containing thirty-two names; thus showing a decrease of three voters in four years. I will read you the names of our voters in 1826, and you will see that only ten of the fourteen tax-payers in 1825 then voted:

1	Augustin Banny. [Bannot?]		19	John Baptiste Lafortune.	
2	Henry Kelley.		20	John Baptiste Malast.	
3	Daniel Bourassea.		21	Joseph Pothier.	
4	Cole Weeks.		22	Alexander Robinson.	1825
5	Antoine Ouilmette.	1825	23	John K. Clark.	1825
6	John Baptiste Secor.		24	David McKee.	1825
7	Joseph Catie.		25	Joseph Anderson.	
8	Benjamin Russell.		26	Joseph Pepot.	
9	Basile Displattes.		27	John Baptiste Beaubien.	1825
10	Francis Laframboise, Sr.		28	John Kinzie.	1825
11	Francis Laframboise, Jr.		29	Archibald Clybourne.	
12	Joseph Laframboise.	1825	30	Billy Caldwell.	
13	Alexander Larant.		31	Martin Vansicle.	
14	Francis Laducier.		32	Paul Jamboe.	
15	Peter Chavellie.		33	Jonas Clybourne.	1825
16	Claude Laframboise	1825	34	Edward Ament.	
17	Jeremiah Clairmore [Clermont?]	'25.	35	Samuel Johnson.	
18	Peter Junio.				

"I will now read you the names of our voters in 1830, showing that only three of the fourteen tax-payers of 1825 then voted:

1	Stephen J. Scott.		17	Stephen Mack.	
2	John B. Beaubien.	1825, 1826	18	Jonathan A. Bailey.	
3	Leon Bourassea.		19	Alexander McDollo.	[McDole?]
4	B. H. Laughton.		20	John S. C. Hogan.	
5	Jesse Walker.		21	David McKee.	1825, 1826
6	Medard B. Beaubien.		22	Billy Caldwell.	1826
7	John Baptiste Chavellea.		23	Joseph Thibeaut.	
8	James Kinzie.		24	Peter Frique.	
9	Russell E. Heacock.		25	Mark Beaubien.	
10	James Brown.		26	Laurant Martin.	
11	Jos. Laframboise.	1825, 1826	27	John Baptiste Secor.	1826

12 John L. Davis.	28 Joseph Bauskey.	
13 William See.	29 Michael Welch.	
14 John Van Horn.	30 Francis Laducier.	1826
15 John Mann.	31 Lewis Ganday.	
16 David Van Eaton.	32 Peresh Leclerc.	

It is a remarkable commentary upon the fickleness of our population, that only six of the men who voted in 1826 voted in 1830; and these six were half-breeds or Government employes. Father John Kinzie, however, died between the two elections, upon the 6th of January, 1828, aged 65.* But there were some not voting at the second election, such as the late Archibald Clybourne, his father Jonas, and half-brother, John K. Clark, who ended their days with us. The half-breeds and French who did not vote may have been away on a hunting and trading expedition. The voters in 1826 seem to have understood their true interest, being dependents upon the fort, as every one of them voted the Administration ticket, John Quincy Adams then being President. If there were ever three men in the United States who electrified the whole country with their fiery denunciations of the military power, they were President John Quincy Adams, his Vice-President John C. Calhoun, and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay. Neither of the three ever forgot Gen. Jackson. It would have seemed malicious, and yet quite pertinent, on the part of the Chicago member of Congress, to have asked either of these gentlemen whether it was not a singular fact that, while Mr. Adams was President, the people of Chicago unanimously voted with the fort! Ninian Edwards for Governor, Samuel H. Thompson for Lieutenant-Governor, Daniel P. Cook for Congressman, the Administration candidates, each received thirty-five votes, being all there were. The much-complained-of military power of the present day has never secured a greater unanimity in the colored vote of the South. But four years later, in 1830, when Andrew Jackson was President, there was a material change in

*The following account of Mr. Kinzie's death has been learned from Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard. He remained in the full vigor of health in both body and mind till he had a slight attack of apoplexy, after which his health continued to decline till his death, which took place in a few months, at the residence of his son-in-law, Dr. Woolcott, who then lived in the brick building formerly used as the officers' quarters in the fort. Here while on a brief visit to Mrs. Wolcott, he was suddenly attacked with apoplexy severer than ever before. Mr. Hubbard was then living in Mr. Kinzie's family, and was sent for. He immediately obeyed the summons, and on coming into the room of the dying man, he found him in convulsions, lying on the floor in the parlor, his head supported by his daughter. Mr. Hubbard raised him into a sitting position, and thus supported him till he drew his last breath, about fifteen minutes afterwards. The funeral service had place at the fort, and the last honors due this old pioneer, were paid with impressive respect by the few inhabitants of the place. He was buried at the Military grounds south of the fort, from which place his remains were removed ultimately to Graceland Cemetery, where they now lie.—[AUTHOR.

the politics of the place. John Reynolds, the Jackson candidate for Governor, received twenty-two out of the thirty-two votes cast.* Of the six who voted at both elections, and who voted for the Adams candidate in 1826, five voted for the Jackson candidate in 1830; showing their consistency by each time voting with the Administration, or more properly with the fort. Billy Caldwell, the Sauganash, the nephew of Tecumseh, voted the Jackson ticket; while Joseph Laframboise, a noted Indian chief, stood out and voted against it. Up to 1848 we had the viva voce system of voting in the State of Illinois. Each man went up to the polls, with or without a ticket in his hands, and told whom he wanted to vote for, and the judges so recorded it. But in those days the masses knew as little whom they were voting for as they do now. For the judges often read off the names of the candidates from the tickets, and the voter would nod his head. There was no chance, however, for stuffing the ballot-box under the viva voce system. It may account for the falling off of the vote between 1826 and 1830, that some persons would not vote the Jackson ticket, and yet disliked to vote against the fort. There were four of the Laframboise family voting in 1826, and only one in 1830. The names of voters in 1826 indicate that full three-fourths of them were French and half-breeds. The judges in 1826 were Father John Kinzie, the late Gen. John B. Beaubien, and Billy Caldwell. The clerks were the late Archibald Clybourn and his half-brother, John K. Clark. The election was held at the Agency House, in Chicago Precinct, Peoria county. The Agency House was on the North Side, and was the second house built in Chicago, Mr. Kinzie's being the first. The Indian Agent was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, who died in 1830, son-in-law of Mr. Kinzie.

"The election of 1830 was held in the house of James Kinzie, Chicago Precinct, Peoria county. This house was on the West Side, near the forks of the river. The South Side had no status at that time, there being nothing then on that side except the fort and light-house building, and the log-houses of the two Beaubien brothers,—one residing at the lake shore, and one near the forks of the river, with such a marsh between, that much of the time their most convenient way of visiting each other was in boats in the river.

"The judges at the election of 1830, were Russell E. Heacock, the first lawyer to settle in Chicago, Gen. John B. Beaubien, one of the judges in 1826, and James Kinzie. The clerks were Medard B. Beaubien, well known in this city, now principal agent of the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians at Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas, and Jesse Walker."

* His popularity was due to his frankness, whatever administrative pressure was used to elect him.—[AUTHOR.

The following, from Hon. Wm. Bross' History of Early Chicago, continues the subject of civil records, etc., from the foregoing extracts from Mr. Wentworth's Lecture, and is here inserted to give the reader the benefit of his notes fresh from the lips of his personal friends, as well as from his own observation:

"Our oldest *permanent* resident in the city is Col. R. J. Hamilton. In this view of the case, he is certainly entitled to the honor of being the "oldest inhabitant." He came here April 9th, 1831, and this has been his *home* ever since. G. W. Dole, Esq., came here May 4th, 1831, and P. F. W. Peck, Esq., July 15th, of the same year. But though not living in the city limits, A. Clybourne, Esq., has been identified with it, or rather with the place that became Chicago, since August 5th, 1823.

"Col. R. J. Hamilton came to this city, as above stated, in April, 1831. Cook county had been organized the month previous. He soon obtained a high position among his fellow citizens, and at that time young, and full of energy and vigor, and not the man to shrink from responsibility, we wonder that he was not crushed with the weight of the "blushing honors" that fell to his share of the spoils in the new county of Cook. In the course of the year, he became Judge of Probate, Recorder, County Clerk; discharged gratuitously the duties of Treasurer, and was Commissioner of Schools. The good Colonel would find his hands full were he to fulfill the duties of all these offices at the present time. We have availed ourselves of his early and accurate knowledge of events for most of the facts which are contained in some half-dozen of the succeeding paragraphs.

"The county of Cook, in 1831, embraced all the territory now included in the counties of Lake, McHenry, Dupage, Will and Iroquois. At that time Fort Dearborn was occupied by two companies of U. S. Infantry, under the command of Major Fowle. The resident citizens were Mr. Elijah Wentworth and family, occupying a house partly log and partly frame, owned by Mr. James Kinzie, and situated on the ground now occupied by Mr. Norton as a lumber yard. Mr. W. kept a tavern, the best in Chicago. In the vicinity of this tavern resided Mr. James Kinzie and family, Mr. William See and family, Mr. Alexander Robinson and family—now living on the Des Plaines—and Mr. Robert A. Kinzie, who had a store composed of dry goods—a large portion of them Indian goods—groceries, etc. Across the North Branch of the Chicago river, and nearly opposite Mr. Wentworth's tavern, resided Mr. Samuel Miller and family, and with them Mr. John Miller, a brother. Mr. Miller also kept tavern. On the east side of the South Branch, and immediately above the junction with the North Branch, resided Mr. Mark Beaubien and family, who also kept tavern; and a short distance above him, on the

South Branch, resided a Mr. Bourisso, an Indian trader. Between Mark Beaubien's tavern and Fort Dearborn there were no houses, except a small log cabin, near the foot of Dearborn street, and used as an Indian trading house. Near the garrison, and immediately south, on the property sold by James H. Collins, Esq., to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, was the residence of Mr. J. B. Beaubien and family, who was connected with the American Fur Company in the Indian trade. He had near his residence a store, containing such goods as were suitable to that business. A short distance south of him on the lake was a house, then unoccupied.

"On the north side of the river, and immediately opposite the garrison, stood the old 'Kinzie House,' as it was commonly called, which was also then unoccupied, and in a very dilapidated state. A short distance above, on the main branch of the river, and on the ground now occupied by the Chicago and Galena Railroad Company, stood what had been the Government Agency house, and known to the 'oldest inhabitant' as 'Cobweb Castle.' That was then unoccupied, Dr. Wolcott, the Government Agent, having died the fall before. In its vicinity were several small log buildings, for the accommodation of the blacksmith, interpreter, and others connected with the Agency. The blacksmith then occupying one of the buildings was a Mr. McKee, now living in Dupage county. Billy Caldwell, the principal chief of the Ottawa, Pottawatomie and Chippewa Indians, occupied another. He was then Interpreter for the Agency. Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, who had been the winter before appointed to succeed the late Dr. Wolcott, had not then taken up his residence in Chicago; G. Kercheval, who was then sub-Agent, was then here. Dr. E. Harmon, the father of C. L. Harmon, and James Harrington, of Geneva, Kane county, had taken up their residence here, and were making claims on the lake shore—Dr. Harmon where Mrs. Clarke now lives, and Mr. H. immediately north and adjoining."

The settlement nearest to Chicago in 1830, was at Naperville, where Mr. Stephen J. Scott settled at this date, where Willard, his son, now lives, 1880, still attending to his business of banking. Within the next two years a goodly number of settlers came to the place by the way of the lakes, passing through Chicago, which not pleasing them, they settled at Naperville. Among them were Mr. Naper, for whom the town was named; Mr. Harry T. Wilson, who is still living, in Wheaton, Ill., and Hon. Ed. Murray, now living in Naperville, to whom the writer is indebted for items of historic interest. Settlements were also begun at Gross Point and on Fox river.

Galena had for many years been a thriving settlement, on account of the lead mines, and several old Indian trails led to it from the

southern extremity of lake Michigan, as well as from the settled portions of Illinois, which then extended no farther north than Ottawa. In 1825 a Mr. Kellogg pioneered his way from Peoria over the prairies to Galena, and subsequently others followed his track, till it had scarred the green turf into a beaten road known by the name of Kellogg's Trail. The next year Mr. John Boles made the same tour, and cut across some of Mr. Kellogg's curves, crossing the Rock River at Dixon, then a spot without inhabitants or a name. After this the road was known as Boles' Trail. For the next few years a large travel between Galena and the Illinois settlements went over it, and afforded a small source of income to the Winnebagoes and Sacs, in the novel method by which they ferried wagons over Rock River at Dixon, which was done by placing both wheels on one side of the wagon in one large canoe, and both on the other side in another. Thus laden, the canoes were padded across while the horses being detached from the wagon, swam behind, led by their bridles.* The settlements of Apple River and others, from ten to twenty miles from Galena, were made previous to 1832, and also those on the Mississippi at Rock Island, and at the Des Moines Rapids. Meantime, the demand for ferriage over the Rock River at Dixon increased, and a Mr. J. L. Begordis, of Peoria, resolved to build a flat bottomed ferry-boat there. With this intent he built a small hut on the bank of the river and commenced building the boat, but the jealous Indians looked upon it as infringement of their rights, and burned it. In 1828, an Indian interpreter of French extraction, named Joe Ogie, by virtue of having married an Indian wife, succeeded better. He started a ferry without molestation from the Indians, and in 1830, sold it to Mr. Dixon, after which the place took the name of Dixon's Ferry, and subsequently Dixon. This venerable pioneer lived till 1876, when he died full of honors and full of years.†

Chicago was then in her germ cell, but during those days of uncertainty occasionally adventurers came to cast their lot with her, and among those who thus came previous to 1823, two are still living—Gurdon S. Hubbard, whose early adventures have already been told, and David McKee, who came in 1822. He is now living near Aurora, Ill., where the writer visited him in the summer of 1879. He was at work in his garden, scythe in hand, mowing the weeds around its headlands. The following

* History of Ogle county by H. W. Boss, a present resident of Chicago.

† Mr. John Dixon was born at Rye, Westchester Co., N. Y., in 1784. On the 13th of April, 1820, he removed to Illinois, locating near where the city of Springfield now is, where he remained four years. Thence he removed to Peoria Co., and from the latter place to Rock River, where he arrived on the 11th of April, 1830, and bought the ferry boat of Ogie for $1800.00.

SHERWOOD DIXON.

is his story, substantially as it came from his lips, fresh from the past—truthful and laconic.

He was born in Loudon county, Va., in the year 1800; went to Cincinnati at the age of thirteen, where he remained till he was twenty years old, when he started for Chicago on horseback, by the way of Ft. Wayne. Elkhart was the next settled point on his way, where two or three log cabins stood, inhabited by their lonesome tenants. Niles was the next. Here was a small settlement, and two miles from it a Baptist missionary station, under the charge of Rev. Isaac McCoy, for the benefit of the Indians. The same man sometimes visited Chicago, and held religious services.

At that time there were annual arrivals by sailing vessel to Chicago, with supplies for the fort. On one of these some books were shipped for Mr. McCoy's mission, but while the vessel lay at anchor outside of the bar, unloading her freight, a storm came up and rolled the waves over it, and ruined the books, with other portions of the freight.

He crossed the Calumet in an Indian canoe made of birch bark, his horse swimming by its side, led by the bridle. There was an Indian village at the place, its wigwams built with webs of flags interwoven together with the fibre of basswood bark. The fibre was made by boiling the bark, and beating it as flax is made from the straw. Indian mats were made from this material, and used as we use carpets. They also served as beds for the Indians, as well as the door for the wigwam.

Col. J. McNeil held command of the fort at the time of his arrival. John Kinzie lived on the north side in a house whose sides were covered with birch bark, brought by the Indians from Michigan. The Indians made vessels for holding water, maple sap, etc., from this material.

David and Barney Lawton were acting as clerks for the American Fur Company. Both had Indian wives. David died at his brother's house, where Lyons now is. The Chicago river was then a clear stream, and its water was used for culinary purposes.

Excellent fish abounded in it, and over it hovered wild geese, ducks and sand hill cranes in vast flocks, and pelicans and swans were sometimes seen. Deer were plenty, and bear, wild turkeys and otter were found on the Desplaines.

Speaking of the Indians, says Mr. McKee, "they are better than white people; they always feed the hungry without regard to pay. In a natural state they are models of benevolence."

On coming over the sand hills towards the fort, his attention was attracted to the battle ground of the massacre. The bones were gathered into two boxes, each about four feet square, and

buried just west of the sand-drifts, in the soil of the prairie, by order of Captain Bradley.

Billy Caldwell told him that he buried the head of Captain Wells two days after the battle, in the sand, but could not find the body.

Mr. LaFramboise told him that after the first fire at the battle, Captain Heald asked his soldiers if they would fight till death or surrender, and they chose to fight.

For many years Mr. McKee had dealings with Alexander Robinson, and always found him a model of uprightness. He could not read or write, but managed to keep his accounts with exactness by means of characters of his own to represent quantities. with a pencil and paper. He was interpreter for all the Indians at the Chicago agency.

Mr. McKee was gunsmith for the Indian department from the time of his first arrival in Chicago, in 1822, till 1827. He then became mail-carrier for the government between Fort Wayne and Chicago, and made a trip once a month between the two places during the year 1828. He performed the service on horseback, carrying mail bag, camping equipments, and a gun to shoot his living on the way. Each night the earth was his bed, and the forage of the wilderness his horse feed. On one occasion, he was overtaken by an unusually severe snow storm, and for six days he buffeted the tempest, painfully toiling through the drifts which bewildered him, on his way from Niles to Chicago. In his path he found the dead body of a soldier frozen while attempting to reach Niles.

The first house at the fork of the Chicago river (Wolf's Point), was built by James Kinzie, (John Kinzie's oldest son by his first wife.) It was a log cabin with clapboard roof and sides. It was situated on the South side. Two or three small huts were next built near by it, by Canadians and half-breeds. John Hogan built a house on the South side opposite James Kinzie's house.

Chicago was yet essentially an Indian town. Peltries and furs guns, blankets, kettles, knives, hatchets, vermilion and whisky were its stock-in-trade, and Indians were its supplyers and consumers.* Quiet reigned there because no one had occasion to offend the Indians, and when they became intoxicated, the squaws took care to keep sober, in order to restrain them. All this was soon to be changed by means of the Black Hawk war, which will next be told.

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* The Pottawatomies paid one-half the expense of building the first bridge from the South to the West Side.—*Western Annals.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Winnebagoes, the Pottawatomies, and the Sacs and Foxes in 1832—*Black Hawk's Village and Cornfield Purchased by the Whites—Forbearance of the Indians—A Transient Compromise—Governor Reynolds Calls for Volunteers to Drive Away the Indians—They Retire across the Mississippi—Bad Advice of White Cloud, the Prophet—Black Hawk returns to Illionis, and Camps at Sycamore Creek—The Dog Feast—The Pursuit—The Alarm—Stillman's Defeat—Indian Creek Massacre—Flight of the Frontierers—General Scott Arrives at Detroit—The Cholera Among his Men—He Arrives at Chicago—Fearful Ravages of the Pestilence—Black Hawk's Fugitive Skirmishes in Northern Illinois—His Retreat—Battle of Bad Axe—General Scott Arrives at Fort Armstrong—Black Hawk Brought in as a Prisoner—The War Ended.*

In 1831 the Winnebagoes occupied the country on the Wisconsin River. Their whole numbers were about 1500. White Loon was their principal chief. He with some of his braves had fought both Wayne and Harrison, and had ever been loyal to British interest during the war of 1812.

The Pottawattomies occupied the northeastern portion of Illinois. They had also fought on the British side during the war of 1812, but since the treaty of 1815 held with them, they had been subsidized into friendship by an annuity of $5,700.00. Their numbers were but little short of 3,000.

The Sacs and Foxes were quite as numerous, and were more to be feared, as they had not been brought so much under the influence of the United States. Their hunting grounds laid along Rock River and in the southeastern part of Iowa. Early records place them on the eastern coast of Michigan, from whence they were driven to Green Bay, from whence they wandered to the Mississippi. Here they became a formidable power and took part in revenging the death of Pontiac by a relentless war upon

the Illinois tribes. Keokuk was their principal chief, but Black Hawk rose to distinction as a subordinate chief by virtue of his daring deeds on the war-path when a mere boy. Ever since the War of 1812 he had frequently visited his English father at Malden, and received presents from him as a just remuneration for his past services to him.

By the treaty of 1804, held in St. Louis, in November, his tribe had sold all their lands in Illinois to the United States, for a consideration in goods to the value of $2,234.50, and an annuity of $1,000. This treaty Black Hawk alleged to have been a fraud,* but if it was, its provisions were confirmed by the subsequent treaty of 1822, and also in 1830, on the 15th of July, at Prairie du Chien, when Keokuk made the final cession to the United States of all the country owned by the Sacs and Foxes east of the Mississippi River. This was done without the knowledge of Black Hawk, and when the old veteran heard of it his indignation was aroused, for he was always opposed to yielding territory to the whites. By the stipulations of this treaty the Sacs and Foxes were to leave their villages east of the Mississippi the next year, and Keokuk used his influence with his tribe to bring these stipulations into peaceable fulfillment. Black Hawk took the opposite side of the question. The merits of the case were from this time canvassed by the old men of the tribe as well as the chiefs during the remainder of the summer and the entire autumn of 1830. Meantime Keokuk had crossed the Mississippi with the majority of his tribe, while Black Hawk was casting about in all directions for assistance wherewith to maintain his ancient home on Rock River. First he went to the Indian agent on Rock Island, who informed him that the lands having been sold by the government to individuals, that the Indians had no longer any right to remain on them, as the provisions of the treaty of 1804 obliged them to leave the country as soon as private persons had purchased the lands ceded. Not disheartened by this set-back, he went to Malden to take counsel with his ancient allies, the British. As might be expected he was told by them that if the Indians had not sold their lands they could still remain on them in safety. On his return he paid his respects to General Cass, at Detroit, who gave him similar assurances. His resolution was now taken to defend his home, on the assumption that the treaty was a fraud by which it had been sold, and to this end he made a vain attempt to secure

* Black Hawk in his account of the treaty already alluded to in a preceding chapter, says that the treaty was made by only four chiefs of his tribe, and that they signed it under the influence of intoxicating drink. See Smith's Wis. p. 114.

the assistance of the Pottawattomies, the Winnebagoes and other tribes, but his eloquence was wasted. The chiefs of these tribes had seen the folly of contending against the United States, and were determined to keep down the war spirit of their young men, but it sometimes required their utmost exertion to do it.

Returning from one of his missions to procure assistance, late in the autumn of 1830, Black Hawk found his village deserted. All its inhabitants had gone north on the usual hunt to reap their annual harvest of furs wherewith to pay old debts to traders, as well as to barter for new supplies to satisfy their increasing wants for the rude implements of civilization. He followed them, and for a few weeks, at least, the griefs of this tenacious advocate of Indian rights were assuaged by the excitements of the chase. This solace was brief; when he with his tribe returned early the succeeding April, they found their village in possession of the pale faces. The fur trader at Rock Island, a former friend of Black Hawk, had purchased the very ground on which the village stood, and he and his associates were making preparations to cultivate the spacious field of seven hundred acres on which the Indians had for many years raised their corn for bread supply.

It cannot be denied that this was a violation at least of the spirit of the treaty of 1804, the validity even of which was challenged by Black Hawk. Though this treaty ceded the lands to the United States, it guaranteed the right of the Indians to remain on them till they were wanted for settlements; but in this case the vital centre of the lands in question was purchased by design, while the frontier settlements* of the whites were yet fifty miles distant. Even Keokuk was now unable to entirely stem the tide of indignation which arose in the Indian camp, and contrary to his advice a large detachment of the tribe joined their fortunes with Black Hawk. These, with Black Hawk at the head of his band, took possession of their town and also of the field, nowithstanding the presence of the white claimants. It was situated between the Rock and the Mississippi rivers at their immediate junction. Here the Sacs had made their home for about one hundred and fifty years, and hard by were the graves of their fathers, admonishing them from the "world of the Great Spirit" to defend their graves. It is not to be supposed that the mass of Indian population could understand the binding force of a contract, and it is no marvel that their sense of justice was outraged when they beheld strangers appropriating to themselves the soil which they had inherited. But even while writhing under these griefs a peaceable parley was held with the intruders

*Western Annals Appendix.

(in their estimation), and owing to the temperate counsels of Black Hawk his tribe were brought into a conservative humor, and consented to let the new claimants cultivate half the field, while the squaws should cultivate the other half. Under this compromise the squaws planted their half, but as might be supposed, this insufficient attempt at palliation did not bridge over the chasm between the ambitions of the whites and the necessities of the Indians. The former cared more for the right of the soil than for the crop, and a quarrel with the Indians would facilitate this end. Black Hawk comprehended the whole situation, and with a laudable purpose hardly to be looked for in an Indian, counseled forbearance from his people, while a little handful of white men entered among them (as they felt) to rob them of their possessions; but there is a point beyond which forbearance cannot go, at least in minds of low degree, or even those of mediocrity. It is only the philosopher who can be patient over present griefs, and even he can do it only when he sees beyond, those triumphs which the recoil of time are likely to bring to his consolation. But if Black Hawk himself was a philosopher the squaws who dug in the cornfields were not philosophers; the white men plowed up part of the corn which they had planted on their half of the field, and they retorted by tearing down the fences adjacent to the white men's half, and allowing the cattle to come in to injure the crop.

Pending these and other disturbances of the peace, eight of the white settlers united in a memorial to Governor Reynolds, setting forth their grievances, which was presented to him at the executive office, then at Vandalia, on the 18th of May, 1831. In response to this memorial and several others of a similar nature, which Governor Reynolds states that he received, on the 27th he made a call for 700 militia to protect the white settlers at the Black Hawk village, and on the same day addressed a letter to General Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, stationed at St. Louis, requesting his assistance in removing the Indians. The next day the governor addressed a letter to General Gaines, then at Jefferson Barracks, of similar intent. In response to these letters, General Clark relieves himself from further responsibility by referring the whole matter to General Gaines, who was the most proper one to act in the matter, and General Gaines replied to Governor Reynolds, saying: "I do not deem it necessary or proper to require militia or any other description of force other than the regular army at this place and Prairie du Chien to protect the frontiers."

If Governor Reynolds had referred the entire matter of protecting the frontier to General Gaines, instead of calling out the militia himself, it is but a fair assumption that General Gaines,

by virtue of the authority of the United States, would have marched to the scene of disturbances and put an end to them by enforcing an even measure of justice between the two parties whose disputes were limited within the boundaries of a seven hundred acre field of corn. But the governor had a difficult part to act. If he failed to call out the militia and give them a chance to hunt Indians, he would lose the popular favor by which he had recently been elected to office, and besides this he would be held responsible for any Indian outrages which the aggressive and captious spirit of the settlers on the frontier might provoke, and in the end the miserable Indians might be doubly victimized by a fiercer though tardier war upon them.

Under these circumstances history cannot blame frank, honest John Reynolds for doing as he did. Complaints against the Indians now multiplied, and General Gaines advanced to Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, close by the disputed corn field and village of Black Hawk, and here on the 7th of June, the Indians were summoned to a council to be held in the fort. At its session General Gaines, wishing to quell the war spirit among the Indians by making light of their most tenacious chief, asked in derision who is Black Hawk? At which the indignant chief arose and left the counsel room with smothered rage. The next morning he returned and replied:

"My father, you ask who is Black Hawk—why does he sit among the chiefs? I will tell you who I am: I am a Sac. My father was a Sac. I am a warrior and so was my father. Ask these young men who have followed me to battle, and they will tell you who Black Hawk is. Provoke our people to war, and *you* will learn who Black Hawk is."

The conference terminated by a peremptory summons from General Gaines to Black Hawk to leave the east side of the Mississippi and retire to its west bank, which command the chief with more chivalry than policy refused to obey.

To enforce this order, General Gaines deemed it prudent to wait till the 1,600 militia which Governor Reynolds had already raised, and were now encamped at Beardstown, should arrive, who reached Ft. Armstrong after a prosperous march of four days.

This interval gave the Indians time for a sober second thought, and on the night of the 24th they left their village, retreating across the river as ordered. The next day General Gaines, at the head of his own force of regulars and Gov. Reynolds militia, who had joined them, advanced on the place, and on the 26th took possession of its deserted wigwams and cornfields.

The incidents of the war which followed the next year are still remembered by many now living who took part in it. Many his-

tories of it are extent, some of which have made it an opportunity to cultivate sentimentality in favor of the Indians, at the expense of the government. Others have taken the opposite extreme, and while stating only truth, have omitted such portions as would be calculated to bring discredit to the system by which the Indians were driven from their lands. Some historians have made it an opportunity to crown the brows of soldiers with laurels. They have not succeeded in this attempt, for the reason that the enemy was too insignificant to leave much glory to soar above his pitiful grave. Any attempt to conceal or distort the conditions which sent him there cannot deceive the impartial historian who reads both sides, and compares, discriminates and verifies till the truth comes uppermost after much shaking.

By no authority has it been claimed that the Sac and Fox nations from 1816 to the commencement of the Black Hawk war in 1832, ever killed or personally injured a white man, and it is acknowledged that during this time traders continually passed through their country, to and from the lead mines of Galena, often with large amounts of goods and money without being molested. The sum of accusations against them was for tearing down the fences of the corn-field as just related, and during the same year, 1831, they were accused of destroying some goods of a trader, among which was a barrel of whiskey, which they emptied on the ground—a common occurrence now-a-days among ourselves.

After Black Hawk and his band had retreated across the Mississippi before the large force of General Gaines, he encamped on its western bank with a white flag flying over his wretched fugitives, who had little else but this emblem of submission to save them from starvation, and under this duress, a council was held between his band and General Gaines and Governor Reynolds. It resulted in a treaty of peace, signed on the 30th of June, 1831, by which Black Hawk after confirming the validity of the treaty of 1804, agreed to relinquish his old claims to any lands east of the Mississippi river, and submit to the authority of Keokuk, who with the most sensible portion of the Sac and Fox nation, were now peaceably settled in their new home.

Both Governor Reynolds and General Gaines now supposed the difficulty to be settled, and congratulated themselves that a long term of peace was assured to the frontier before the villainous whiskey traders and the volcanic red men should again embroil the State in a border war.*

*Both Governor Reynolds and General Gaines were moved with compassion for the Indians in their wretchedness, and sent them a liberal supply of provisions to satisfy their immediate wants. This charity excited some murmurs among the volunteers, who stigmatized the late treaty as a "corn treaty," and said they had better give them lead than bread.

Up to this time Black Hawk and his British band (as they were called), had demeaned themselves with exemplary moderation under the inevitable destiny which had forced them from the beautiful valley of the Rock River. That they should have clung to it with firmness, and left it with painful regrets, was to be expected; nor is it strange that the vehement emotions that are a distinguishing trait in the Indian character should have made them cast a longing, lingering look behind, when the broad face of the Mississippi separated them from all their local attachments.

The autumn succeeding the Indians' retreat from their village, found them in a destitute condition. They had raised no corn, for it was too late to plant when they left their village; moreover, there was a large field of corn which they had planted now fully ripe, which they looked upon as their own by right, and some stealthy attempts being made to gather the ears under cover of night, the pilferers were fired upon by the whites. But during these accumulated griefs, an affront which had been inflicted upon them two years before by the Menomonees, was not forgotten. This was the wanton murder of a single Sac by the offending tribe. To revenge this, a band of Black Hawk's men, late in the fall ascended the Mississippi to Prairie du Chein, attacked a camp of Menominees and Sioux near by, and took seven-fold vengeance by killing 28 of the unsuspecting and unprepared warriors. This was in clear violation of the treaty of 1825, and the authorities of Prairie du Chein made a demand of Black Hawk to give up the authors of this bloody deed, to be tried by the laws of the United States. Nettled as he was by the late misfortunes which had overtaken him, he was in no mood to do this, and delayed the matter by a false pretense.

During the ensuing winter Black Hawk's emissaries, Neopope, Wisshick and White Cloud, the Prophet,* visited the Ottaways, Chippewas, Pottawattomies and Winnebagoes, and professed to have received assurances of assistance from all of them in recovering their ancient possessions. Under this fatal illusion he assembled his people, in March, 1832, on the west bank of the Misissippi, on the spot where Fort Madison had been built in 1804, long since abandoned, but now the site of the flourishing city of Madison, Iowa. Here were assembled 368 braves, mounted on tough, muscular ponies, not unlike their masters, capable of great endurance, with slender means of subsistence,

*White Cloud was a Winnebago chief, whose village was at the present site of Prophetstown, Ill. He was in full sympathy with Black Hawk, acting as his oracle and orator. Both Neopope and Wisshick were also firm friends of Black Hawk, ever counseling war against the whites.

squaws, jaded down with unceasing toil, and their quota of half-clad children, shivering in the humid blasts of early spring, bent on a trip to their old home east of the Mississippi, probably not without some faint hopes of re-possessing it.

With this purpose in view, the cavalry arm of the service, consisting of the men, leaped on the backs of their ponies, and whipped the patient beasts over the spongy soil up the west bank of the river, while the squaws manned the canoes, and tugged up stream with their materials of war, consisting of a few kettles, blankets, etc. How the canoes passed Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, without exciting the suspicion of Gen. Atkinson, its commander, is not known. Early in April they arrived at the mouth of Rock River, but little above the fort. Here they crossed the Mississippi, in defiance of the treaty of the previous year, and the whole tribe made their way up the Rock river, under pretense of going to their friends the Winnebagoes, to plant corn in their country.

The wanderers had not passed far up the river till they were overtaken by two messengers from General Atkinson, one briefly succeeding the other, warning them back to the west side of the river with threats of war if not heeded. Black Hawk replied spiritedly that he was determined not to go back, and equally so not to make war on the whites unless attacked. Continuing his course up Rock river he soon came to Dixon's Ferry, where he paid his respects to Mr. Dixon, its proprietor, explained his position to him, and passed on with his fugitives, all behaving with commendable decorum, carrying with them all the wealth they possessed, which was more ponderous than valuable.

Governor Reynolds having heard the news of his return, immediately organized a force of 1800 volunteers to follow him, who promptly assembled at Beardstown for organization in companies. The command of this zealous army was given to General Samuel Whiteside, a man of much ability and considerable experience in Indian fighting. Discipline or training of these fresh recruits, the contemptible character of the enemy, seemed to make unnecessary, and they immediately took up their march to follow Black Hawk's "tramps." After a hasty march in the pursuit, they reached Dixon, which brought them within only a single day's march of the object of their pursuit, Black Hawk's band, who were encamped but thirty miles above this place on Sycamore creek, a tributary of Rock River. General Atkinson was now advancing to the same place with the regulars from Fort Armstrong, and General Whiteside thought best to wait till his arrival before advancing further. Governor Reynolds was among the volunteers who took no responsibility as to their military command, although his authority transcended that of General Whiteside, and of him

in an unlucky hour, a certain Major (Stillman) begged the privilege of making a reconnoisance of the enemy's camp. The Governor consented, and on the 14th of May he, at the head of 275 volunteers, mounted on their own horses, started out in gay spirits on their mission, each man enjoying the stimulating reflection that he was about to distinguish himself by a brilliant achievement.

As they approached the camp of Black Hawk, he was engaged not in the tactics of a soldier but in entertaining his Winnebago friends with the impressive hospitalities of a dog feast, on the banks of the Kishwaukie, a tributary of Rock river, since called Sycamore Creek, about thirty miles above Dixon's. This feast was to be succeeded by a great council of Chiefs, which it is fair to assume was intended at least to make sufficient show of strength to preserve the "balance of power" in its equilibrium between the red and white men of northern Illinois. The issue at stake involved the existence of the Sac nation, as Black Hawk viewed it, for it is hardly to be presumed that he foresaw at that time the eventual ruin of his people.

Foremost among the chiefs present was Shaubena, he who had fought by the side of Black Hawk when allies of the English, against the Americans through the war of 1812. These veterans were bound together by ties of affection doubly strengthened by consanguinity. But Shaubena was fully impressed with the power of the whites, and though his refusal to join his fortunes to Black Hawk lacerated his heart, he unhesitatingly declined to take up the war belt, and refusing even to attend the council, took his leave and made his way down Rock River towards Dixon.

Shortly after his departure some of Black Hawk's hunters who were scouting the country in search of game, came in in breathless haste, and informed him of the near approach of cavalry, upon which he sent out three young men to meet and conduct them to his camp.

The immediate consequences are told by Governor Reynolds, as follows: that "three Indians unarmed, with a white flag, made their appearance near the encampment. These Indians gave themselves up, and were taken into custody as hostages by order of the officers. Soon after the three unarmed Indians were taken into custody, six armed Indians appeared on horseback on a hill three-fourths of a mile from the encampment. Without orders, a few soldiers and some officers commenced an irregular chase of the Indians on horseback and pursued them four or five miles. During this race in the prairie, a great portion of the troops mounted their horses and joined without orders in the disorderly chase of the Indians. The whites became

enraged in the pursuit, and having the best horses, overtook two Indians and killed them. Major Hackleton, of Fulton Co. was dismounted, and had a personal combat with an Indian, also dismounted. In this irregular running conflict, three Indians were killed without loss to the whites. In this skirmish, which extended over four or five miles of the smooth prairie, between the encampment and the mouth of Sycamore creek, the volunteers at the camp, knowing that blood was shed, attempted to kill the three unarmed Indians who had been taken into custody as hostages under protection of the white flag. One Indian was killed, but in the darkness and confusion the other two escaped unhurt. At the time Stillman's volunteer's had this running skirmish in the prairies, Black Hawk had many of his friends of the Pottawattomie nation feasting with him on dog-meat. The retreating Indians had almost reached the camp of Black Hawk where he was feasting, and the whites at their heals whooping, yelling and shouting. This uproar alarmed Black Hawk and the Indians at the feast; and they in a hasty, tumultuous manner, mounted their horses, snatched up their arms and rushed out in all the fury of a mad lioness in defense of their women and children. Black Hawk took a prudent and wise stand, concealed behind some woods (then nearly dark), so that the straggling and unmanageable forces of Major Stillman approached near him. It was a crisis with the Indians. They fought in defense of all they held the most sacred on earth. * * * The Indians forced the whites back with great speed, and killed in the chase one white man. By the time the volunteers had reached Stillman's camp it was quite dark, and the troops at the camp hearing the yelling, supposed all the whole Black Hawk band were upon them. This produced a general panic, and the volunteers fled with their comrades whom Black Hawk was chasing."

This was Stillman's defeat, as told by the veritable governor himself. After the volunteers had fled from their camp, while crossing a muddy stream close by it, 10 more were killed, says the governor, making 11 in all. The fugitives left behind them all their camp stores and reached Dixon the next day with such exaggerated accounts of the battle as their distempered imaginations suggested.

Black Hawk says he had but 40 men engaged, and the governor sets the number not above 60.

This ill-starred skirmish came near causing the murder of the noble hearted Shaubena. When he left Black Hawk's camp, after refusing to take part in his proposed council, he went to Dixon. Here he was pointed out to the volunteers by a nondescript vagabond named McKabe, as an Indian spy in the service of Black Hawk, when in truth, though a white volunteer, he himself had

enlisted more in the service of Black Hawk than for any good he cared to do for the cause in which he was drawing pay, for he had ever been associated with the Indians and had married an Indian wife. This apostate of civilization knowing Shaubena to be true to the interests of the white men, wished to see him killed, but fortunately a humane volunteer seeing the danger, flew to the house of Mr. Dixon, who in turn flew to the rescue in time to save his life. This done he treated him with deserved respect as a guest at his own house, where he introduced him to Govenor Reynolds, and General Whiteside.*

Insignificant as the battle of Sycamore creek was, it was a prodigious affair in the estimation of the hostile Indians, nor was it a small affair in the eyes of the borderers, whose fears were augmented by the alarms spread by the defeated scouts.

Black Hawk, in order to make the most of his victory, despatched his fleet-footed messengers in every direction, to yelp the exultant war-whoop, and carry the war to each exposed frontier, where the weight of his blows would fall most unexpectedly; but, thanks to Shaubena, he was in a great measure baulked of the prey he had counted on as the first-fruits of his victory. This old weather-beaten veteran had no sooner heard of the battle than he dispatched his son and nephew to Fox River and Holderman's Grove settlements, to warn them of danger, while he mounted his pony and galloped towards the settlements on the Bureau and Indian Creek. They were planting corn, but at the receipt of the alarm left their plows in the furrow, and flew to the nearest fort, which was at Ottawa.

Unhappily, at Indian Creek, by a treacherous sense of security, a few families paid no regard to the warning, but to their dismay a few hours later, at four o'clock in the afternoon, 70 painted savages were at their very doors. An indescribable scene of butchery of the defenseless victims, and resistance ineffectual but desperate, immediately succeeded. Fifteen persons were killed and horribly mutilated, two young boys escaped by flight, two young girls, Sylvia and Rachel Hall, were spared from death and abducted as captives. Fortunately, through the influence of the Winnebagoes, they were subsequently ransomed for $2,000.

Naperville, which has already been spoken of in a preceding chapter, was then an infant settlement, and nearer to Chicago than any other. Its history is worth relating, especially as it brings interest to the records of early Chicago, and more especially as it comes to the writer fresh from the mouth of an eye-witness, Mr. Harry T. Wilson, of Wheaton, Ill., now ninety-two years old. The following is his story:

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* Matson.

He started from Ashtabula, Ohio, on the schooner Telegraph, in May, 1831, and arrived in Chicago the 15th of July following. Col. Owen (Indian Agent) and Col. Hamilton were then the most influential men in Chicago, but the Lawtons, who lived at the present site of Lyons on the Desplaines, were much depended on for public service, as they could speak the Pottawattomie language, and were in great favor with them from their long residence and just dealings among them. Both had Indian wives. Isaac Murray, his young son, R. N. Murray (now judge of the Probate Court in Wheaton), Joseph and John Naper and L. Butterfield, came in the same vessel with Mr. Wilson, all of whom on their arrival at Chicago, were dissatisfied with the uninviting appearance of the place, and after securing a temporary shelter for their families, started into the country on foot to find farming lands for a home. Passing Lawtons, they kept on to the Dupage river, where Naperville now is, and began their new settlement. Their milling was done at Ottawa, and an ox-team to and from it (a distance of nearly a hundred miles) was their only mode of transportation.

With the opening of the succeeding spring their first plowing commenced in the new settlement to which many others besides those just mentioned had come, when, on the 18th of May a friendly Pottawattomie came to them with alarming news. Black Hawk's band had fought and defeated the volunteers on Rock River, and scalping parties in his service were rapidly approaching the frontier settlements, and were now within ten miles where they had already burned the houses of two advance pioneers, Mr. Hollenbeck and Mr. Cunningham. To give force to his statements, the messenger, in awful mimicry, went through motions of the scalping process; but this pantomime was quite unnecessary, for the new settlers were in hot haste to place the friendly walls of Fort Dearborn between themselves and the red scouters. The women hastily packed their linen and cooking utensils, and the men harnessed the horses. In a short time the women and children were on their way over the long flat prairie that intervened between their forsaken homes and Fort Dearborn, while the men arranged themselves in scouting parties, and took positions in the adjacent groves to watch for the terrible Sacs. There were yet some distant families who had not been warned to leave, and the next day several incidents occurred of mistaken identity as to the character of persons seen in the far distance, both of whom were white men, and both suspecting each other of being savages on the war path.*

*It is related by some of the old settlers now living, 1880, that during the hurly-burly of the hour when the inhabitants were leaving the place, a Mr.

On the Dupage river, northwest of Naperville, was a settlement at Plainfield, in which Rev. S. R. Beggs lived. This early pioneer of the Methodist faith has published his early experiences in a book, from which the following is taken, to show the extent of the alarm, and the condition of Fort Dearborn when the fugitives had taken refuge there:

"The inhabitants came flying from Fox river, through fear of their dreaded enemy. They came with their cattle and horses, some bareheaded and others barefooted, crying 'The Indians! the Indians!' Those that were able hurried on with all speed for Danville. It was urged that all should remain quiet till they could get their cattle and horses together; but there was too much demoralization for that. One team could not be found, and it was thought better to sacrifice one than that the whole should suffer. So it was decided that they should move off as silently as possible; yet there was one ungovernable person among them who made noise enough in driving his oxen to have been heard a mile distant.

"The hatless man, and one or two others, found their way to Danville in advance of the rest, and told their fearful stories—how the Indians were killing and burning all before them, while at this time it is presumed that there was not a hostile Indian south of the Desplaines river. At Plainfield, however, the alarm was so great that it was thought best to make all possible efforts for a defense, in case of an attack. My house was considered the most secure place. I had two log pens built, one of which served for a barn and the other a shed. These were torn down, and the logs used to build up a breastwork around the house. All the people living on Fox river who could not get farther away, made my house a place of shelter. There were one hundred and twenty-five, old and young. We had four guns, some useless. Ammuuition was scarce. All our pewter spoons, basins and platters were soon moulded by the women into bullets. As a next best means of defense, we got a good supply of axes, hoes, forks, sharp sticks and clubs. Here we intended to stay till some relief could be obtained. This was on Thursday, and we remained here till the next Sabbath, when the people of Chicago hearing of our distress, raised a company of 25 white men and as many Indians, who came to our aid. The Indians, with Mr. Lawton at their head, were to go to Big Woods (now Aurora), and General Brown with Colonel Hamilton and three men, were to visit Holderman's grove and then fix upon a place to meet in the evening."

Fresh alarms, both real and false, kept coming in to the tenants of Fort Beggs, keeping them in constant agitation and indecision as as to what was the best course to pursue, till the news of the Indian Creek massacre reached them, when they determined to fly before the impending danger, and on the following Thursday at seven o'clock in the morning they started for Chicago, the 25 men sent from there under Colonel Hamilton, acting as their escort.

Payne ventured out on horseback to see some depredations reported a few miles distant. On his return he saw across the prairie a man on horseback, whom he supposed to be an Indian intending to cut him off. He put spurs to his horse to gain the advance, but his supposed foe looked upon him with the same suspicion. Both were approaching the same spot, and the race was an exciting one to see which should reach it first; Payne succeeded, and put his horse in his neighbor's corn crip (Mr. Hobson's), and took to his heels for Chicago. Mr. Hobson soon came up, and seeing the horse of the supposed Indian scout sweating and foaming from the effects of the race, the mutual misconception was divulged to him, but Mr. Payne was now beyond sight and hearing, panting through the grassy prairie towards Chicago.

They reached their destination, a distance of forty miles, the same day, which was a forced march for ox-teams, which were part of their means of transportation. Again resuming my Beggs narrative, he says:

"There was no extra room for us when we arrived in Chicago. Two or three families of our number were put into a room fifteen feet square, with as many more families, and here we stayed crowding and jamming each other for several days, * * * The next morning our first babe was born, and during our stay fifteen tender infants were added to our number. One may imagine the confusion of the scene—children were crying and women were complaining within doors, while without the tramp of soldiery, the rolling of drums, and the roar of cannon, added to the din." *

Some days ere this the news of Stillman's defeat had reached Chicago, reviving the old war-spirit in the breasts of moody veterans whose bad blood was again stirred up from dormant places in their hearts, and their hopes again revived, that the red race could arrest the progress of white settlements in the country. Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson saw this in their rueful countenances, and proposed to Col. Owen to convene a council for the purpose of forestalling any sympathy for Black Hawk which his fortuitous success might develop among the young Pottowattomie braves. The proposal was accepted, and the council held under the shade of a bur oak on the North Side. Robinson, Caldwell, Col. Owen, Col. Hamilton, and others, made speeches, and a general preference for peace was the result, a feeble minority only dissenting, of whom Big Foot, the famous Winnebago Chief, was the leader. He openly defended Black Hawk's cause, and gathering to his standard all the inflammable material which loosely lay around the place, he and his disciples vanished away, ultimately to be buried in the grave of obscurity always in store for a lost cause.

The alarms at most of the places from which the settlers had fled, were false. At Indian Creek only had any considerable force of Indians made their appearance, and even here had the men all remained at home and defended themselves from some covert, their assailants would have retreated rather than risk their lives by an attack.

After all the frontier settlers had taken refuge at Ottawa, Danville and Chicago, the able bodied men soon cautiously returned to their homes to look to their safety and to finish planting their corn. With this intent the Naperville settlers returned as soon as they had safely lodged their families in Fort Dearborn, and as a measure of security built a log fort, to which they gave the name of Fort Payne, after one of their settlers.

The news that an Indian war had broken out on the northwestern frontier, rapidly spread throughout every hamlet in the

*Early History of The North West by S. R. Beggs, P. 103.

middle and eastern States. A young generation had grown into manhood since the last serious Indian disturbance, but its history which had been told them by their fathers, was a familiar tale, and a repetition of it was now considered possible. The press of the country teemed with speculations, as to what was to be the result of the war which was regarded as of more importance than the facts would warrant if known. Abundant food for romance was economized out of the situation, and a volume of hasty poetry was published, entitled Black Hawk and Scenes in The West, which met with a ready sale. Under this pressure measures were promptly taken by the administration at Washington to meet the crisis. Nine companies were detailed for this purpose, and placed under the command of General Scott. Among them was a class of cadets (war students), from West Point, who took the occasion to put in practice an art which the peaceful prosperity of those times threatened with disuse. On the 1st of July they arrived at Detroit. This was the great Metropolitan centre of the Upper Lake country, beyond which was a limitless wild relieved only by settlements feeble in numbers, and mushroom towns far apart from each other. While General Scott was making a brief rest at this place, two men on board his transports were taken violently sick and died in a few hours, despite the best efforts of his physicians. This was the beginning of the asiatic cholera on the Upper Lakes. General Scott hastened his departure and proceeded as far as Ft. Gratiot, near the outlet of Lake Huron, where he left 280 of his force besides the young cadets, whose warlike zeal was now considerably abated by the presence of an enemy in their midst more formidable than Black Hawk.* While General Scott is taking his course to Chicago on board the steamer Sheldon Thompson, his physicians are eking out the fearful hours in their vain attempts to purge the cholera from their midst, and the soldiers were dropping, one after another of their companies into the sea,† let us see what was going on at the place of his destination.

Going back but a few days, the place had been the centre of an excitement seldom equalled even in the casualties of frontier life. The large number of fugitives gathered here, all looked to Col. Owen to supply them with such necessities as helpless women and children must have or perish; and to add to his re-

*The fate of these young men sent a wave of grief and sorrow throughout the country. Nearly all of them died of cholera at the fort or perished like beasts of the field alone in some wretched shed or humid forest in their vain attempts to fly before the destroyer, for no one dared to receive them within their doors for fear of this pestilence. Browns Hist. of Ill.

†30 died on the passage and were thrown into the lake.

sponsibilities, most of the husbands of these fugitive women were away scouting the country with commendable courage for the protection of their homes. Every available space in the fort was filled, and hastily constructed camps and temporary sleeping booths were constructed outside of it, within the reach of its guns.*

While these fugitives were amusing themselves as best they could to kill the long days of July, the sound of a cannon broke the silence of the morning. All eyes turned towards the lake, and there was an approaching sail. Succeeding puffs of smoke, with a corresponding number of reports after brief intervals of time, threw the town into transports, and almost everybody flew to the beach. The vessel approached the mouth of the river, cast her anchor and lowered her boats. Into these the soldiers leaped, and soon came rowing up the Chicago river, amidst the huzzas of the assembled spectators. This was a small command under Major William Whistler, the son of the same who had built the first Ft. Dearborn in 1803–4.† He came as an advance of General Scott to make preparations for his arrival. Those who were sheltered in the fort were required to leave it, which they did at once, and most of them returned to their homes, the alarm having now partially subsided.

A week after the arrival of Captain Whistler—on the 8th of July, at the small hours of the morning (2 o'clock),—the inhabitants of Chicago were awakened by an outcry in the streets; Gen. Scott's army had arrived and were in the fort, and his soldiers dying with cholera. This king of terrors had made whole congregations turn pale with fear in the east, and the settlers of Chicago were not proof against its alarms. When the broad light of morning came, says an eye witness, hardly a resident was to be seen, for nearly all had fled. Among the dwellers at the

* A raft of lumber belonging to Noble Bros. (merchants) was used for this purpose.

† On board the vessel with Major Whistler, were his wife, two daughters and a son. This wife has for several years past been known to the people of Chicago as Mrs. Col. Whistler, the oldest living witness of the building of the first Fort Dearborn, in 1803–4. She was married to Captain Whistler at Detroit, in 1802, being then only fourteen years and a few months old, and a few months afterwards came with her husband and his father to Chicago to build the fort, as stated in foregoing pages. During the siege of Detroit, in 1812, her husband being an officer under General Hull, she with him was taken prisoner at the surrender. Since her husband's death, her home has been part of the time in Chicago, and part of the time in Newport, Ky., at which latter place she died, Feb. 12, 1878, at the age of ninety-two years. Gwinthlean, afterwards the wife and now the widow of Robert A. Kinzie, was one of her daughters on board the vessel, as above described, and to her is the writer indebted for the above item.

forks of the river who remained were Indian Robinson, John Miller and Benjamin Hall. Dr. DeCamp, the army physician, promptly called on these remaining ones and allayed their fears, counseling them not to leave, assuring them that the disease would be confined to the garrison. The fleeers soon returned and but one of them was attacked, but to the devoted garrison there was no escape from the appalling situation. To leave the fort was to expose themselves to the censure of whomsoever they might meet, even if it were possible to do such a thing in defiance of the sentinel; while to remain inside and witness the carnival of death which was going on there, required more composure than could be expected of the average soldier.

Black Hawk was now stealthily traversing the country, his war parties threatening portions of the frontier. But Gen. Scott was in no condition to take the offensive, for it was all the well ones could do to take care of the sick and bury the dead. Ere the contagion had spent its force ninety of his men had fallen victims and been buried without the usual military honors of a soldier or even the civil usuages of a coffin. When the last spark of life was supposed to be gone out the corpse was hastened to the grave which was ever ready to receive him, and two men with spades ready to interpose a few feet of earth between the decaying mass of contagion and the living world above ground.* On one of these occasions a premature subject was brought enveloped in his burial blanket; but just before he was lowered the unconscious soldier called for water. He was returned to the hospital, and in a few days recovered his usual health.†

Not even the terrors of Black Hawk's war-parties would have driven the surrounding settlers to Chicago while the cholera was there, and had this pestilence come 18 days sooner, when the massacre of Indian creek occurred, the unhappy settlers of Naperville and Fox river would probably have made a desperate determination to defend their homes against the Indians rather than encounter the dangers of the new and subtle enemy of mankind, that had even threatened annihilation to the soldiers who had come to defend them.

Leaving Gen. Scott in his fatal duress at Fort Dearborn, let us turn to the Indian war parties, who were now skimming over the prairies in voiceless silence, ready to make sudden dashes upon places supposed to be defenceless, Black Hawk himself, all the

*The burying-ground was at the foot of Madison street, on the lake shore. About 1840, and later, the erosion of the lake washed away portions of it, exposing to view the bones of the victims to the cholera.

†Brown's History of Illinois, p. 375.

while at the head of his army, small in numbers, deficient in supplies and inadequate to meet his adversaries in the open field with the faintest hope of success. But however apparent these conditions were to him, his ability to impress them upon the uncontrollable spirits of his followers was wanting. Baulked in his attempt to ally the Winnebago and Pottawattomie nations to his standard, he found himself the leader of a horde of sanguinary hotspurs, full of courage and destitute of discretion. It was composed of the worst elements of his own tribe and a lawless renegade escapement from the tribes whose support in an evil hour he had counted on, by virtue of the treacherous advice of Neopope Wabokieshiek and the prophet.

Most of the fugitives from the disgraceful field of Stillman's run reached Gen. Whiteside's headquarters in a few hours, with their zeal for Indian fighting spent in a 30-mile race over the prairies, by which the horses that carried them were not less exhausted than the courage of their riders.

General Whiteside was now in an awkward position. His whole army had been without rations for two days, and confined to a diet of parched corn. In this emergency, Mr. Dixon with patriotic generosity, offered his stock of cattle for their subsistence till stores could be brought. The cattle were butchered and the hungry volunteers ate the meat without bread or potatoes, although it was lean and tough.* The next day after the skirmish General Whiteside led his entire force to its scene. It was a solitude. There were the tent-marks of Black Hawk's army and the lifeless bodies of 11 slain volunteers divested of their scalps, which were doubtless dangling from the belts of as many Sac warriors. Black Hawk had gone north, it was supposed, to the region of the Four lake country, in Wisconsin.† General Whiteside's army now amounted to 2400 men, and had he followed Black Hawk promptly the war might have been ended in two or three weeks; for the Indians, encumbered as they were with their squaws and children, must have been easily overtaken, and could neither have defended themselves against such odds or escaped by flight. But the volunteers were by this time surfeited with camp life, especially with Indian fighting; the time for which they had enlisted had nearly expired, and they presented but a

* Ford.

† The Four lake country was composed of the two beautiful lakes that now almost environ the picturesque city of Madison and two others below it, all joined by the waters of Catfish creek, having its outlet in Rock river a few miles below Kosh-ko-nong lake. So little was then known of this delightful region that even its locality was not understood by any of the volunteers, and Winnebago pilots were employed to direct the course of the army when it took up its march for the place.

sorry dependence on which to rely for conquering a foe, though small, jaded to desperation. Under these surroundings, General Whiteside was obliged to yield the honors of a victory at hand to the capricious discontent of the volunteers, and they were marched back to Ottawa, where they were discharged by Governor Reynolds on the 27th and 28th of May.*

After the volunteers left Dixon, General Atkinson entrenched his camp and remained there with the reinforcements he had brought from Ft. Armstrong. The necessity of immediately raising new recruits to push the war was pressing, for without them the Winnebagoes, and even the Pottawatomies might have looked upon Black Hawk as the winner, and joined his standard. Accordingly Gov. Reynolds gave orders for raising 2,000 men to take the place of the discharged soldiers. A few of the latter, however, with commendable patriotism re-enlisted for a few days in order to defend the frontier till the new recruits could be brought into service. Col. Jacob Fry commanded them. James D. Henry was his lieutenant, and John Thomas, major. Gen. Whiteside, with a zeal both laudable and modest, enlisted in the private ranks. The chaff of the late volunteer army returned to their homes, and the true soldierly material just organized out of it promptly distributed themselves in small parties to the most exposed frontiers.

To fight Indians in regular pitched battles is not attended with much danger to the white combatants, but to meet them noiselessly, crawling on the ground like serpents to attack some unsuspecting settlement, puts to test the mettle of a soldier. An attack of this kind was planned against the new settlements east of Galena, to guard against which Capt. Adam W. Snyder had been detached with a small company. While thus engaged on the 17th of June, as the tedious hours of night were wearing away, some hostile shots were fired into their camp from an invisible foe. The next morning they followed the intruders to a sink-hole hard by, into which treacherous covert the Indians had taken refuge. A charge was made upon them, as if a small army lay concealed there, which resulted in the killing of the whole, only four in number. One of Snyder's men was mortally wounded. Resting under a supposition that they had killed all the Indians in the vicinity, they took up their wounded man and started for their camp, soon heedlessly scattering in different directions in quest of water, when they were suddenly attacked by about 70 Indians who had watched their motions from the first. The men thought only to save themselves by flight, but fortunately Gen.

* Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 124.

Whiteside was among them, and upon him the captain called for assistance to rally the men. This veteran declaring he would shoot the first man who started to run, resolution took the place of fear, and the men stood their ground. This done, the battle began in earnest, but was soon terminated by a shot from Gen. Whiteside which killed the leader of the Indians, and they all fled without further resistance, carrying away their dead. Two white men were killed, and one wounded.*

Two days before this affair the new levies had arrived at the mouth of the Vermilion river, from whence they were marched to Ft. Wilburn, where they were mustered into service and divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Gen. Alexander Posey, Gen Milton K. Alexander, and Gen. James D. Henry. Besides these, a company of rangers under command of Maj. Bogart, were to guard the frontier of Southern Illinois, while the three divisions were to march in pursuit of Black Hawk, the architect of all this commotion, which had now drawn over 3000 men from the plow to the soldiers' ranks, besides the first volunteers who had just been discharged.

While these formidable preparations had been on foot, the murderous disposition of bad Indians had been ventilated on numerous unhappy victims who by chance had been exposed to their merciless as well as indiscriminate fury.

On a bright morning a little past the middle of May, the people of Chicago were attracted to the fort by the voice of singing. Just outside its walls stood the tall and manly form of Rev. Adam Payne, whose musical and sonorous voice had reached the uttermost limits of the town, and drawn thither an audience. A sermon followed from this eloquent enthusiast, which for fervor and religious effect, might have satisfied the ambition of a Knapp or a Moody. Soldiers, traders, and even the elastic half-breeds, showed signs of contrition which must have been gratifying to the itinerant apostle of the Dunkard faith, as his voice mellowed into pathos under the sympathetic inspiration of the occasion. Mr. Payne was on his way from Ohio to visit his brother, Aaron Payne, who lived in Putnam county, Ill., and immediately after his discourse, to which the people of Chicago had paid such respectful attention, mounted his horse, and starting on his journey, soon vanished out of sight over the prairies. The first night he reached the house of Rev. S. R. Beggs, on the present site of Plainfield. Here he found his brother-preacher with his house barricaded like a fort, so great was the fear of hostile Indians, as already stated. But all this did not dishearten the Pilgrim Preacher. He had often traveled the route

* Boss. Hist. of Ogle County.

before, and having preached to the Indians with good effect, he relied on his early friendships with them for safety. Under this ill-founded sense of security, he started the next morning in a south-west direction across the wilds, towards Ottawa, much against the admonitions of his friends, who assured him that the country was full of hostile Indians. He was mounted on a fleet horse, and by means of a spy-glass which he carried in his pocket, he felt sure he could detect the character of any Indians he might see, at a sufficient distance to keep out of the way, if hostile. This is the last ever seen of him by his friends while living. Two or three days subsequently, as Colonel Moore's regiment were on their way from Joliet to Fort Wilburn, his advance guard, under charge of Colonel Hubbard, saw a pair of saddle-bags lying on the prairie about three miles from Holderman's Grove. A fresh trail in the tall grass leading from the saddle-bags, was immediately followed about an eighth of a mile, where the dead body of the preacher was found. The head was not severed from the body, says Mr. Hubbard, but the scalp was taken, including his long beard. In the saddle-bags his hymn book was left by the murderous wretches who killed the lamented preacher, for this was the last thing which could be of any service to them.

Around the dead body of the preacher the grass was leveled, giving proof that he defended himself in a fierce encounter with his murderers. Mr. Hubbard caused his remains to be immediately buried, and his party passed on.*

After the volunteers had left Dixon, Gen. Atkinson continued to hold the place, but dared not take the offensive against Black Hawk, especially as he had no means of knowing the amount of his force. Under these circumstances, he wished to send a communication to Galena. The mission was a dangerous one, but St. Vrain, a former Indian agent of the Sacs, had the hardihood to undertake it. He started, with a few companions, on the 22nd of May. Only six days after the volunteers had left, but ere he reached his destination, he met a party of Sacs, led by Little Bear, whom, having been a former friend, he approached in the attitude of peace. But Little Bear was on the war-path, and massacred the whole party, except two who had escaped, with as little hesitation as he would kill an enemy on the battle-field, alleging as a cause that St. Vrain had assisted Gen. Gaines in driving the Sacs across the Mississippi.

Soon afterwards, a Mr. Smith was killed near the Blue Mounds, and Mr. Winters, a mail contractor, six miles from Dixon.

*This account has been taken from Mr. Hubbard himself. Others who have stated the affair differently, lack authenticity.

Another man was killed not far from the spot where the lamented Mr. Payne was shot, and later, on the 14th of June, five men were killed while at work in a corn-field on Spafford's Creek, a branch of the Pecatonica.

All this time Black Hawk himself had not struck a hostile blow since the battle at Sycamore Creek, but by means of his fleet-footed messengers, as well as his Pottawatomie and Winnebago spies, he was well aware of the preparations which were being made to act against him.

The lead interests of Galena had drawn around the place a thriving settlement of Americans to work the mines which had for a century before been worked by the French or Indians, sometimes by the enforced labor of negro slaves.

In 1827, the county of Jo Daviess had been organized, including within its area several of the present adjacent counties, at that time a trackless wild, except for a few miles around the vicinity of Galena. A devious path, almost concealed with prairie grass, led from this place to Vandalia, the State capital, from whence the mail was carried once a fortnight, and another to Dixon. The remoteness of this settlement from the populous portion of Illinois, made it a shining mark for Black Hawk, and here he determined to strike his first blow before the new recruits came into the field. With this intent, he sent a small band of his marauding scouts thither, to make observations and steal horses. On the night of the 18th of June, they succeeded in accomplishing this design by entering the stables attached to Apple River Fort, and taking away the horses without detection. This was a small stockade on the east bank of Apple river, 12 miles from Galena, situated on Sec. 24, in Elizabeth township. The next morning, by chance, Capt. T. W. Stephenson arrived from Galena with a small command of 12 men, and determined to pursue the pilferers. The party was well mounted, and following their track without difficulty over the grass-clad plains, overtook them near Waddam's Grove, in the present county of Stephenson, named in honor of the leader of this expedition. The Indians took to the grove, and secreting themselves, waited the approach of their pursuers, like so many tigers crouching for their prey, and Stephenson's men, with more courage than prudence, dismounted, left their horses in charge of ten of their number and followed them with the intention of driving them out of their covert and recovering the horses. Three of Stephenson's men were killed in the desperate bush-fight, and himself and several others wounded, when they retreated, and the victorious Indians bore away their booty unharmed.* The dead were left on the

* Johnston's Hist. of Stephenson County.

ground, but the next day the party returned and buried them.

Encouraged by this success, Black Hawk selected 150 of his choicest braves and marched against the fort from which the horses had been taken. It was a small stockade of logs driven into the ground, having a tower at each corner for sharp-shooters, and garrisoned with 25 men under command of Captain Stone. Clustered around it was a village of miners, who, in the event of an Indian attack relied on it as a place of refuge. As Black Hawk's band neared the place, so stealthy was his movements that they managed to conceal themselves in a thicket only half a mile distant without being discovered. From this ambush, he intended to dash upon the place just after twilight, before the gates of the fort were closed for the night, and had it not been for the indiscretion of one of his own men, the village and fort both would probably have been taken and all the inhabitants butchered, according to the merciless custom of Indian warfare. On the morning of the same day, six brave scouts had volunteered to take a message from Galena to Dixon.* Arriving at Apple River Fort, they stopped to take dinner, from whence they were to take their dangerous course over the prairies. A few minutes' travel after they left the fort brought them within range of one of the concealed Indians, who fired on them, wounding Walshe. His companions kept the Indians at a distance by pointing their guns at the foremost ones till the wounded man was rescued, and all had made a glorious retreat to Apple River Fort.† Thus balked in his plan of secrecy, Black Hawk immediately dashed upon the town. The villagers rushed into the fort, leaving their houses at the mercy of the foe. The women went to melting lead and moulding bullets, and the men and boys seized each a musket to defend the fort. The assault was kept up ten hours or more. In vain the Indians fired a tempest of bullets against the palisades, aiming at the loop-holes, and with ferocious yells threatened to assault the place by scaling its walls. A number of them had fallen before the steady aim of the defenders, and the besiegers at last retreated, after a wanton destruction of everything of value in the village. Only one man was killed in the fort.

While Black Hawk's band were wasting their fury against the fort, Dixon, one of the intrepid scouts who had been fired upon as he, with his companions, had started for Dixon, was on his way to Galena to give the alarm and obtain assistance.‡ Col. Strode,

*Fred Dixon. Wm. Kilpatrick, ——— Walshe, ——— Wackelrode and two others.

†Boss' History of Ogle Co.

‡Fred. Dixon had been a distinguished Indian fighter in Missouri. He was not the proprietor of Dixon's Ferry.

who held command of the place, promptly responded to the call by sending a detachment with all haste, but they did not arrive till Black Hawk had retreated. Martial law was now declared in Galena, as a measure of defense against Black Hawk's scouts.

The late daring act, though unsuccessful, had sufficiently demonstrated the courage of the Indians, and their numerous war parties infesting the lonesome paths of the prairies gave alarming evidence that their numbers had been augmented largely from tribes who were friendly as nations, but whose renegade element were in the ranks of Black Hawk.

Gen. Brady, to whom the command of the new recruits had been given, being now taken violently sick, Gen. Atkinson was appointed to take his place. While these were on their way to Dixon, Major Dement was ordered to advance to Galena with a spy battalion numbering one hundred and fifty men. Arriving within thirty-five miles of his destination at Kellogg's Grove, while reposing at the log-cabin of Mr. Kellogg, for whom the grove was named, on the 25th of June, he was apprised of the presence of large bodies of Indians. Three or four days before, Black Hawk had been repulsed from Apple River Fort—less than a day's march from this place—and it was but a reasonable supposition that his band were ambushed near-by—perhaps within hearing of his noisy soldiers in the merriment of camp-life. Orders were given to saddle the horses, while he, at the head of twenty men, led a reconnoitering party. It was none too soon, for within three hundred yards of his camp seven Indians were discovered, crawling on the ground, silent as Victor Hugo's thugs. His undisciplined men immediately gave chase, while he vainly endeavored to call them back for fear of an ambuscade. When the pursuit had continued about a mile, a large body of Indians, reported at three hundred, but probably consisting only of the attackers of Apple River Fort, sprang from their hiding-places like so many goblins. Ferocious yells broke the silence of the morning, filling the solitudes around them with vengeful warnings. Dement retreated inside the log buildings composing Mr. Kellogg's pioneer plantation, sending back occasional shots on the way. Here he held his foes at a great disadvantage to them; but unwilling to give up the prize, they wasted considerable powder and lead against the inflexible walls of his retreat till several of their own number fell before the steady aim of the besieged.*

*Among the Indians shot was a daring young chief who ventured very near to secure a good aim at the loop-hole. Rev. Zadock Casey was the one who brought him down; the same who afterwards became Lieut.-Governor of the State. On the person of the chief was found a lock of hair which was afterwards identified as the same cut from the head of Rachel Hall, who was carried into captivity from the Indian Creek massacre.—*Matson's Shaubena, p. 177.*

The Indians withdrew after an hour's ineffectual attempt to dislodge Dement. Five whites were killed and a larger number wounded, which was the result of the ambuscade which the undisciplined soldiers had fallen into, from which perilous position their retreat into the log-cabins saved them from a total defeat with great slaughter.

Before the battle, an express had been sent to Gen. Posey for assistance, and two hours after the retreat of the Indians he arrived with his whole force. The next day he made a reconnoissance to the north, in search of the retreating Indians, but not finding them, he took up his quarters at Ft. Hamilton, on the Pecatonica river.

The news of the battle soon reached Dixon, where Gen. Atkinson, supposing that Black Hawk might attempt a retreat across the Mississippi, sent Gen. Alexander to scour its banks below Galena, and intercept him; but pending this fruitless search, Black Hawk was retreating, unpursued, to his camp at the head of Rock river, where his warriors, with their wives and children, were now whetting their revenge under the accumulated griefs of exile, hunger and war.

A few days before Dement's battle Colonel Dodge, who commanded the Wisconsin volunteers, went to Fort Hamilton, which was the nearest fort to the spot where the five men had been killed in a corn-field, as told in a preceding page. From this place, at the head of 21 daring Wisconsin volunteers, he sallied forth in quest of the hostile Sacs who had committed the outrage. He overtook them on the east fork of the Pecatonica, lodged in a grove. The attack was immediately made, and resulted in killing the entire band of Indians, 17 in number. Colonel Dodge's loss was three killed. This little skirmish tested not only the courage, but the muscle, of the dashing volunteers, for the conflict was mostly hand-to-hand fighting.*

After Dements fight, General Atkinson, learning by Wapansie, a friendly Pottawatomie, that Black Hawk had returned to his camp, he made preparation to follow him. Colonel Fry was ordered to march in advance, for the especial purpose of meeting and welcoming a company of friendly Pottawatomies, recruited at Chicago, and led by Billy Caldwell and Shaubena and Geo. E. Walker, while he and General Henry, with their respective brigades, followed, taking their course up the east side of Rock river, with the intention of attacking Black Hawk in his camp. At the same time General Alexander was ordered to advance up the west side of the river, a few miles west of its bank, while Colonel Dodge and General Posey were to march from the waters of the

*Smith's Doc. Hist. Wis., Vol. I, p. 275.

Pecatonica, striking Sugar creek, which flows southwardly through Green county, Wis., thence to the most southern of the Four Lakes. While this sweeping invasion was making its way northwardly, Black Hawk was fleeing before it as fast as his scanty means of transportation would allow, but ere he was able to cross the Wisconsin river he was overtaken by General Henry's division, who gave him battle on its southern bank, at a place called Wisconsin Heights, about fifty miles below Ft. Winnebago, which resulted in a loss of 50 to him while in his retreat across the river. General Henry's loss was 1 killed and 8 wounded.

White Crow a friendly Winnebago chief, was in General Henry's ranks during the battle, but unfortunately for Black Hawk, the Crow left the camp of the volunteers and started for Fort Winnebago as soon as darkness had put an end to the fight, for during the night General Henry's sentinels heard Indian voices calling to them, but no one could interpret their words, and no notice was taken of them. These were offers to surrender* and had the White Crow been present to interpret them the awful fate that followed to Black Hawk's band might have been averted.

During the night Black Hawk succeeded in getting his wretched fugitives across the Wisconsin, whence they fled towards the Mississippi, indulging in the despairing hope that they could reach its banks and find an asylum in the mysterious wilds beyond, should they be able to cross before their pursuers overtook them. General Atkinson, who was in hot pursuit of the Sacs, soon arrived at Helena, on the Wisconsin river, where the Wisconsin volunteers, under Colonel Dodge, effected a junction with him. Crossing over to the North side, they soon struck the trail of Black Hawk. It was during the last days of July, and the heat of midsummer soon decomposed the bodies of the dying fugitives, and the stench left in their wake was sometimes almost insupportable. Some of these dead were those who had been wounded in the late battle, and others were women or children who had surrendered at last to starvation and exhaustion.

On the 2nd of August, the advance, under Colonels Dodge and Zachary Taylor, overtook and attacked them, the main army, under General Atkinson meantime pressing on, supposing that the main body of the Sacs was in front of them.

In this conviction they were outwitted by the wily Black Hawk, who, intending to escape with his main body while amusing his pursuers with a feint, had sent them to the banks of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Bad Axe. General Henry, who was in the rear, learned this through Major Ewing, and dashing at them

*Smith's Wis. Vol. 1, P. 280.

with his whole force, the battle of Bad Axe was fought, General Atkinson reaching the scene only in time to see the ground covered with slain Indians, and the flying remnant vainly trying to cross the river by swimming. The loss of the volunteers was 17 killed, and more wounded.*

Immediately after Henry's battle at Wisconsin Heights, he had dispatched a messenger to Prairie du Chien to give the news. He arrived there on the 23d of July, and Colonel Loomis, who then held command of Ft. Crawford, dispatched the steamer enterprise up the Mississippi to intercept Black Hawk, should he attempt to cross. Arriving at the mouth of Black river, they found 40 Winnebagoes with 28 canoes. They were friendly Indians, but doubtless under a compassionate sympathy for their unhappy kindred in their desperate extremity, had assembled there to assist them across the river. Under this impression they were seized and sent to Fort Crawford. The Enterprise was now abandoned because she was a slow boat, and the Steamer Warrior, armed with a six-pounder was sent up the river in her stead. There are two islands on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Bad Axe, and on one of these the most of the defeated Sacs with their women had found a breathing place after the battle. Many of them swam thither for they had but one canoe, which was used to transport the feeble squaws and children. To this isolated retreat, Colonel Taylor at the head of 150 regulars followed them, and charged upon the pent up fugitives, while Captain Throckmorton opened fire on them from the Warrior. They made a desperate defense, but all fell except one who escaped by swimming.†

Among those who had not taken refuge on the island, was Black Hawk himself and less than a hundred of his band. Black Hawk fled to Prairie LaCross, a Winnebago village, where he surrendered himself to Cha-e-tar, and One Eyed Decorra. Under their custody the conquered chief with the prophet were taken to Prairie du Chien, and delivered to General Street the agent of the Winnebagoes at that place on the 27th of August.‡

*There seems to have been no small amount of rivalship, from the first, among the various divisions of the volunteers, as to which should have the first chance at the Sacs. It was by disobedience to the orders of the commanding General (Atkinson), that General Henry had by a hasty march overtaken and fought Black Hawk on the Heights of the Wisconsin, for which offense General Atkinson had placed him in the rear in the continued pursuit, but Black Hawk's successful feint at Bad Axe had by chance again given General Henry the first chance at his desperate and starving warriors.

See Smith's Wis., Vol. I, p. 415. Reynolds' My Own Times, p. 415.

†Captain Estes, Account. See Doc. Hist. Wis. Vol. III. P. 230.

‡On delivering the captives One Eye said: We have done as you told us. We always do as you tell us, because we know it is for our good. * * We

Of the miserable remnant, about 50 were taken prisoners, and it is probable that a few fled to the Winnebagoes and found a shelter, but it is known that some succeeded in crossing the Mississippi, even in the face of their numerous enemies. They had no sooner landed on this savage shore than the Sioux, their ancient enemies, fell upon the unhappy outcasts, and sent them across another river to the *Happy Hunting Grounds.** The thorny path they had traveled since they had returned to Illinois was now ended. If this world's griefs can offset transgressions, the balance could not be greatly against them to be entered to account on the other side.

Let us now return to General Scott, whom we left at Fort Dearborn. No news was obtainable from the seat of the war, and before he would take any offensive steps, it was necessary to communicate with General Atkinson. From the alarming news that had thus far reached Chicago it was then supposed that Black Hawk's war parties were way-laying every path through the prairies that intervened between Fox river and the Galena settlements, but yet in the face of these fancied dangers, an intrepid frontierer was found who volunteered to carry a message from General Scott to the camp of General Atkinson, which was supposed to be on Rock River. This was John K. Clark (who it may not be forgotten, was the son of Margaret the captive). He started on the mission with two daring half breeds, stealthily making their way over treeless plains, and creeping through silent groves to Rock River, thence following up the trail of his army reached his camp and delivered the message. All haste was now made to return to Chicago, which they safely effected after a week's absence from the place and delivered General Atkinson's reply to General Scott. The two inconsiderate half breeds tarnished their laurels thus gained by a carousal in a villainous whisky den, which then stood about where the well known house of Fuller & Fuller is now

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want you to keep them safe. If they are to be hurt, we do not want to see it. Wait until we are gone before you do it.

Black Hawk spoke as follows: * * My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us that morning, and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white man, but he can stand the torture. He is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian. He has done nothing an Indian need be ashamed of. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men who came year after year to cheat them, and take away their lands. * * * Black Hawk is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. His father will meet and reward him. The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse; they poison the heart. * * * Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk.

*Doc. Hist. Wis. Vol. III, P. 284.

located. Here they spent the night in dissipation, and the next morning Benjamin Hall (my informant), saw them come from the place, lay down on the ground, and die with Cholera at fifteen minutes' notice.

About the 20th of July, General Scott now resolved to go to the Desplains river and encamp, thinking the change might be beneficial to the health of his men. He arrived there about the 20th with his whole command and encamped at the present site of Riverside. His baggage train consisted of about fifty wagons which, with the horses to draw them, had been purchased at Milan, Ohio, and sent by teamsters to Fort Dearborn, where they arrived a few days after the general had come to the place.

Robert N. Murray, whose father had recently settled in Naperville (as already stated), was a lad of seventeen years, and enlisted in the service of General Scott as teamster, to drive one of the teams across the country. General Scott, with 12 men and two baggage-wagons, had started in advance, leaving Colonel Cummings in command of the main body, which was to follow as soon as the health of the soldiers would permit. In ten days the train started, carrying in the wagons the few sick soldiers who had not yet sufficiently recovered from cholera attacks to stand the fatigue of marching. Their route lay through Gilbert's Grove, on the DuPage, across the Fox river three miles below Elgin; thence through the Pigeon woods to the present site of Belvedere; thence to an old Indian village at the present site of Beloit. Here the train rested a week, during which time a messenger came to the commanding officer, informing him of the battle of Bad Axe, with orders to proceed to Rock Island.

In obedience to these instructions, the train again started over the prairies in a more southerly direction, passing the present site of Rockford, which was then a wild of great beauty, where they encamped for the night. Young Murray had by this time attracted the eye of Colonel Cummings who promoted him to the position of driving his own carriage, and gave the charge of the team from which he had been taken, to his first driver. Here he soon became initiated into the ways of some "great men," by being offered his choice of brandy or wine as often as the Colonel became thirsty, which was five or six times a day. Young Murray, to his surprise, declined the brandy, but retained the good opinion of his master, nevertheless. A few days' travel down Rock river now brought them to their destination. The troops were left at Fort Armstrong, and the teams sent back to Chicago, where they were sold.*

*While the writer is making up this chapter, Mr. Murray is on the bench holding his court but few rods distant in the village of Wheaton.

On the 9th of September the Indian prisoners were sent to Jefferson Barracks, just below St. Louis, from which place Black Hawk, with the Prophet, was sent to Washington, arriving there the following April, 1833. On the 26th they were sent to Fortress Monroe, where they remained till the 4th of June, when they were ordered to be sent back to their own country.

On the way Black Hawk was received with ovations in all the large cities through which he passed. Even ladies of high rank flattered him with smiles and compliments, to whom he, not wishing to be outrivaled in politeness (in his way), responded: Pretty squaw! Pretty squaw!

On returning to his country, he was restored to his tribe as a chief, subordinate to Keokuk. He spent his last days in quietness, dying on the 3d of October, 1838, at his home on the Des Moines river, in Iowa. He was buried in a sitting posture, after the Indian custom, near the present village of Iowaville in Wapello county, and a mound six feet high raised over the remains of the ill-starred chieftain, who must ever stand recorded as *The last native defender of the soil of the Northwest.**

*Our Mr. Lincoln, whom Chicago delights to claim, at least as one of her transcient citizens, served in the Black Hawk War six weeks, but humorously says that he fought nothing but mosquitoes. Out of this experience grew an incident which is told by Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, in a pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society, as follows:

"When Major Anderson visited Washington after his evacuation of Fort Sumter, he called at the White House to pay his respects to the President. After the Chief Magistrate had expressed his thanks to Anderson for his conduct in South Carolina, Mr. Lincoln said: 'Major, Do you remember of ever meeting me before?' 'No,' replied Anderson; 'I have no recollection of ever having had that pleasure.' 'My memory is better than yours', said Mr. Lincoln. 'You mustered me into the United States service as a high private of the Illinois volunteers at Dixon's Ferry, in the Black Hawk War.'"

CHAPTER XXIV.

Chicago as Seen by Philo Carpenter in 1832—*Eli B. Williams' Report of Chicago in* 1833—*Cook County Organized*—*The Town of Chicago Organized under a Board of Trustees*—*The Mouth of the River Opened*—*The First Public Loan*—*Indian Treaty of* 1830—*Ditto of* 1833 *at Chicago*—*Graphic Description of Chicago and the Treaty by an English Traveler*—*The Indian Titles Extinguished*—*The Indians Removed.*

The great plateau of northern Illinois was now vacant. Its unmeasured plains over which the summer winds waved the tall prairie graves into changing hues of green, before the occasional traveler who crossed them, laid out temptingly before the emigrant. The Indian was gone. They had left nothing but the graves of their fathers. They had not even marred the beauty of the groves which stood upon the rolling heath like islands of the ocean, in majestic solitude. The wolves and a few deer were their only tenants, except the birds. The conquest of the Northwest was now completed. The spasmodic throe of lingering native power that had been quickened into a fleeting activity by the courage of Black Hawk, had vanished. Many of the men who witnessed all this are still living and jostling their way along the stage of life in its accumulating activity, that the march of progress has stimulated to high-water mark amongst us. But a few years more will see the last one of them gathered into the fold among their fathers, and then our age will descend into history as an epoch of progress unparalleled in its records.

There are now (1880), two men living in Chicago who were residents of the place before the Black Hawk War, and have been representatives of its vital interests, and witnessed its growth from a lea of sand-ridge, marsh and forest, to a city of over half a million;—have seen it in its gradations from an obscure military post on the extreme verge of Western settlements, to the commercial center of the great Northwest.* One of these, Gurdon

*Besides these two is another, Mr. F. D. Park, who arrived at Chicago August 20th, 1831, and is still a resident of the city, an esteemed citizen, who has never intermingled in public affairs to make himself widely known.

S. Hubbard, has already been memorized in preceding chapters, as his active life has interwoven its records into Chicago history. The other is Philo Carpenter, who is associated with later records of Chicago.

He came to the place in 1832, starting from Troy, N. Y., in May. He took the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and from thence took passage on the steamer Enterprise (Capt. Walker, Master), to Detroit. Four and a half days was then the usual time for this passage. Detroit was the Western limit of established lines of Western transportation, but a mail coach consisting of a Pennsylvania covered wagon with a concave body, was drawn by two horses slowly through the wilderness road to Niles once a week, from whence the mail was carried to Chicago on horseback, a half-breed generally performing the service. From Detroit to Niles, Mr. Carpenter with another gentleman named G. W. Snow, came in the mail coach. Niles was an old settled French trading post, and at this time enjoyed a fair trade, principally with Indians. Supplies were transported to the place from Detroit by way of the lake to the mouth of the St. Joseph, which latter spot had been an important point ever since La Salle had built a fort here in 1680. From here freight was transported to Niles by means of flat boats, propelled by shoulder poles, as our worthy Mr. Lincoln used to move his lumber rafts through sluggish waters when a boatman.

Mr. Carpenter with Mr. Snow took passage from Niles to the mouth of the St. Joseph River on one of these boats, expecting to complete the last part of their journey on board a sloop which made occasional trips from this place to Chicago; but in this they were disappointed. The last trip made by this craft to Chicago was just after General Scott's arrival at the place, and so great was the terror caused by the contagion that he brought, that no inducement could influence the master of the sloop to return. In this emergency two Indians came to Mr. Carpenter, and by means of signs offered to convey him and his companian to their destination in a small boat along the shore around the head of the lake. Five dollars was the fare, half down and the balance at the end of the journey. The terms being accepted, the Indians took to the woods, and soon returned with several long strips of elm bark. These were quickly tied together till a long tow line was improvised and attached to the rude boat, which was the excavated trunk of a tree. One Indian seized the line and started off on a trot, tugging the clumsy craft along the shore, while the other steered. By taking turns a speed of five miles an hour was attained. When the first night overtook them, as chance would have it, a schooner lay stranded on the beach, and its captain invited the travelers to accept his hospitalities. A supper of veni-

son, a good berth and breakfast followed. In the morning the Indians took their places, one at the helm and the other at the tow line; the travelers seated themselves in the boat; a few extra strains of the swarthy toiler raised the speed and rapidly he tugged along the sandy shore—the exponents of a civilization destined to exterminate his own race. The next night found them at the mouth of the Calumet. Here John Mann kept a tavern, and also a ferry, but he with his family had fled to Chicago, lest some Indian on the war-path should attack them to subserve the interests of Black Hawk. Mr. Carpenter and his companion entered his forsaken house and spent the night, and in the morning resuming their journey in the usual way, soon came to the place where the Douglas Monument now stands. Here a settler lived named Joel Ellis, well known to some of the old settlers now living. One of the Indians was now attacked with colic, perhaps caused by the fear of the cholera, and both refused to proceed farther, but Mr. Ellis yoked his oxen to a lumber wagon, the travelers seated themselves in it, and after an hour's toiling over the sand ridges, the American flag waving over the block house at Fort Dearborn met their view.

The streets of the embryo town had been staked out but no grading had been done, not even a dirt road thrown up. A wagon track took a circuitous way from one house to another, accommodating itself to the oozy sloughs which seamed the landscape. The places connected by this track were first the fort with its adjuncts, occupying the grounds south of the present Rush street bridge, from which the path took a western direction to Russell Heacock's log building, which stood on the bank of the river at the junction of a deep run, the mouth of which was where State street now comes to the river. A foot-log across it gave Mr. Heacock a nearer way to the post office, which was then at the Fork* (Wolf's Point), but the main road curved around the head of this run, or rather to a place above its abrupt bank where it could be crossed. The road next threaded its way to a log building about at the present corner of Clark and water streets, where Geo. W. Dole and Oliver Newberry kept a commission house. The next building on the road in its western course was a new frame, the first of its kind ever erected in Chicago; it was located near the present corner of La Salle and Water streets, built by P. F. W. Peck, and occupied by him as a dry goods store. It stood till the great fire of 1871, contrasting strangely and incongruously with its adjacent companions. The next building on the primitive highway was the post-office, at which was also a

* Mr. Heacock came to Chicago in 1827. He was the first lawyer who settled at the place.—W. H. Hurlbut.

general store kept by John S. C. Hogan. It stood where Water street now meets Lake street diagonally, just east of the bridge. Immediately south of this on Market street, stood a log tavern kept by Mark Beaubien. This was sometimes called the Sauganash, but it was not the famous Hotel known by that name subsequently erected about at the present corner of Franklin and Lake Streets. Besides these buildings, was the residence of John Baptise Beaubien, south of the fort on the bank of the river, past its turn as it took its sandy way into the lake. These are all the improvements on the South side, as reported by Mr. Carpenter on his first arrival at Chicago.

Speaking of the area occupied by the sand-bar and river itself, east of the elevated bank on which the fort stood, he says it was ever changing in form, and such portions of it as one day appeared above water were liable to be submerged the next day. Nor was the mouth of the river any more permanent in its location, for there was no spot from North to South in this low heath of moving sands that had not at certain times been its channel, in obedience to the whimsical action of the winds and waves. At its immediate mouth the river was not more than twelve inches deep during ordinary summer seasons, while a few feet above, it deepened to fifteen feet or more, but the freshets of Spring, or an excessive rain at any time might produce a current in the river sufficient to clear away the sand at its mouth to a depth as low as the botton of the river above. This depth could only be maintained as long as the swollen waters were able to resist the counter action of the waves, which would quickly choke the mouth of the river again when its active current subsided.

Geology has revealed the history of many of the physical changes which are apparent on the face of nature in its present adaptation to our wants, and of these changes observation, even unaided by science, shows how the recent finishing up of great geological changes has been completed. That lake Michigan has been receding for several centuries does not admit of a doubt when one carefully notes the topography of its south-western water-shed. The rapids of the Illinois river at Marsailles once bore the same relation to the great lakes on the west that Niagara Falls now bears on the east. The evidence of this is found in the valley which once constituted the gently sloping banks of a western outlet of the lakes. This must have been when the face of the lake was thirty or more feet higher than its present level. At that time the Desplaines river must have emptied into the lake, and as the latter receded, its waval action, by obstructing its mouth, as it subsequently did the mouth of the Chicago river, turned it into the Illinois Valley. Even as late as 1849, during a great flood, the swollen waters of the Desplaines

found their old channel to the lake through the Chicago river, carrying shipping and bridges along in its irresistible career. How much more lake Michigan may recede depends on the friable nature of the rock at Niagara Falls and the bed of the Detroit river, which as yet seems to be inflexible enough to give many centuries lease of the present height of the lake before it can recede sufficiently to leave Chicago as an inland city. Till then she may drink of the brimming cup which the economy of nature has brought to her lips, and if, by the wisdom and justice of our country's laws, our government stands and continues to dispense an even measure of justice to all its subjects till the evolutions of nature shall have changed the location of our large cities, we shall present a spectacle never before recorded in the world's history.

The solution of this problem belongs to the future. It will not follow the mandates of our dogmas or the whims of speculation, but a thousand years hence the merits of Oriental, Grecian and Christian civilization will be compared with each other by Transcendental Philosophy, which is always parsimonious in its praise and lavish in its censure; meantime we shall wag along, each one doing all he can to contribute his mite to make up the sum total of the grandeur of his own age as far as the promotion of his own interest can do it; and the verdict of time will be pronounced in favor of that civilization whose policy the most largely turns private enterprise into, and secures private interests in, channels not antagonistic to, but in harmony with the public good. Let us convince our posterity that Christian civilization can win in this sublime rivalry. Let us return to Chicago, which we left where Mr. Carpenter found it.

Mr. Eli. B. Williams may be regarded as next in chronological order of the living witnesses of early Chicago. He is a native of Connecticut, and with his wife arrived at Chicago, April 14th, 1833. From Detroit they came in their own private carriage across the country through Ypsilanti and Niles, coming to the shore of the lake at the residence of Mr. Biella, who with his family were spoken of in the previous chapter. From this place they followed the immediate shore of the lake to Chicago, ferrying over the Calumet at Mr. Man's ferry, arriving at the place the next day in the afternoon. Leaving the Fort at their right they bent their course across the open prairie towards the fork of the river. Here they found a log tavern kept by Mark Beaubien. Several Indians were lounging around the door, in the listless manner peculiar to their race, which was not calculated to assure a lady from Connecticut with confidence, and Mr. Williams, at the suggestion of his wife, drove across the river on a floating log bridge, to a tavern kept by Charles H. Taylor. Here they stopped

several days to take observations, after which Mr. Williams decided to settle here, under an impression that a late appropriation which Congress had made to improve the river and harbor, together with the canal when finished, would insure a respectable sized town, where the religious and educational institutions of his native State might be re-produced.

The entire white population of Chicago did not then exceed 200 persons, but there was a much larger Indian population, which, though transient, served to swell the volume of trade, and Mr. Williams concluded to open a store at once. His place of business was on South Water street, east of Geo. W. Doles. This he built, making the frame from green timber, cut from the forests on the North Side, hewn to a snap-line* with a broad-axe in the old-fashioned way. The weather boarding came from St. Joseph, which then furnished Chicago her lumber as much as it does now her peaches. The flooring came from a saw mill which had just been built by the enterprising Mr. Naper, at Naperville, who must be recorded as one of the pioneers in the lumber trade to Chicago.

In 1831, the county of Cook had been organized, including within its area the present counties of Dupage, Lake, McHenry, Will and Iroquois, receiving its name from Daniel P. Cook, a member of Congress from Southern Illinois. Samuel Miller, Gholson Kercheval and James Walker, were sworn into office as County Commissioners, March 8th 1831, by John S. C. Hogan, justice, Wm. See was clerk, and Archibald Clybourn Treasurer, Jedediah Wooley was county Surveyor. Three election districts were organized, one at Chicago, one on the Dupage River, and one on Hickory Creek.†

It was not until two years later that the town of Chicago took any action towards organizing, when under general Statute law, they held an election for this purpose, August 10th, 1833, and incorporated the embryo town. Only twenty eight votes were cast, which was but a feeble constituency with which to start a metropolis. P. J. V. Owen, Geo. W. Dole, Mederd Beaubien, John Miller and E. S. Kimberly, were elected as trustees. A log jail was built on the public square where the court house has since been erected. An estray pen was also built at an expense of $12.00.

*This was a straight scribe mark made along the entire length of a log by means of stretching a chalked string from end to end on it, making it fast at each extremity. The string was then raised up perpendicularly from the middle and being let down with a snap, left a chalk mark on the log as a guide by which to hew it square. This was the process in the early day of making square timber for frames, instead of sawing them as done at the present day.

†This was the Southern Precinct, Hickory Creek being a branch of the Desplaines in what is now Will County.

The next year Mr. Williams was elected President of the Council Board of Trustees. Entering upon the responsibility of his office he found many difficulties in his path. There were various public improvements necessary to be made to keep pace with the progress of such public works as had been projected at government expense, such as the Illinois and Michigan Canal and building the north pier, and opening a straight channel for the mouth of the river through the sand bar around which it had formerly formed a circuitous delta.*

Clark street was then the principal highway from north to south. During excessive rains it was impassable in its low places, and it was the first pressing want of the town to make a ditch on each side of it. The treasury was empty, and a loan to accomplish this end was necessary. By dint of much importunity, Mr. Williams succeeded in negotiating one for $60.00 with Messrs. Strahan & Scott, by becoming personally responsible for its payment. The amount was faithfully applied to the purpose for which it was intended, and thus the public credit and improvement of Chicago began, which have since been witnessed up to this date (1880) by him who inugurated them. Both Mr. Williams and his wife are in their full mental vigor, though advanced in years.

Besides the honorable record of Mr. Williams in Chicago, an increased interest gathers around his recollections, from the following incident: At Toland, Connecticut, in his father's house,

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* From Mr. Ezekiel Morrison, who came to Chicago soon after the arrival of Mr. Williams, in 1833, the following has been learned relative to the opening of the mouth of the river directly to the lake. In 1833 work was commenced at cutting through the sand-bar to straighten the Chicago River. It was done under the direction of Major Handy, who had charge of the government work. Cribs were made filled with stone and sunk across the main channel of the river to turn its course across the sand-bar directly into the lake, as it now runs. The next year, as good fortune would have it, the Desplaines overflowed the country intervening and caused an unusual flow of water through the Chicago River. Only a slight opening was made in the sand-bar, and the accumulated waters did the rest. A steamboat came through the opening thus made the same Spring (1834). The north pier was then commenced to secure the advantage thus gained. Four hundred feet was made the first year, and its progress continued from year to year to its present dimensions. Immediately after the channel was pierced through, the wind commenced drifting sand from the north bank into the river, and cribs had to be set into the bank to prevent the filling up of the channel. The action of the waves was also a constant source of annoyance, and threatened to destroy the utility of the work already done, till the north pier was extended a sufficient distance into the lake to reach water so deep that the sand could not be moved around it by surface agitation. To extend this pier sufficiently to accomplish this, has been, and is still, a work perhaps not completed, but destined yet to engage the attention of the Chicago Board of Public Works. Meantime the waval action is constantly making accretions north of the pier. It has already made a belt of land half a mile into the lake and the process is still going on.

John Buel Fitch planned and built the first steam engine ever made. He, with his assistants, worked secretly in the basement of the house, and continued their labors till the engine was in practical working order; the first of its kind which was destined to revolutionize the transporting as well as the manufacturing interests of the world, and control the destinies of nations. While at work on it, says Mr. Williams, the screeching of files, the clink of hammers, and hissing of steam, which was heard outside, excited the credulity and superstition of the age, till witchcraft was suspected, and the whole neighborhood were beset with fear from what was going on in the mysterious basement.

John Fitch lived and died in penury and want, but through his invention the railroad and manufacturing millionaires of Europe and America grew into power, and the present magnitude of Chicago is already traceable to the success of that experiment that from the basement of the elder Mr. Williams' house crowned the twilight of the eighteenth century with everlasting fame.

In the year 1832 the Pottawattomies of Indiana and Michigan, on the 20th of October, at Camp Tippecanoe, in Indiana, concluded a treaty with the United States, by the terms of which the country intervening between their cession of 1816, along the line of the proposed canal and the Indiana line, was sold to the United States in the following terms: After making many reservations to private Indians for services rendered the State, the United States agreed to pay to the Pottawattomies an annuity of $15,000 for twenty years, besides an annuity of $600 to Billy Caldwell, $200 to Alexander Robinson, and $200 to Pierre Le Clerc, during their lives. Further, the sum of $28,746 was to be paid to liquidate certain private claims against the Indians, and merchandise to the amount of $45,000 was to be delivered to them on signing the treaty, and an additional amount of merchandise, to the value of $30,000, was to be delivered to them at Chicago the next year (1833).

On the 27th of October, the same year, 1832, and at the same place (Tippecanoe), the Pottawattomies of Indiana sold to the United States all the remainder of the lands which they still held as a tribe, in Michigan, south of Grand river, in Indiana, and in Illinois.

This treaty did not release the claim of the Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas, of Illinois, to such lands as laid north and west of the cession of 1816, along the track of the proposed canal, and it will thus be seen that almost all the northern portion of Illinois were still in undisputed Indian possession. Appropriations to build the Illinois and Michigan canal had already

been made by the State of Illinois, to whom the alternate sections of public lands for six miles on each side of the canal had been donated by the Government for this purpose.

Since the Black Hawk war, which had brought the country within the knowledge of so many enterprising young men, emigration was coming in rapidly and occupying the lands, although they had not yet been surveyed, but these moral pre-emptors did not want any better claim for an ultimate title than would result from actual possession. Speculators were also coming into Chicago with cash to make investments, and it was all important that the Indian title to such portions of northern Illinois as the Sacs and Foxes had not already given up, should be speedily extinguished. To this end the Chippewas, the Ottawas and the Pottawattomies of Illinois, were summoned to a great council to be held in Chicago in September, 1833. Great preparations were made for this event. Besides the interest the Indians had in it directly as to the amounts of money and goods coming to them on parting with their lands, they were the unwitting instruments by which several hundred white claimants brought charges against the Government, either for property said to have been destroyed or stolen by them, or for services done the State in times of Indian disturbances as measures of safety, or for services in times of peace under Government contracts.

At this time Mr. Charles J. Latrobe, an Englishman of great descriptive talent, happened to be on a tour to Chicago to see the wonders of an American frontier, and make notes of the same for publication in London.* The naiveness of his description of Chicago, and the transient comers to the place, both red and white, to attend the treaty, are too fresh to be lost, and portions of them are here re-produced as a truer picture of the scene than could now be given:

"We found the village on our arrival crowded to excess, and we procured with great difficulty a small apartment, comfortless and noisy from its close proximity to others, but quite as good as we could have hoped for.

The Pottawatomies were encamped on all sides,—on the wide level prairie beyond the scattered village, beneath the shelter of the low woods which checquered them, on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand hills near the beach of the lake. They consisted of three principal tribes with certain adjuncts from smaller tribes. The main divisions are, the Pottawatomies of the Prairie and those of the Forest, and these are subdivided into distinct villages under their several chiefs.

The General Government of the United States, in pursuance of the scheme of removing the whole Indian population westward of the Mississippi, had empowered certain gentlemen to frame a Treaty with these tribes, to settle the terms upon which the cession of their Reservations in these States should be made

A preliminary council had been held with the chiefs some days before our arrival. The principal Commissioner had opened it, as we learnt, by stating

*His Book entitled "Rambler" in America, was published in London, in 1835. It was dedicated to Washington Irving.

that, "as their Great Father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent Commissioners to treat with them." The Indians promptly answered by their organ, "that their Great Father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie, for that far from wishing to sell their land they wished to keep it.' The Commissioner, nothing daunted, replied: 'that nevertheless, as they had come together for a Council, they must take the matter into consideration." He then explained to them promptly the wishes and intentions of their Great Father, and asked their opinion thereon. Thus pressed, they looked at the sky, saw a few wandering clouds, and straightway adjourned *sine die*, as the weather is not clear enough for so solemn a council.

However, as the Treaty had been opened, provision was supplied to them by regular rations; and the same night they had had great rejoicings,—danced the war-dance, and kept the eyes and ears of all open by running and howling about the village.

Such was the state of affairs on our arrival. Companies of old warriors might be seen sitting smoking under every bush; arguing, palavering, or "pow-wowing" with great earnestness; but there seemed no possibility of bringing them to another Council in a hurry.

Meanwhile the village and its occupants presented a most motley scene.

The fort contained within its palisades by far the most enlighted residents, in the little knot of officers attached to the slender garrison. The quarters here consequently were too confined to afford place of residence for the Government Commissioners, for whom and a crowd of dependents, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. To the latter gentlemen we, as the only idle lookers on, were indebted for much friendly attention; and in the frank and hospitable treatment we received from the inhabitants of Fort Dearborn, we had a foretaste of that which we subsequently met with everywhere under like circumstances, during our autumnal wanderings over the Frontier. The officers of the United States Army have perhaps less opportunities of becoming refined than those of the Navy. They are often, from the moment of their receiving commissions, after the termination of their Cadetship at West Point, and at an age when good society is of the utmost consequence to the young and ardent, exiled for long years to the posts on the Northern or Western frontier, far removed from cultivated female society, and in daily contact with the refuse of the human race. And this is their misfortune—not their fault;—but wherever we have met with them, and been thrown as strangers upon their good offices, we have found them the same good friends and good company.

But I was going to give you an inventory of the contents of Chicago, when the recollection of the warm-hearted intercourse we had enjoyed with many fine fellows whom probably we shall neither see nor hear of again, drew me aside.

Next in rank to the Officers and Commissioners, may be noticed certain storekeepers and merchants resident here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood, or those passing yet further to the westward, for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land-agent, and five or six hotel-keepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you.

Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawatomies, of whom more anon—and emigrants and land-speculators as numerous as the sands. You will find horse-dealers, and horse-stealers,—rogues of every description, white, black, brown and red—half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all;—dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes;—men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, others, like our friend Snipe, (one of his stage coach companions on the way) for pigs which the wolves had eaten;—creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money, if they do not get it from the Government agents;—sharpers of every degree; pedlars, grog-sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and Contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. The little village was in an

uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments.

I loved to stroll out towards sun-set across the river, and gaze upon the level horizon, stretching to the north-west over the surface of the prairie, dotted with innumerable objects far and near. Not far from the river lay many groups of tents constructed of coarse canvas, blankets, and mats, and surmounted by poles, supporting meat, moccasins, and rags. Their vicinity was always enlivened by various painted Indian figures, dressed in the most gaudy attire The interior of the hovels generally displayed a confined area, perhaps covered with a few half-rotten mats or shavings, upon which men, women, children, and baggage were heaped pell-mell.

Far and wide the grassy Prairie teemed with figures; warriors mounted or on foot, squaws, and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed;—groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children, or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the grass in consultation.

It was amusing to wind silently from group to group—here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl, quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbours, there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling with their little train of loaded ponies, and wolfish dogs, into the deep black narrow trail running to the north. You peep into a wigwam, and see a domestic feud; the chief sitting in dogged silence on the mat, while the women, of which there were commonly two or three in every dwelling, and who appeared every evening even more elevated with the fumes of whiskey than the males, read him a lecture. From another tent a constant voice of wrangling and weeping would proceed, when suddenly an offended fair one would draw the mat aside, and taking a youth standing without by the hand, lead him apart, and sitting down on the grass, set up the most indescribable whine as she told her grief. Then forward comes an Indian, staggering with his chum from a debauch; he is met by his squaw, with her child dangling in a fold of her blanket behind, and the sobbing and weeping which accompanies her whining appeal to him, as she hangs to his hand, would melt your heart, if you did not see that she was quite as tipsy as himself.

Here sitting apart and solitary, an Indian expends the exuberance of his intoxicated spirits in the most ludicrous singing and gesticulation; and there squat a circle of unruly topers indulging themselves in the most unphilosophic and excessive peals of laughter.

It is a grievous thing that Government is not strong-handed enough to put a stop to the shameful and scandalous sale of whiskey to those poor miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it for sale under the very eye of the Commissioners, met together for purposes, which demand that sobriety should be maintained, were it only that no one should be able to lay at their door an accusation of unfair dealing, and of having taken advantage of the helpless Indian in a bargain, whereby the people of the United States were to be so greatly the gainers.

And such was the state of things day by day. However anxious I and others might be to exculpate the United States Government from the charge of cold and selfish policy toward the remnant of the Indian tribes, and from that of resorting to unworthy and diabolical means in attaining possession of their lands,—as long as it can be said with truth, that drunkenness was not guarded against, and that the means were furnished at the very time of the Treaty, and under the very nose of the Commissioners,—how can it be expected but a stigma will attend every transactien of this kind. The sin may lie at the door of the individuals more immediately in contact with them; but for the character of the people as a nation, it should be guarded against, beyond a possibility of transgression. Who will believe that any act, however formally executed by the chiefs, is valid, as long as it is known that whiskey was one of the parties to the Treaty.

'But how sped the Treaty?' you will ask.

Day after day passed. It was in vain that the signal-gun from the fort gave notice of an assemblage of chiefs at the council fire. Reasons were always found for its delay. One day an influential chief was not in the way; another, the sky looked cloudy, and the Indian never performs an important business except the sky be clear. At length, on the 21st of September, the Pottawatomies resolved to meet the Commissioners. We were politely invited to be present.

The council-fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow, on the opposite side of the river from that on which the Fort stood. From the difficulty of getting all to-gether, it was late in the afternoon when they assembled. There might be twenty or thirty chiefs present, seated at the lower end of the enclosure, while the Commissioners, Interpreters, &c. were at the upper. The palaver was opened by the principal Commissioner. He requested to know why he and his colleagues were called to the council? An old warrior arose, and in short sentences, generally of five syllables, delivered with a monotonous intonation, and rapid utterance, gave answer. His gesticulation was appropriate but rather violent. Rice, the half-breed Interpreter, explained the signification from time to time to the audience; and it was seen that the old chief, who had got his lesson, answered one question by proposing another, the sum and substance of his oration being—'that the assembled chiefs wished to know what was the object of their Great Father at Washington in calling his Red Children together at Chicago.'

This was amusing enough after the full explanation given a week before at the opening session; and particularly when it was recollected that they had feasted sumptuously during the interval at the expense of their Great Father, was not making very encouraging progress. A young chief rose and spoke vehemently to the same purpose. Hereupon the Commissioner made them a forcible Jacksonian discourse, wherein a good deal which was akin to threat, was mingled with exhortations not to play with their Great Father, but to come to an early determination, whether they would or would not sell and exchange their territory; and this done, the council was dissolved. One or two tipsy old chiefs raised an occasional disturbance, else matters were conducted with due gravity.

The relative positions of the Commissioner and the whites before the Council-fire, and that of the Red Children of the Forest and Prairie, were to me strikingly impressive. The glorious light of the setting sun streaming in under the low roof of the Council-House, fell full on the contenances of the former as they faced the West—while the pale light of the East, hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently clave to their birth-right in that quarter. Even though convinced of the necessity of their removal, my heart bled for them in their desolation and decline. Ignorant and degraded as they may have been in their original state, their degradation is now ten-fold, after years of intercourse with the whites; and their speedy disappearance from the earth appears as certain as though it were already sealed and accomplished.

Your own reflection will lead you to form the conclusion, and it will be a just one,—that even if he had the will, the power would be wanting, for the Indian to keep his territory; and that the business of arranging the terms of an Indian Treaty, whatever it might have been two hundred years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors, and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependent, and the Government Agents. When the former have seen matters so far arranged their self-interest and various schemes and claims are likely to be fulfilled and allowed to their hearts' content,—the silent acquiescence of the Indian follows of course; and till this is the case, the Treaty can never be amicably effected. In fine, before we quitted Chicago on the 25th, three or four days latter, the Treaty with the Pottawatomies was concluded,—the Commissioners putting their hands, and the assembled chiefs their paws, to the same.

By it, an apparently advantageous 'swop' was made for both parties."

By the terms of this treaty the three tribes ceded to the United States the entire remainder of their lands in Illinois that had not already been sold. The ceded tract laid between the Rock River and Lake Michigan, embracing the entire lake shore north of Chicago, and all the lands intervening between the canal cession of 1816 and the Sac and Fox and Winnebago cessions between the Rock and Mississippi rivers of 1830 and 1832.

The consideration for the relinquishment of this land was first five million acres granted to them, situated on the east bank of the Missouri river south of the Boyer river, to which they were to be transported at the expense of the government as soon as practicable, and maintained in their new home for one year. One hundred thousand dollars was to be paid by the United States to satisfy certain claimants for reservations, and to indemnify the Chippewas for certain lands in Michigan, ceded to the United States by the Menomonees, to which they laid an equal claim. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars to satisfy private claims made against the three tribes; an annuity of fourteen thousand dollars per year for twenty years; one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be applied to the erection of mills, farming tools and other improvements in their new home. Seventy thousand dollars to support the means of education among them, and lastly, four hundred dollars per annum was to be added to the annuity of Billy Caldwell, three hundred to that of Alexander Robinson, and two hundred each to the annuity of Joseph LaFromboise and Shabonee.

G. B. Porter, Th. J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, in behalf of the United States, negotiated this treaty with the Pottawattomas, Chippewas, and Ottawas. It bears date of Chicago, September 26, 1833. It was the last great Indian council at this place, around which the red men had lingered in great numbers much longer after being settled by the whites than around other frontier settlements.

The reason of this was obvious; Chicago, after over one hundred years of transient French occupation, first grew into importance as an English settlement through Indian trade. Moreover, many of its first settlers were men bred on the frontiers and felt no repugnance towards the Indians, but on the contrary not a few felt a friendship for them, strengthened by years of companionship in the fascinating sports of border life, which not only level social distinctions, but accept a good fellowship through a rough exterior intolerable to the uninitiated civilian. Notwithstanding the apparent degradation of the Indian, even after being brutalized by bad whisky, many of them could make nice discriminations in issues where natural rights were at stake, as our government agents found in their councils. They well knew

that they were the instruments by which many unjust claims were brought against the government; but of this they said nothing, lest their own rights might be compromised by such an exposure.

The amount of goods dispensed to them at Chicago to fulfill treaty stipulations was often very large, and in order to distribute them equitably, men were chosen for the service whose personal acquaintance with the Indians would enable them to do it in the most satisfactory manner. On these occasions the huge piles of goods, consisting largely of Indian blankets, were dispensed by piece-meal to the different Indian families according to their necessities, but sometimes a discarded Indian lassie, whose place had been substituted by a white wife, came in for an extra share of finery as an offset to lacerated affections.

Two years elapsed after the Indians had sold out their interest in the country before they were removed. This was effected by Colonel J. B. F. Russell, whose widow is still living in Chicago. This lady, who is descended from the Peytons, of Virginia, has in her possession autograph letters of Washington and other fathers of our country, besides many valuable relics of early Chicago; among which is the journal kept by her husband during his public service. To her courtesy the writer is indebted for much valuable information, among which are the following items from Mr. Russell's journal:

"The first party of Indians left Chicago, Sept. 21, 1835, with the Chiefs, Robinson, Caldwell, and La Framboise, and proceeded to their place of rendezvous, on the Desplaines, 12 miles from Chicago, a place of meeting usual on such occasions. I met them in council and presented to them the objects of the meeting and the views of the government relative to their speedy removal to their new country. They wished to defer answering what I had said to them for two days, to which I consented. Sunday, 28th. Provided teams and transportation for the removal of the Indians." The journal next proceeds to detail the particulars of his thankless toil in satisfying the real and whimsical necessities of his captious charge, who honored him with the appelation of Father, and vexed him with complaints continually. Their first stopping place was Skunk River, in Iowa. Patogashah started with his band to winter at this place, which was the first party to start independent of government assistance. Robinson had command of a separate party, Caldwell another, Wabansie another, and Holliday another, and Robert Kinzie and Mr. Kerchival assisted Mr. Russell in superintending the whole.

Fort Des Moines, on the Mississippi river, lay on their route to Fort Leavenworth, which was their destination, on the Missouri river, from whence they were to draw their supplies, as stipulated by the government at the treaty, as they settled themselves in their new home adjacent. The whole tribe were not removed to their new home till the next year, 1836, when the last remnant of them took their leave of the country around the head of Lake Michigan, which they had occupied for two centuries, as shown in foregoing pages.

Two years after their settlement near Fort Leavenworth, owing to feelings of hostility which the frontier settlers felt towards them, they were removed to Council Bluffs, from whence, after remaining a few years, they were removed to where they now live, diminished in numbers from 5,000, at the time they were removed from Chicago, to less than half that number.*

Mr. Russell's success in removing them was the result of his frontier military experiences on the borders of Maine, together with his habits of activity, tempered with patience. He deserves mention among the early settlers of Chicago, because his name is interwoven with its history. He was born in Boston in 1800, well descended from Revolutionary stock, his father being a patriot editor, and his uncle (Major Ben. Russell), was stationed at West Point at the time of Arnold's treason. Mr. Russell's first arrival at Chicago was July 21st, 1832, he having been ordered to join General Scott here. His wife did not come to the place till the summer of 1835, when, in company of General Cass and his two daughters she arrived, and they were guests at the Sagaunash. They were from this time permanent residents of Chicago, well known by all the early settlers. Mr. Russell's death took place Jan. 3d, 1861. His remains rest at Rose Hill.

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*The report from the office of Indian affairs in Kansas, Sept. 1st, 1878, says: The Pottawattomies are advancing in education, morality, christianity, and self-support. A majority of them have erected substantial houses, planted fruit trees, and otherwise beautified their surroundings. The average attendance at a school which the government provides for them is 29, from an enrollment of 44. The school buildings are well supplied with faculties for boarding and lodging the pupils, and also for teaching the females household duties. Their reservation contains 77,357 acres of land in Jackson county. Their wealth in individual property amounts to $241,650. On their farms they have reapers, mowers, planters, cultivators, and other agricultural machinery, all of the most modern patterns.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Beaubiens—Pioneer Hotel—Ingenious Device for Lodgings—The Pioneer Newspaper—Its Subscription List—Wolff's Point—Its Inhabitants—Alexander Robinson—His Character—His Wonderful Age—Shabonee—His Character—Chicago in 1834—*Chicago in* 1835—*Turning the First Sod for the Canal—Celebration of the Event—Its Consequences—The Last Records of Chicago as a Town—List of Old Settlers.*

Among the pioneers of Chicago the Beaubiens deserve a place, for without them a chasm would be left unabridged between the old French and Indian regime, and the Anglo American of today.

In the year 1817, Conant & Mack, a Detroit Fur Company, established a house at Lee's Place on the Chicago river, South Branch, under the general superintendence of Mr. John Crafts, as already stated in a previous chapter, and Mr. John Baptiste Beaubien was in his service as local agent, which was the means of bringing him to the place to settle. A few months later the American Fur Company bought out the house established at Lee's place and established one at Chicago, at the same time imposing upon Mr. Crafts the entire duties of the Chicago house, which of course displaced Mr. Beaubien.* He still remained at the place, having purchased of Mr. Dean, an army contractor, the house and enclosure containing a garden and field adjacent to the fort, known as the Dean house, for one thousand dollars.

"Colonel Beaubien built another house upon this place, and continued the occupant of it till 1836. In 1823 the factory houses adjoining, or on the same premises, were sold by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, to Wm. Whiting, who sold the same to the American Fur Company, and of whom Col. Beaubien purchased the buildings of the factory for the sum of five hundred dollars. Mr. Beaubien by these purchases became the owner and occupant of all the premises of the so called Reservation, outside of the fort, and claimant to the lands not covered by the buildings of the government. Upon these facts Mr. Beaubien set up his claim as a pre-emptioner to the south west fractional quarter of section ten, township thirty-nine north, range fourteen east, as being the sole occupant and in actual possession on the 9th of May, 1830, the date of the preemption law. He therefore applied on the 7th of May, 1831, to the land office

*Gurdon S. Hubbard.

at Palestine, for a pre-emption, which was rejected ; though on the same day a pre-emption was granted to Robert A. Kinzie, for the north fractional quarter of the same section, which was the part occupied by the Kinzie family, since defined as Kinzie's addition to Chicago. He applied again in 1834 to the land office at Danville for a pre-emption, and was again refused. On the 28th of May, 1835, Col. Beaubien applied to the land office in Chicago,—the office in the meantime having been established here—and having proved to the satisfaction of the Register and Receiver that he was entitled to pre-emption, he entered the same and received his certificate therefor. The lands had been retained and his applications resisted on the ground of the tract being claimed by the United States for military purposes. The land had been surveyed by government in 1821, and in 1824, at the instance of the Indian Agent ; the Secretary of War requested the Commissioner of the General Land Office to reserve this land for the accommodation and protection of the property of the Indian Agency ; and the Commissioner did inform the Secretary that he had reserved it from sale for military purposes. Beaubien had received the registrar's certificate—but his title to the propery was resisted, and the case traversed the courts to the Supreme Bench of the United States, and the land was finally held by the United States, and was surveyed into lots and sold by order of the President, in 1839. Mr. Beaubien was allowed as a special favor, some of the lots which had been covered by his homestead, which has proved a fortune equal to the original expectation of the whole tract of the Reservation.

Within a short time he has made some changes in his estate in Chicago, and has removed with his family to his farm on the Des Plaines, near the reservation of Alexander Robinson, the late chief of the United Tribes of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas."—*Zebina Eastman's History of Chicago, published in the Chicago Magazine, May*, 1857.

About this time he married a half breed, named Josette LaFromboise, who had been in the employ of John Kinzie previous to the massacre. During this time her parents lived in a log house at the head of the south branch of the Chicago river, at which place she took refuge after the massacre and remained till her marriage, the ceremony being performed by Father Rechere. Her father, J. B. LaFromboise, was a man of education. His wife, an Ottawa girl, the mother of Josette, soon learned to read and write, and taught an Indian school at Chicago.* A son of this union, Alexander Beaubien, is now a resident of Chicago, from whom the facts have been learned. Medard B. Beaubien, an older son, cast his lot with the Indians when they were removed from Chicago, and is now with them at Silver Lake, Kansas. There are numerous other children and descendents of the Beaubiens living amongst us. The interest of Mr. J. B. Beaubien being attached to Chicago, he induced his brother Mark to come from Michigan, their original residence, who arrived at the town in 1826. Soon after his arrival he bought a small log house which John Kinzie had built, about at the present corner of Lake and Market streets, for one hundred dollars. Here he opened a tavern, if his hut deserved such a name. The manner in which he entertained his guests, according to his own statement when interviewed by a *Times* reporter in 1876, affords a specimen of ingenious

* Schoolcraft's thirty years.

audacity which could only be condoned by that brimming exuberance of jolity and good fellowship that ever abided around him and disarmed criticism. Says this incarnation of comedy:

"I had no ped, but when traveler come for lodging, I give him planket to cover himself up in on de floor, and tell him to look out, for Ingun steal it. Den when he gits to sleep I take de planket way carefully an give it to noder man and tell him same, so I always have peds for all dat want em.

This device was certainly not the result of any niggardly disposition on his part; but a necessary expedient by which no guest should be rejected from his entertainment. From this small beginning he rose in respectability, until in 1831 he enlarged his tavern to a two story building with green blinds, and in honor of Billy Caldwell, whose Indian name was Sagaunash, thus named the house.

He is the father of twenty-three children, sixteen by his first wife, whom he married at Detroit, Michigan, and seven by his second. His present home is Newark, Illinois, where he is enjoying a green old age, not yet forsaken by that excess of good humor that has carried him so easily through a life, that without it, must have been full of perplexity. A single look at the ingenious old man might for the moment lift the burden from a sorrowing heart.*

Equally allied to what may with propriety be called the medieval period of Chicago's history, is Mr. Robert Kinzie, (younger brother of John H). Both were here at the time of the massacre, and rescued with their father, John Kinzie, and returned to the place in 1816, since which time Chicago has been their home the most of their time till their deaths. That of John H. has already been noticed. Robert survived him till December 13th, 1873, when he passed away and was buried in Graceland. His wife is still living in Chicago. Her maiden name was Gwinthlean H. Whistler. Her grandfather was the same who built Fort Dearborn in 1803. She was born at Fort Howard, and spent her infantile years in that wild frontier till eleven years old, when she went with her father to Fort Niagara, from which place, after a three years' residence, he came to Chicago to take command of Ft. Dearborn, she accompanying him. Here she married Mr. R. Kinzie in 1834. Helen M. and Maria H., daughters of John Kinzie were born in Chicago, the former in 1805 and the latter in 1807. Both were rescued from the massacre with their older brothers, John H. and Robert. Maria H. became the wife of General David Hunter. Both she and her husband are now living in Washington.

Volumes could be written on the experiences of these male and

*The writer called on him when he lived near Naperville, in 1860. His old fashioned French furniture seemed to still link him back to his own early age.

female pioneers. It is refreshing to be in their presence and commune with them on the age that has just preceded the one in which we live. They were educated in a school that transcended the average solicitudes of our day in utilitarian conditions. The problem with them how they were to secure the positive wants of the mind and body, was ever foremost of that as to how they should obtain the fictitious ones; hence their efforts were not wasted in the pursuit of the unattainable, for the destined goal of him who seeks the fulfillment of capricious and selfish purposes only, vanishes in the distance as age begins to shorten the step and check the force of his career; and he dies under the painful conviction that he has lived in vain. The antidote to this last despair is found in an active life, with our mental joints (if the metaphor is admissible) lubricated with that kind of magnanimity that pioneer life is almost sure to beget, and which is by no means a lost art, even in this age of sharp rivalship, though it is not too much to say that newly settled countries are more favorable to its growth.

A new era now opens upon Chicago, one destined to spread her fame throughout the world, and to infuse into newspaper literature that essential manifesto of progress which the elastic spirits of new countries are sure to call into being. To say less than this would not do full justice to Chicago journalism.

On the 26th of November, 1833, the first sheet appeared under the title of *The Chicago Democrat*, edited and published by John Calhoun, corner of LaSalle and South Water streets. A well written editorial appears in the first number, setting forth the policy of the paper with temperate and modest pretensions withal, evincing a masterly skill in editorial capability which does honor to his army of successors. The same number congratulates the Chicagoans on the success of Mr. Owen at the treaty just negotiated, in overcoming the objections of the Indians to removing to their new home in Missouri, and equally congratulates the Indians on the prospect of soon getting out of the reach of the depradations of "unprincipled civilized borderers." Liberal quotations from literary journals, poetry, as good as the average newspaper musings, wit and wisdom, and a moderate amount of advertisements, fill up the six column sheet creditably.

The third number advertises an English and classical academy, corner of Water and Franklin streets, which must have been the first of its kind in Chicago. In the issue of June 11th, 1834, is a quotation from Cobbett, the English historian and essayist, evidently intended as a trite description of Chicago young girls:

"The girls of America" (says this Catholic Father), "are beautiful and unaffected; perfectly frank, and at the same time perfectly modest; but when

you make them an offer of your hand, be prepared to give it, for wait they will not. In England we frequently hear of courtships of a quarter of a century. In that anti-Malthusian country a quarter of a year is deemed to be rather lengthy."

June 11th, 1834, the following appears, which is reproduced in these pages to show the progress of emigration and the means of travel:

Hardly a vessel arrives that is not crowded with emigrants, and the stage that now runs twice a week from the East is thronged with travelers. The steamboat Pioneer, which now performs her regular trips to St. Joseph, is also a great accommodation to the traveling community. Loaded teams and covered wagons, laden with families and goods, are daily arriving and settling upon the country back.

June 28th the editor congratulates Cincinnati, Ohio, on the prospect of a railroad to connect with the Miami canal.

The Illinois and Michigan canal is frequently commented on, not only as essential to the success of Chicago, but as a national necessity.

The subscription list of the paper is still preserved, and is copied here as a valuable record of the business men of Chicago at that day, for nearly all took the paper.

—City subscription book of Chicago *Democrat*, dated November, 1833.

A. Lloyd,
C. & I. Harmon,
Chester Ingersoll,
Dr. W. Clark,
John Miller,
Samuel Brown,
Newberry & Dole,
G. Kercheval,
James Kinzie,
E. A. Rider,
H. B. Clark,
Robert Kinzie,
P. J. Lewis,
P. F. W. Peck,
James H. Mulford,
John Wright,
Alanson Sweet,
R. M. Sweet,
Philo Carpenter,
G. Spring,
John K Boyer,
Star Foot,
M. B. Beaubien,
T. J. V. Owen,
W. H. Brown,
B. Jones,
I. Allen,
J. K. Botsford,
J. B. Tuttle,
Col. R. I. Hamilton,
Charles Wisencraft,
E. S. Thrall,
J. Dean Caton,
Eli B. Williams,
Samuel Wayman,
Archibald Clybourn,
Augustus Rugsley,
Silas B. Cobb,
Abel Breed,
E. H. Haddock,
Irad Hill,
Albert Forbes,
Doct. Maxwell,
Hiram Hugenin,
A. Merrill,
James Herrington,
George N. Powell,
Jonathan Hix,
Joseph A. Barnes,
Mancel Talcott,
Alanson Filer,
Douglas Sloan,
A. Woodruff,
Daniel Elston,
Luther Hatch,
George W. Snow,
P. L. Updyke,
John L. Sergents,
John Watkins,
Mathias Mason,
John Wellmaker,
I. Solomon,
N. F. Hurd,
James Mitchell,
Charles Viani,
Lt. L. T. Jamieson,
Librarian, Ft. Dearborn.
E. Wentworth,
George Walker,
Stephen E. Downer,
Abel E. Carpenter,
John B. Beaubien,
Parker M. Cole,
J. R. Brown,
Solomon Lincoln,
F. Forbes,
Rufus Brown,
Rev. Jeremiah Porter,
T. C. Sproat,
Peter Warden,
Philip Scott,
E. W. Casey,
J. L. Thompson,
H. T. Harding,
E. S. Kimberly,
P. Pruyn,
Peter Cohen,
Brewster, Hogan & Co.
C. H. Chapman,
Platt Thorn,
J. P. Brady,
Jacob G. Patterson,
George Hertington,
Alexander N. Fullerton,
M. K. Brown,
Silas W. Sherman,

Nelson R. Norton,	Oliver Losier,	Robert Williston,
Benjamin Hall,	John Marshall,	John Davis,
N. Carpenter,	S. Ellis,	H. C. West,
Hiram Lumbard,	Isaac Harmon,	Byron King,
Samuel Harmon,	C. B. Dodson,	John T. Temple,
J. W. Reed,	L. Barnes,	William Cooley,
Walter Kimball,	Richard Steele,	Rathbone Sanford,
William Taylor,	Henry Hopkins,	Orsemus Morrison,
H. Barnes,	Elijah Clark,	James Walker,
E. Brown,	William Taylor,	Gilbert Carpenter,
Ahisa Hubbard,	Mark Beaubien,	Benjamin Briggs,
R. E. Herrick,	John H. Kenzie,	W. Vanderberg,
Thomas Hoyt,	C. H. Chapman,	Benjamin F. Barker,
Edward E. Hunter,	Paul Burdeck,	Samuel Brown,
John Noble,	George Bickerdike,	H. I. Cleveland,
Ford Freeman,	Aug. Penoyer,	S. C. George,
Hiram Pease,	Jones & King.	B. Caldwell,

The Account Book which Mr. Calhoun kept is equally valuable as a memento of the village days of Chicago. Among the charges for job printing, ball tickets, are no inconsiderable item.

Government blanks for the land office* were a good source of income, for which Mr. Calhoun may thank his young wife, not only for her patient industry in helping to execute the jobs, but for her inventive genius in improvising a way to press the printed sheets to give them the necessary finish after being printed. For the want of a lever press to do this Mrs. Calhoun suggested a flat-iron, and offered to iron every sheet in a run of 3,000, which she did, and turned out the job in immaculate smoothness. Besides assisting her husband by this laborious undertaking, she helped him in correcting his proof, and in the general executive labors of the office.

By the request of her husband she preserves during her lifetime the entire file of his papers, and I trust that I betray no confidence by stating that, from my conversation with her as to their final disposition, I infer that she will bequeath them to the Chicago Historical Society.

The last issue of his paper bears date of November 16th, 1836, two days before which time by contract it was sold to Horatio Hill, a present resident of Chicago, and brother of Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, its hard money Governor who said, in order to give point to his issue with the Whig party, that a bank of dirt was the best bank, and a plow-share the best share in it.† Mr. Hill immediately transferred his contract to Mr. John Went-

*The Govt. Land Office was opened June 1st, 1835, under charge of Col. E. D. Taylor and James Whitlock.

†This pithy similitude is here reproduced from childish memory, when the father of the writer read Mr. Hill's message to a select coterie of listeners among whom he was an attentive one.

worth, who then came to Chicago and began his eventful career where Mr. Calhoun left off as a journalist. The paper was continued under the same name by Mr. Wentworth, of which more will be said in its appropriate place.

For more than twelve years previous to this time, the fork of the river then known by the name of Wolff's Point (so named after an Indian chief) was the centre of Chicago attractions. Here stood the old Miller house, on the north side, erected by Alexander Robinson* in 1820. To him it was a palace, where he entertained not only his Indian friends, but such white persons as wished to secure Indian trade by the distribution of presents among them. Mr. Robinson was early in the employ of Conant and Mack as an Indian trader on Fox river, and afterwards employed in the same service by Mr. Lawton, on the Desplaines. He spoke both the English and Pottawatomie languages with ease, and on conventional occasions acted as interpreter.

It is not known at what time he disposed of his house at the fork, but it is known that in 1832 Mr. Samuel Miller kept tavern here—the same who had married Elizabeth Kinzie, the third child of John Kinzie, by Margaret, his first wife. She died at this house in August, 1832. The original building was made of logs, but afterwards covered with weather-boards, to give it the appearance of a frame house. But even at this early day the whole structure was in a state of decay, especially the roof, as will be seen by the accompanying picture. It had before this date served as church, schoolhouse and private residence.

On the west bank of the river, at the immediate junction of the two branches, was a tavern kept by Elijah Wentworth in 1833. This was at the time the model hotel of the town.

Robert A. Kinzie had a store, in 1832, where the Menasha Wooden Ware Co. now is, on the west bank of the river. Thomas Cook then lived immediatly west of the Green Tree, following the occupation of teamster. He is still living at his home, in Lyons. The Green Tree is still standing, being the northeast corner of Lake and Canal streets. It was built by John H. Kinzie, and is the oldest building in the city at the present day. For many years it has been known as the Lake Street House, but it is now a common saloon and private dwelling. Immediately east of this place James Kinzie kept a store in 1835, where he drove a thriving trade with Indians and new comers. Alexander Robinson's

*Mr. Robinson's father was a Canadian voyageur, of Scottish descent, in the employ of a fur company, and his mother a Pottawatomie woman. He was bred to his father's occupation, and became a useful man in his sphere, as well as a true friend to the Indians, for which cause he rose to the position of principal chief of the Pottawatomies, and remained such till their removal, in 1835.

second residence was situated between Lake and Randolph streets, on the west side. His place was generally lively with Indians, in the declining glories of their latter days in Chicago. Groups of blanketed squaws, with their pappooses slung on their backs, in birch bark pockets, and an equal number of braves, dedaubed with paint and ornamented with feathers, hung around his doors in listless dalliance, while among them a few white drummers might sometimes be seen distributing free whiskey to secure their trade. A few hours' boisterous yelling and a war-dance would wind up the scene, and with the small hours of morning tranquility would be restored.

It may appear strange to some that a man of Mr. Robinson's integrity and reputation for excellence in those qualifications which make up the character of the model citizen, should intermingle and associate with the low class of Indians that came and went freely to and from his house, and for this appar nt inconsistency history ought to make an apology in his behalf; not on his individual account, but because he was one of but a small number left who represented the once lofty virtues of his race in their purer and happier days, and who, after a hundred and fifty years' occupation of Chicago in company with the French, were now taking their leave forever of this place so dear to them.

"A man's a man for a' that,"

was a sentiment of which Robinson felt the true force. No one could be too low to become a recipient of his favor, and no one so high in his estimation as to be unapproachable through the common forms of respect. Being half Indian, and having a wife of the same race, he was shut out from civilized society socially, and to have cut loose from the Indians would have left him without influence, and alone in the world. This same principle is not unfrequently seen now-a-days when a partisan politician in defense of some dogma essential to secure public spoils, receives on terms of social equality persons far beneath his station, and Robinson was more justifiable than these, because his motive was not a selfish one, but the result of an inevitable destiny. In 1833 Mr. Philo Carpenter presented the temperance pledge to him (the first, says Mr. Carpenter to the writer, that was ever drawn up in Chicago). After a moment's reflection he signed it, at the same time proving the sincerity of his resolution by drawing a flask of whisky from his pocket and emptying its contents on the ground. It is not known how long he held his resolution, but he never was a drunkard.

The removal of his tribe was a turning point in his life. The issue now came directly to him which to choose—an Indian or a civilized life. After weighing the matter, in consideration of his

children's best good, he chose the latter, not without painful emotions on his part, and sore disappointment on the part of his tribe. Soon after their removal he moved to his reservation on the Desplaines river, and became a farmer highly esteemed by all who knew him. His wife was equally exemplary in her walk in life, and afforded one of the many proofs that the pure Indian is possessed of high virtues when circumstances favor their growth, which is all that can be said of any one. His daughter Cynthia, the wife of Mr. Cooney, is now a resident of Chicago, to which place the family recently came, for the laudable purpose of educating their children. From her the writer has learned that her father came to Chicago in 1806, and henceforward made it his home till he retired to his reservation on the Desplaines. He was not present at the massacre of 1812, but on hearing of it returned in time to unite with the Sauganash and Black Partridge to save the lives of the prisoners, and when his own life was threatened for his courageous interposition to this end. Says his daughter: "He told the would-be assassins that they might *destroy the white blood in him, but must not touch the Indian.*" This dilemma, with its complex issue, helped to turn the scale in favor of the prisoners, and when the issue was settled, he took Mr. and Mrs. Helm under his charge and rowed them in his canoe around the extremity of Lake Michigan and along its eastern shore to Mackinaw. He lived to see the great fire of 1871, and as he beheld its desolations from Lake street bridge, he gave a lusty whoop, and exclaimed that he once more saw the open prairie there as in the old days of his own prime. He died the next year, April 19th, 1872, at the advanced age of 110 years, according to Robert Kinzie's estimate, who says that he was born before his father, John Kenzie. Some others set his age at 105, but all agree as to his wonderful longevity; and no one challenges his record for uprightness, hospitality and benevolence.

An equally noble specimen of an upright man was Shabonee, whose eulogy has been told by Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard, in a pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society.*

In addition to Mr. Hubbard's voucher as to the integrity of Shabonee, the following bit of his history from Chicago's well known citizen, Wm. Hickling, Esq., is only a just tribute to the

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*"I cannot close," says Mr. Hubbard, "Without adding my testimony to that of Mr. Hicklings, regarding the character and services of that noble Indian Chief, Shabonee. †

From my first acquaintance with him, which began in the fall of 1818, to his death I was impressed with the nobleness of his character. Physically he was as fine a specimen of a man as I ever saw; tall, well proportioned, strong and

†His name has been spelled in two ways by his biographers.

memory of him whose remains now honor our soil, and whose life-size portrait is treasured in grateful memory by the Chicago Historial society.*

The same treaty which gave to Caldwell, Robinson and others of our Indians and half-breeds, their reservations of land, also gave two sections to Shabonee. This he desired to be so located that it would include his old home and council-house in the grove before mentioned. By direction of Major Langham, then Surveyor-General of Illinois and Missouri, a survey and plat of the reservation was made by a Deputy Surveyor, and Shabonee fondly hoped that the house which he and his family had occupied for so many years was secured to him and them forever. I believe that in all the other reservations of land granted by the aforementioned treaty, that all the parties thereto, having such reservations, enjoyed them in fee, and only required the consent of, and signature of the President of the United States, in order to pass a good title to parties purchasing such reserved lands. Why Shabonee's case should differ from all the rest I could never determine. At any rate, when the survey of the public lands lying north of the old Indian boundary line was ordered by the Land Department to be made, the Deputy Surveyor had instructions to ignore the previous survey of the reservations, and include the lands thereon contained in the regular section lines of the United States survey, and during the absence of poor old Shabonee and his family in Kansas, these lands were sold by pub-

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active, with a face expressing great strength of mind and goodness of heart. Had he been favored with the advantages of education, he might have commanded a high position among the men of his day. He was remarkable for his integrity, of a generous and forgiving nature, always hospitable, and until his return from the west, a strictly temperate man, not only abstaining himself from all intoxicating liquors, but influencing his people to do the same. He was ever a friend to the white settlers, and should be held by them in grateful remembrance. He had an uncommonly retentive memory, and a perfect knowledge of this western country. He would readily draw on the sand or a bed of ashes, quite a correct map of the whole district from the lakes to the Missouri river, giving general courses of rivers, designating towns and places of notoriety, even though he had never seen them. * * * It ought to be a matter of regret and mortification to us all that our government so wronged this man (who so often periled his own life to save those of the whites), by withholding from him the title to the land granted him under a solemn treaty. The commissioners representing our government having given him their pledge that the land allotted him by the Pottawatomie nation should be guaranteed to him by our government, and he protected in its ownership. He never sold his right to the land, but by force was driven from it, when he returned from the west to take possession and found that our government disregarded his rights and sold it."

* This portrait was painted from life by Mr. F. B. Young, of Rome, N. Y. It was presented to the society by Mr. Cyrus F. Miller, of Rockford, at which place it was painted in 1840.

lic sale at Dixon. The home of the old Chief and his family passed into other hands, strangers to him, and in answer to an appeal made at Washington in Shabonee's behalf, the Commissioner of the General Land Department, in answer, said that Shabonee *had forfeited and lost his title to the lands by removing away from them.*

In 1837 Shabonee was notified by the Indian Agent, that by the terms of the late treaty, all members of his band, with the exception of those of his own family, must remove to their new reservations in Western Missouri. The parting with so many of those with whom he so long had been associated, he could not endure, so he resolved with all his family, to accompany them to their new homes. In the fall of the year the whole tribe, some 130 in number, reached the reservation in safety; but no sooner had Shabonee and his family reached their lodges in their new homes than new troubles began. The Sauks and Foxes, unfortunately, had their new reservations in close proximity to that of the Pottawattomies and Ottawas. The well-known hostility a few years previous of Shabonee to Black Hawk, and the part which the Ottawas took against him and his followers in the war which followed, were still tresh in the mind of the individual Sauk leader, and made enemies of two noted braves who, at an earlier period of their career, had for so many years been fighting side by side under the eye of their leader Tecumseh. The warfare against Shabonee and his family resulted in the murder of his eldest son and a nephew, who were killed soon after their arrival in Western Missouri. The old Chief Shabonee narrowly escaped with his life from the vengeance of his foes. This caused him and his family to return to Illinois in about one year after having left it. From this time until in 1849, Shabonee and his family, some 20 to 25 in number, lived at the Grove in peace and quietness with the white neighbors surrounding them. By this time the Pottawattomies and Ottawas had been again removed to a new reservation granted them in Kansas, and Shabonee again, with his family, left their old homes in Illinois, to join their red brethren in the new one to be occupied. He remained there with his old friends and tribe, some three years, then again with his family, retraced their steps back to their old home in the Illinois grove, only to find his village and lands in the possession of strangers; the old home he and his family had occupied for more than 40 years, was lost to him forever. When he fully realized his forlorn situation, it is said that the old warrior who probably had scarcely ever before shed a tear, here "wept like a child." But his cup of misery was not yet full. An unfeeling brute, the new owner of the land upon which on his return Shabonee and his family

encamped, cursed the poor old man for having cut a few lodge-poles on what he thought was his own property, and peremptorily ordered him and his family to leave the Grove. This they did, and it is said that Shabonee never visited it again. A few friends, realizing the destitute situation in which the poor old Chief and his family were placed, purchased for him a small tract of twenty acres of timber land on the Mazon Creek, a short distance south of Morris, in this State. The situation of the land and its surroundings were of a character to suit the Indians. The land was fenced in, a small spot broken up for tillage, and a double log cabin built for then. Here in a semi-state of poverty and wretchedness, the old Chief and part of his family lived, most of the time in wigwams or tents, using the house for storage purposes and as a barn.

Shabonee died July 27, 1859, aged about 83 years. He was buried in the county of Grundy, and be it said to the shame of the white men, no memorial stone, nothing but a piece of board stuck in the ground, shows the spot, where lies the remains of the best and truest Indian friend which the early settlers of Northern Illinois had in the day of their tribulation. He was not much of an orator, yet his words of wisdom always had their weight in council deliberations. Until quite late in life (after his return from the West in 1838), he was remarkably temperate in his habits, scarcely ever tasting of the "fire-water," that great enemy of his race. No doubt his long association with Tecumseh, who also was remarkably temperate in his habits, had its influence upon the mind and character of Shabonee. It is well known that Tecumseh, both by precept and example, ever tried to impress on the minds of his red brethren, that most of the unnumbered woes which had been fastened upon their race were in the main attributable to their inordinate love of whiskey, and the usual debaucheries following its use. Shabonee, in another trait of his character, showed what influence had been made upon it by the teachings of his model leader Tecumseh, viz.: his humanity always shown and protection from indiscriminate slaughter afforded to the unfortunate captives of war who fell into his hands. This is attested to by Caldwell in the document before us.

Surrounded by white neighbors, and almost in daily contact with civilized man, yet this contact failed to produce good results. On the contrary, that so-called civilized man too often tempted the poor old Indian to indulge in a too liberal use of the accursed "fire-water," which generally left him in a state of maudlin helplessness, pitiable to behold. Let us throw a veil over his few faults, and remember his many virtues."

Black Partridge, whose career as a chief preceded that of Shabonee, was treated like an enemy by the whites, his village being burned by them during an invasion of central Illinois in 1812, as told in a foregoing chapter. But a few months before this wanton act of hostility, to justify which history fails to find any provocation, this chief had used his utmost endeavors to prevent his tribe from making war upon the garrison of Fort Dearborn, and failing in this purpose, he gave due warning to Captain Heald of the irrepressible hostility of the Indians. After the massacre, he co-operated with Billy Caldwell to save the lives of all the prisoners, and procure for them a safe passage to the British lines. To omit a record of the ill-requited services of these chiefs, who represented the native virtues of their race, would be unjust to their memory, besides losing an opportunity to bring to light the benevolent bent of the mind, as exemplified in these children of nature.

Of all people known to history, the Indians are the best subjects of whom to study the first elements of mental philosophy, because their minds were untrammeled by any other influence except what was inherited from nature, which cannot be said of any of the ancient nations of savages in the old world. No penetration could measure from the wooden immobility of his face the depths of his subtlety as an enemy; and where in civilized society shall we find his match in self-sacrifice, when, as a captive, he returns to his enemies on a parole of honor, with an almost certainty that he will be executed.

Numerous instances of this have occurred in their more heroic age, but one has recently occurred, a living witness of which now lives in Chicago. Among the victims of the Indian Creek massacre in the Black Hawk war was a family named Beresford. After the peace, two young Indians were identified as the perpetrators of the crime, and indicted by the grand jury of LaSalle county and placed in the custody of Mr. George E. Walker, of Ottawa, (sheriff.) Soon after, the tribe to which these indicted Indians belonged were removed to the Missouri, Mr. Walker allowing the alleged criminals to go with them, under a voucher that they should return to be tried, and so much confidence did he place in their honor, that he signed their bail-bond. Six months later their trial came, and Mr. Walker went alone after them, and they voluntarily returned to Ottawa in his custody for trial, expecting to be executed, but they were cleared for want of positive evidence.* Let us not forget the griefs the Indians have suffered at the hands of our apostates of civiliza-

* Ottawa Free Trader, November 17th, 1874. Mr. Walker died in November, 1874, at the residence of his son in Chicago, No. 34 Indiana Ave.

tion, and remember that their condign vengeance was measured out to offset these abuses. *Never blame an Indian for anything he does to a white man*, was a frontier proverb, not without some shade of justice.

The following from J. M. Peck's Gazeteer, of Illinois, is copied as the best known authority, to show what Chicago was at that time. No official census had then been taken, and his statement as to the population is an estimate too high in the opinion of old settlers. Mr. Williams' estimate for the year before was 200, it will be remembered.

"GAZETTEER OF ILLINOIS."

Published by R. Goudy, Jacksonville, 1834.

Chicago, the seat of justice for Cook county, is situated on a river or bay of the same name, at the junction of north and south branches, and from one-half mile to a mile from Lake Michigan.

The town is beautifully situated on level ground, but sufficiently elevated above the highest floods, and on both sides of the river. It contains three houses for public worship, an academy, an infant and other schools, twenty-five or thirty-five stores, many of them doing large business, several taverns, mechanics of various kinds, a printing office which publishes the "*Chicago Democrat*," and ten or twelve hundred inhabitants.

Its growth, even for western towns, has been unusually rapid, as two years since it contained five stores and 250 inhabitants.

The United States government is constructing a harbor at the mouth of the Chicago, by cutting a wide and deep channel through a sand-bar at its mouth, and constructing piers to extend into the lake, beyond the action of the waves upon the bar. $25,000.00 were expended last year for this purpose, and the present Congress has appropriated an additional sum of $32,801, which, added to the previous appropriation, makes the sum of the original estimate.

When this work is completed, the Chicago will form one of the best harbors for steamboats, schooners, and other craft in all the lake regions. Steamboats and schooners will pass along a deep natural canal through the center of the upper part of the town, with the greatest convenience.

These facilities, the natural position of the place, the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here with favorable prospects for health, must soon make this place the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country.

Back of the town towards the DesPlaines river, is a fertile prairie, and for the first three or four miles elevated and dry.

Along the north branch of the Chicago, and the lake shore are extensive bodies of fine timber. White pine in small quantities is obtained on the Calamic, at the south end of the lake 15 miles distant. Large quantities exist in the regions towards Green Bay, from which lumber in any quantities is obtained and conveyed by shipping to Chicago. Yellow poplar boards and planks are brought across the lake from the St. Joseph's river.

The mail, in post-coaches from Detroit, arrives here semi-weekly, and departs for Galena, for Springfield, Alton and St. Louis, and for Danville and Vincennes.

The United States government owns a strip of elevated ground between the town and lake, about half a mile in width, on which Fort Dearborn and the light-houses are situated. Here are stationed about 100 United States troops, including officers, as a check upon the Indians in the adjacent territory. As the title to the Indian lands in the northern part of Illinois and the adjoining territory, as far as Green Bay, is extinguished by the treaty of September, 1833, and the Indians are to be removed west of the Mississippi, this garrison will soon be broken up, and the town to be extended to the lake shore.

Such was the eagerness to obtain property in this place, that the school section adjacent to the town plat, after reserving twelve acres, was sold in small lots last October, for $58,705. The money was loaned out at 10 and 12 per cent. interest, and the avails applied to the support of schools in the town. Chicago is situated on section nine, township thirty-nine north, in range fourteen, east of the third principal meridian.

CHICAGO, the stream or bay on which the town of Chicago is situated. It is made by North and South branches, which form a junction in the upper part of the town, about three-fourths of a mile from the lake. The Chicago resembles a vast canal, from fifty to seventy-five yards wide, and from fifteen to twenty-five feet deep. Northerly and easterly winds throw the cool waters of the lake into this channel, and raise it about three feet.

North Branch, which is the largest, rises a short distance above the boundary line, and near the lake, and runs parallel with the lake shore a southerly course, and is navigable for small boats. Its banks are well timbered and the land fertile.

South Branch rises in an opposite direction in the prairies towards the Saganaskee swamp, runs a northern direction about twenty miles, and forms a junction with the North branch in the town of Chicago. The timber is rather scarce on the South branch."

The following gentlemen were trustees of the town of Chicago in 1835, as appears from the lease of a wharfing lot 50x40 feet on the river, immediately west of Clark street bridge. Hiram Hugunin, George W. Dole, Samuel Jackson, Eli. B. Williams, Francis C. Sherman, James Kinzie, Alexander Lloyd, Walter Kimball and Bryan King, trustees, leased said lot to L. Harmon, H. G. Loomis and D. Harmon. The terms of the lease were $500.00 cash down, and $1,500.00 payable in equal installments of one, two and three years, with interest at six per cent. per annum. After which the lessees were to pay an annual rental of one barley corn, on the 23d day of November. These were the terms on which the wharfing lots were first leased, but subsequently they were modified to suit a more modern style of business, when the payment of the annual barley corn, (a form inherited from old English usages) was no longer demanded. One of these old leases is now in the hands of Mr. G. F. Rumsey.

The same year a statement appears in the Democrat of November 25th, estimating the population of Chicago at 3265, inhabitants. This may be set down as the first year of that speculative excitement for which Chicago has ever since been remarkable. The receipts at the land office which was opened this year, exceeded half a million dollars for the first six months.

The following has been copied from Prof. E. Colbert's Historical notes of Chicago, which have been compiled with his accustomed care, and are here inserted by permission from him:

"During the summer of 1833 not less than 160 frame houses were erected, and the number of stores was increased from five or six to 25. Among the new buildings was the Green Tree Tavern, by J. H. Kinzie, which was the first structure ever erected in the place for that purpose; its predecessors were simply private residences, thrown open to the public for a consideration.

The year 1834 witnessed the establishment of closer commercial relations with other points east and west. The second week in April a schooner arrived from St. Joseph, and two cleared for the same port. On the 30th of the same month the corporation organ announced that emigration had fairly set in, as more than a hundred persons had arrived by boat and otherwise during the preceding ten days. On the 4th of June the *Democrat* announced that arrangements had been made by the proprietors of the steamboats on Lake Erie, whereby Chicago would be visited by a steamboat once a week till the 25th of August. On Saturday, July 11th, the schooner Illinois, the first large vessel that ever entered the river, sailed into the harbor amid great acclamations, the sand having been washed away by the freshet of the spring previous. In its issue of September 8d, the paper stated that 150 vessels had discharged their cargoes at the port of

Chicago since the 20th of April preceding. The total number of votes polled in the whole of Cook county this year was 528. The poll-list of Chicago had increased to 111, out of a popu ation of 400, besides 200 soldiers in the fort. It is noteworthy that not less than 13 of the 111 were candidates for office at the August election.

In the spring of 1834, a stage communication was opened up between Chicago and the country to the westward, by means of J. T. Temple's line for St. Louis. The route to Ottawa was piloted out by John D. Caton, who had previously been over the unmarked road on horseback. A bitter storm sprung up, and the driver was obliged to resign his post; he died afterward from that day's exposure to the cold. Mr. Caton, afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, took the stage through to Ottawa, where a better system of roads began, the first settlement of the State having been from the southward, as a ready stated.

A large black bear was seen on the morning of October 6th, in a strip of timber on the corner of Market and Jackson streets, almost exactly on the spot where the armory was afterward built. He was shot; then the citizens got up a grand wolf hunt in the same neighborhood, and killed not less than forty of those animals before nightfall. It was just at this point, thirty-seven years after, almost to a day, that the flames leaped acro:s the river from the West Division, and thence swept northward to the limits of the city.

In this year a draw-bridge was built across the river at Dearborn street; active measures were taken to prevent the spread of the cholera, and a committee was authorized to build a cholera hospital outside the town if the disease should make it appearance; the first Sunday liquor law was passed (September 1st); the large sum of forty dollars was paid for repairing bridges; and the town was divided into four wards, by an ordinance intended to prevent fires. Prior to this year all the stores were located on South Water street—indeed, Lake street, and all the streets southward of it, only existed on paper. In the autumn of 1834, Thomas Church erected a store on Lake street, which was soon the busiest in the whole town. The packing statistics of the year show that Mr. Clybourne packed 600 cattle, and more than 3,000 hogs; while Messrs. Newberry & Dole slaughtered some 400 cattle and 1,400 hogs in a packing house of their own, recently built on the south branch. The same year Gurdon S. Hubbard packed 5,000 hogs, on the corner of Lake and LaSalle streets.

The first water works of the future city was established about this time, the sum of $95.50 being paid for the digging, stoning, and stone of a well, in Kinzie's addition, on the north side.

In 1835 the hotel accommodations of the year increased in proportion to the population. Besides the Green Tree Hotel, on the corner of Lake and Canal streets, there were now three others. The Tremont House had been erected a year previously, on the northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn, and the loungers of that day used to stand on its steps and shoot the ducks on the river, or on the slough that lay before the door. Starr Foot was the first landlord, but he speedily gave way to Ira Couch, under whose management the Tremont soon became head-quarters for the travelers and speculators with which the town abounded. It was burned down in 1839, in the second fire that had visited the place, the first having occurred in 1834. The Graves (log) tavern stood nearly opposite the Tremont, and the Saganash Hotel offered accommodations for man and beast, on the corner of Market and Lake streets, the spot where Lincoln was nominated in 1860 for the presidency. At that date the grove of timber along the east side of the south branch was still undisturbed, the north division was thickly studded with trees, a few pines stood on the lake shore south of the harbor, the timber being thickest near the river, and a great pine tree stood near the foot of Randolph street.

By an act of the Legislature, approved February 11, 1853, all the land east of State street, from Twelfth street to Chicago avenue, was included within the town lines; except that it was provided that the Fort Dearborn reservation, lying between Madison street and the river, should not belong to the town till vacated by the United States.

In this year (June) an attempt was made to borrow money on the credit of the town. The treasurer was authorized to borrow $2,000, at not more than ten per cent. interest, and payable in twelve months. He resigned rather than face the novel responsibility, and the street commissioner followed suit.

In this year the Chicago *American* entered the field to compete with the *Democrat* for the advertising patronage of the town and its citizens.

Two additional buildings were placed in the court house square in 1835—a small brick edifice on the northeast corner, for the use of the county officers and the safe keeping of the records, and an engine-house, costing $220, the latter not being finished till the following year. The first fire engine was bought December 10th, of Messrs. Hubbard and Co., for the sum of $896.38, and a second ordered. The first fire-engine company was organized two days afterwards.

On the 14th of November the Board of Town Trustees resolved to sell the leases of the wharfing privileges in the town for the term of 999 years, binding the board to dredge the river to the depth of ten feet at least, within four years from the sale, and the lessees of the privileges being bound to erect good docks, five feet wide and three feet above the water, within two years from the date of the lease. The sale of those immensely valuable privileges took place on the 26th of November, 1835, at the store of Messrs. Jones, King & Co., and it may be interesting to remember now the "minimum prices" at which owners of lots fronting the river had the privilege of buying. On South Water street the price was $25 per front foot; on North Water street, $18.75 per front foot; on West Water street $18 per front foot. The men who got rich in buying such property, at such prices, deserve no credit for speculative ability. But the board, on the 18th of November, 1835, offered still further assistance in their new school of "affluence made easy." They then resolved that they would not be bound to dredge the river, in making leases on North Water street, consequently they lowered the minimum figure to $15 per front foot, in part, and $8.50 per front foot on the remainder of the line. To aid in paying for leases at this rate, the board took secured notes for three and six months, for the first payment of one quarter of the price, and gave three years in which to pay off the balance. The sale was three times postponed, and while waiting for a sale all the picked lots seemed to have been taken at a minimum price. When the *rentue* did take place, only six lots remained to be sold, and but one of these found a purchaser, at $26 per front foot. The city will have the right to resume possession of these valuable lots on the 26th day of November, A. D. 2834. The "privileges" thus thrown away by a lot of men who ought to have known better, subsequently became matter of much anxious legislation on the part of the board, and with the sale of the magnificent school lands, made October 21, 1833, on a petition signed by twenty-three citizens, form the two great sores in the history of the city. Both were literally "sold for a mere song." The school-lands, sold for $38,865, have since been worth nearly fifty millions.

The official seal was adopted in November, 1835—a spread-eagle having three arrows in his claws, and the words "United States of America" surrounding the same."

Among other ambitions developed in Chicago as a town, was ship-building, and on the 18th of May, 1836, the sloop Clarissa slid from her stocks into the river, amidst the huzzas of a large assemblage gathered there to celebrate the event. But the great attraction of the year was the celebration of turning the first sod for the canal excavation, which is told as follows by Mr. John L. Wilson, who was an eye witness:

"The beginning of the canal was celebrated July 4th, 1836, by nearly the whole *village* of Chicago going up to Bridgeport on the small steamer George W. Dole, towing two schooners.

MAP
OF
Northern & Central
ILLINOIS
In 1835.
JOE DAVIESS
ATTACHED TO JOE DAVIESS COUNTY
ATTACHED TO LA SALLE COUNTY
ATTACHED TO COOK COUNTY
ROCK ISLAND COUNTY
HENRY
PUTNAM
MERCER
KNOX
WARREN
Galena
Cassville
Dixons Ferry
Old Indian Trail from Rock Island to Detroit
Ranges West
Monmouth
Knoxville
Lake Peoria
Illinois River
Rankakee R.
Bois Grande
Chippeway
Deerborn
LAKE MICHIGAN

Montebello
Macomb
Lewistown
Bloomington
Warsaw
Bells C.
Havanna
Otter C.
Washington
Jacksons Mills
Salt C.
Base Line
Ranges West
ADAMS
Quincy
Beards Town
Athens
New Salem
CHAMPAIGN
Urbanna
Danville
MACON
Buffalo Pond
Springfield
Decatur
Newport
Lexington
Winchester
Sangamon R.
Bloomfield
Sulphur Spr.
Jacksonville
Berlin
Liverpool
Paris
PIKE
Pittsfield
Meredosia
Cook & Eastmans
Coles Co.
SHELBY
Shelbyville
CLARK
Marshall
Darwin
Macoupin Point
Carlinville
Millsboro
Wabash R.
York
Ewington
Merom
JASPER
Palestine
FAYETTE
Vandalia
Yewton
Embarras R.
Greenville
MADISON
BOND
Edwardsville
Chouteau
CLAY
Maysville
Lawrenceville
Vincennes
St Louis
Carlyle
Salem
Mount Vernon
Belleville
Ranges West
Ranges East
Fairfield
Base Line

Doctor Wm. B. Egan delivered the address on this most auspicious event, and the Hon. Theophilus W. Smith began the "ditch" by throwing out the first shovel full of earth. The celebration of "the day we celebrate" then began, and a right joyous one it was, as the Canal Bill had struggled long in its passage through the Legislature, and the probability of ever having a railroad to or from Chicago was hardly dreamed of. On arranging and starting the "flotilla" homeward bound, a squad of men on the banks of the narrow river, without any cause, began throwing stones into the steamer, breaking the cabin windows, and injuring one or two ladies, and keeping up the fusilade until a detachment of a dozen or more "old settlers" jumped ashore, (or rather into the shallow water), and charged among them. Those that I now remember were John H. and Robert A. Kinzie, Stephen F. Gale, John and Richard L. Wilson, Henry G. Hubbard, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Sr., James B. Campbell, Ashvel Steele, S. B. Cobb, Mark Beaubien and others. There were none of the enemy *standing* as soon as they could be reached. The weapons used were only those brought into action in the 'manly art of self-defense,' but they proved exceedingly efficient. And thus ended the 'glorious 4th' of July, 1836."*

The year 1836 closes the career of Chicago as a town, the next year being her first as a city. The following is her commercial record till that time:

YEAR.	NO. VESSELS ARRIVED.	TONNAGE.
1833	4	700
1834	176	5,000
1835	250	22,500
1836	450	60,000

The above list of arrivals of vessels, especially in 1834, consisted largely of three small schooners running to and from St. Joseph to carry passengers and flour. The arrivals, previous to 1833, consisted first of the schooner Tracy, which brought the officers to build the fort in 1803, after which an annual arrival of supplies from the fort came, during the time there was a garrison at the fort. The steamboat William Penn was used for this purpose in 1832, 3 and 4, bringing supplies to Ft. Gratiot, Macinac, and Ft. Howard at the same time. Besides these channels of communication with the East, was a wagon track around the head of the lake, thence one branch running to Detroit, and another to Fort Wayne. This road ran along the beach, crossing the Calumet by means of a ferry which had been established June 7th, 1830, by the county commissioners of Peoria county granting to Rev. Wm. Lee the right to keep the ferry, with a stipulated bill of charges for ferriage, as follows: 12½ cents for a foot passenger; 25 cents for a man and horse; 37½ cents for a wagon and one horse; 75 cents for a wagon and two horses, and $1.00 for a wagon and four horses.

* Mr. Wilson's recent contributions to the Chicago press have teemed with reminiscences of the early day here which pleasantly freshen the memories of early Chicago in the minds of many thousands of its citizens.

LIST OF SETTLERS OF CHICAGO WHO CAME BETWEEN JANUARY, 1831, AND DECEMBER, 1836.

PREPARED BY COL. ADOLPHUS S. HUBBARD.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Abel, Sidney,	.....	1834	Post Master 1840.
Abel, Ralph M. P.,	.....	1836	Clerk Post Office.
Adams, W. H.,	.....	1833	Alderman 1849; voted at first town elec.1833.
Allen, John,	New York	1833	Dead.
Allen, Thomas,	do	1835	Lives at Glencoe, Ill.
Allen, Nathan,	do	1834	County Commissioner 1836; dead.
Armstrong, Thomas,	W. Indies	1835	Dead.
Armstrong, Wm.,	do	1835	Dead.
Albee, Cyrus P.,	Vermont	1834	Dead.
Armour, Geo.,	England	1835	Chicago.
Arnold, Isaac N.,	New York	1836	First City Clerk and Member Congress.
Ayers, Thomas,	.....	1830	Voted in 1830.
Bandle, Willis,	Conn.	1836	Blacksmith; dead.
Bailey, Jonathan A.,	.....	1830	First Assistant Post Master.
Baines, M.,	.....	1835	Fire Warden 1836.
Barney, Perus,	New York	1836	Died Waukegan 1871.
Barnes, Hamilton,	do	1832	Alderman 1842; dead.
Bailey, Amos,	.....	1834	County Surveyor 1836; California.
Bailey, Bennett,	Maryland	1834	Chicago.
Bailey, I. N.,	.....	1831	Dead.
Baldwin, Wm. A.,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Bailey, H. G.,	.....	1835	Dead.
Bascom, Rev. Flavel,	Conn.	1833	Hinsdale, Ill.
Balestier, Joseph N.,	Vermont	1836	Brattleboro, Vt.
Ballingall, Patrick,	Scotland	1834	Attorney; dead.
Bates, A. S.,	New York	1836	City Undertaker; dead.
Bates, John,	do	1832	Chicago.
Bates, Stephen,	do	1835	Died Iowa 1880.
Baumgarden, Morris,	Germany	1832	Dead.
Baumgarden, P.,	do	1836	Dead.
Beaumont, George,	Conn.	1836	Died in Connecticut 1844.
Beers, Cyrenius,	do	1835	Alderman 1843; died February, 1878.
Bennett, Saml. C.,	New York	1835	School teacher; dead.
Berry, Benj. A.,	Ohio	1835	First hardware merchant; dead.
Berdel, Nicholas,	Germany	1836	Englewood, Ill.
Berry, Thomas,	do	1835	Dead.
Betts, Dr. J. T.,	Illinois	1836	Dead.
Bishop, James E.,	New York	1836	Denver, Col.
Bishop, Thomas,	do	1835	Dead.
Blanchard, Francis G.,	England	1834	Dead.
Blatchford, Rev. F. W.,	New York	1836	Dead.
Blatchford, E. W.,	do	1836	Chicago, Ill.
Blake, Francis	.....	1836	Haniplan, Ill.
Blake, S. Sanford,	Vermont	1834	Racine, Wis.
Bolles, Nathan H.,	New York	1835	Delegate to draw up City Charter.
Bolles, Peter,	do	1835	Alderman 1837; dead.
Bond, Hiram,	.....	1834	Died 1855.
Boone, Daniel L.,	Kentucky	1836	Chicago.
Boone, Levi D.,	do	1836	Ex-Mayor.
Brown, Thomas,	New York	1833	Shipmaster, Chicago.
Brand, Alexander	Scotland	1836	Scotland.
Brown, Charles B.,	Illinois	1835	Chicago.
Brown, S. Lockwood,	do	1835	Chicago.
Botsford, Jabez K.,	Conn.	1833	Banker.
Bowen, Erastus S.,	New York	1833	Drove first U. S. mail stage into Chicago
Boyer, James A.,	Penn.	1832	Dead.
Boyer, John K.,	do	1835	Street Commissioner 1835; dead.
Boyer, Dr. V. A.,	do	1833	Chicago.
Bradley, Asa F.,	N. H.	1836	County Surveyor 1838.
Bradley, David,	New York	1835	Chicago.
Bradley, S. S.,	N. H.	1836	Dead.
Bradwell, James B.,	England	1834	Legal News Office; Probate Judge.
Bryan, Frederick A.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Brainard, Dr. Daniel,	New York	1836	Died October, 1866.
Brock, Thomas,	.....	1835	Candidate for Alderman, 1837.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Brookes, Henry	England	1833	Dead.
Brookes, Samuel L.	do	1833	San Francisco.
Brown, Henry,	New York	1836	Author History of Illinois; died 1849.
Brown, Rufus,		1836	Dead.
Brown, A. J.,	New York	1836	Alderman 1852.
Brown, Wm. H.,	Conn.	1835	President Historical Society.
Browen, Lemuel,	Mass.	1833	Blacksmith; Kenwood.
Brown, S. S.,	Ohio	1835	Dead.
Brown, N. J.,	New York	1836	Lemont, Ill.
Burley, Arthur G.,	N. H.	1835	Chicago.
Burley, Augustus H.,	do	1836	Alderman 1880.
Bowen, Erastus,	Wales	1834	Candidate for Assessor 1837; dead.
Brown, Jeduthan		1835	Kept New City Hotel; dead.
Brackett, E. C.,			Member of first Engine Company.
Boilvin, N.,		1835	Street Commissioner 1833.
Burton, Stiles,		1836	Dead.
Beaubien, Charles,	Michigan	1822	Dead.
Beaubien, Alexander,	do	1822	Chicago.
Beaubien, Stephen N.,		1831	Dead.
Burnham, Ambrose,		1836	City Marshal 1850; dead.
Ballard, C. A.,		1833	Voted first election 1833.
Beaubien, Mark, Sr.,	Michigan	1826	Newark, Ill.
Beaubien, Mark, Jr.,	do	1826	Died at Hannibal, Mo., 1878.
Badin, Rev. Stephen T.,	France	1828	First Catholic priest; dead.
Blodgett, Israel P.,	Mass.	1833	First brickmaker.
Blodgett, Tyler K.,	do	1833	
Bond, William,		1832	Chicago Company Black Hawk war.
Bond, Ezra,		1832	Chicago Company Black Hawk war.
Butterfield, Lyman		1832	Soldier Black Hawk war.
Brown, Jesse B.,		1832	Chicago Company Black Hawk war.
Bosley, John,	Penn.	1836	Corner Harrison and Aberdeen Streets.
Cyrst, Rev. J. M. I.,	France	1832	Second Catholic priest; Carondelet, Mo.
Cook, Isaac,	New Jersey	1834	Sheriff 1846; Post Master 1854.
Clark, James,	New York	1835	Dead.
Carver, Benjamin,	do	1836	Died Chicago 1879.
Carver, David,	do	1833	Voted first town election 1833.
Casey, Edward W.,	do	1833	Town Attorney 1834.
Chapman, George,		1833	Voted first town election 1833.
Couch, Ira H.,	New York	1836	Quaker gentleman; dead.
Carter, James B.		1836	Chicago.
Chapin, John P.	N. H.	1836	Mayor 1846.
Casey, John,	Ireland	1835	Living, aged 85.
Casey, Peter,	do	1835	Chicago.
Casey, Patrick,	do	1835	Chicago.
Casey, Edward,	do	1835	California.
Carrig, Thomas,	do	1834	Died 1838.
Campbell, James,	Penn.	1836	Chicago.
Carpenter, Abel E.,	Mass.	1833	Aurora, Ill.
Carpenter, Philo,	do	1832	Chicago.
Caton, John Dean,	New York	1833	Chief Justice of Illinois.
Caton, W. P.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Chackfield, George	England	1835	Chicago.
Clark, John K.,	Virginia	1828	Coroner 1831; dead.
Clark, L. J.,	Vermont	1836	Chicago.
Clark, Norman,	do	1835	Racine.
Clark, Timothy B.,	New York	1831	First Road Viewer.
Clark, William H.,	Mass.	1835	Died 1878.
Clark, Henry A.,	New York	1835	Died 1862.
Clark, Henry B.,	do	1835	Died 1849.
Clancy, M. B.,		1836	
Cleaver, Charles,	England	1833	Cleaverville.
Conner, F. G.,	New York	1836	Died 1861.
Couch, Ira,	do	1836	Vault in Lincoln Park.
Corrigan, William,	Ireland	1836	Died 1879.
Couch, James,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Collins, James H.,	do	1833	Died at Ottawa, Ill., 1854.
Cobb, Silas B.,	Vermont	1833	City Railroad.
Cohen, Peter,	France	1834	Soldier of Napoleon.
Collins, Addison,		1834	County Surveyor 1835.
Church, W. L.,	New York	1836	Sheriff 1850.
Child, S D.,		1836	Engraver; Chicago.
Church, Thomas,	New York	1834	Candidate for Mayor.
Calhoun, John,	do	1833	Founder Chicago Democrat; dead.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Calhoun, Alvin,	New York	1833	Candidate High Constable 1837; died 1849.
Curtiss, James,	do	1835	Mayor 1847.
Crocker, Hans,	do	1834	Attorney, Milwaukee.
Cox, A. Jackson,	do	1835	Tailor.
Cox, David,	do	1835	Judge election 1837.
Chapman, Charles H.,	do	1833	Dead.
Darling, Enoch,		1832	Voted in 1833.
Davis, George,	England	1833	Alderman 1844; great singer; dead.
Davis, Thomas O.,		1834	Established Chicago American.
Davis, George M.,	New York	1831	Dead.
Davis, William H.,	England	1836	Dead.
Davy, Jacob,		1835	
Densmore, Eleazer W.,	New York	1835	Chicago.
Davis, John,		1833	On Cholera Committee 1834.
Dickey, Hugh T.,	New York	1836	Judge Superior Court 1845.
Dodson, W. S.,	Penn.	1833	Dead.
Dodson, C. B.,	do	1833	Geneva, Ill.
Dodge, J. Seymour,	Vermont	1836	Prospect Park, Ill.
Dole, George W.,	New York	1831	Town Treasurer 1835, and Post Master 1851.
Doyle, William,	do	1836	California.
Drummond, Thomas,	Maine	1835	United States Judge.
Durant, Thomas T.,	New York	1836	Dead.
Dyer, Dr. Charles V.,	Vermont	1835	Probate Judge 1837; died in 1878.
Dyer, Thomas,	Conn.	1836	Mayor 1856.
Dyer, Clarence H.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Dye, John,		1835	Dead.
Dye, Nathan,	New York	1836	Old music teacher; Chicago.
Dean, Philip,		1836	City Constable; dead.
Dean, John,		1832	Dead.
Darling, Lucius R.,		1832	Dead.
Davis, John L.,		1832	Dead.
Debait, Samuel,		1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Ellis, Samuel,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Eddy, Ira B.,			Chicago.
Egan, Dr. W. B.,	Ireland	1833	State Senator; dead.
Egan, Wiley M.,	New York	1836	President Board of Trade.
Elston, Daniel T.,	Illinois	1835	Chicago.
Elston, Daniel,	England	1834	Alderman 1842; dead.
Ellis, Joel,		1832	Chicago.
Eldridge, Dr. J. W.,	New York	1834	Chicago.
Emerson, Benjamin,		1835	Milkman.
Flood, Peter F.,	Ireland	1835	Chicago.
Flood, P. H.,	New York	1836	Elmira, N. Y.
Foot, David P.,	Conn.	1836	Dead.
Foot, John,	do	1836	Dead.
Foot, Star,	do	1833	Ex-County Agent; dead.
Forsyth, William,	Michigan	1831	Candidate for Assessor 1837; dead.
Follansbee, Charles,	Mass.	1836	Banker.
Freer, L. C. Paine,	New York	1836	Attorney.
Freeman, Robert,	Penn.	1833	Naperville, Ill.
Freeman, Rev. A. B.,	Vermont	1833	First Baptist Clergyman.
Fullerton, Alexander N.,	do	1834	Attorney.
Ford, Martin M.,	New York	1834	Died in 1854.
Ford, David M.,	do	1834	Chicago.
Ford, Elisha M.,	Illinois	1836	Chicago.
Forbes, S. V. R.,	Vermont	1830	First County Sheriff; died February 11, 1879.
Follansbee, Alanson,	Mass.	1836	
Foster, George F.,	Maine	1836	Alderman 1841; Evanston, Ill.
Foster, Dr. J. H.,		1836	School Inspector.
Garland, J. J.,			Member of first Engine Company.
Gardner, Alvin N.,		1830	Dead.
Gale, Abram,	Mass.	1835	Galewood, Ill.
Gale, William H.,	do	1835	Galewood, Ill.
Gale, Edwin O.,	do	1835	Oak Park, Ill.
Gale, Stephen F.,	N. H.	1835	Chicago.
Garrett, Augustus,	New York	1836	Mayor 1845.
Gage, John,	do	1835	Vineland, N. J.; Alderman 1840.
Gage, Jared,	do	1835	Died 1880.
Gage, S. T.,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Gavin, Isaac R.,	Canada	1836	Sheriff 1838.
George, S. C.,	New York	1834	Dead.
Gilbert, James,		1833	Voted in 1833.
Gilbert, Samuel H.,	England	1836	Died 1879.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Goodrich, T. W.,	New York	1832	Milwaukee.
Goodrich, Grant,	do	1834	Ex-Judge.
Goodhue, Dr. J. C.,	Canada	1834	Alderman 1837; died at Rockford, Ill.
Gray, George M.,	New York	1834	Chicago.
Gray, Charles M.,	do	1834	Mayor 1853.
Gray, Joseph H.,	Mass.	1836	Hyde Park.
Graff, Peter,	New York	1836	Elgin, Ill.
Granger, Elihu,	N. H.	1836	Alderman 1845; Kaneville, Ill.
Graves, Loren,	New York	1834	Dead.
Graves, Dexter,	do	1832	Tavern Keeper.
Grant, James,	N. C.	1834	Davenport, Iowa.
Grannis, Amos,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Grannis, Samuel J.,	do	1836	Grandfather of A.G.Lane,Supt.Com.Schools.
Greenwood, T. W.,		1836	Dead.
Grannis, Samuel W.,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Grannis, Henry F.,	do	1834	Died 1864.
Grannis, Charles D.,	do	1836	Died en route to California.
Green, Capt. Russell,	do	1836	Geneva, Wis.
Guild, Albert H.,	do	1834	Died St. Louis, Mo.
Gurley, Jason,	Vermont	1836	Dead.
Goodrich, Ebenezer,		1833	Town Trustee 1834.
Haight, Isaac,	New York	1834	Wood Inspector 1835.
Hall, Ed. B.,	Illinois	1832	Shoemaker; dead.
Hanson, Joseph L.,	England	1835	Dead.
Hapgood, Dexter J.,		1832	Voted in 1833.
Hanson, Oliver C.,	S. Domingo	1834	Colored man; alive.
Hallam, Rev. J. W.,	New York	1834	First Episcopal Minister; Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harmon, Dr. E. D.,	Vermont	1829	Member Chicago Co.Black Hawk war; dead.
Harmon, Dr. Isaac,	do	1832	County Treasurer 1834; dead.
Harmon, Martin D.,	do	1833	Dead.
Harmon, Charles L.,	do	1831	Dead.
Harmon, Edwin R.,	New York	1833	Chicago.
Harmon, Isaac N.,	do	1833	Chicago.
Harmon, Isaac D.,	Vermont	1832	Chicago.
Harman, William,		1835	Blacksmith; dead.
Hall, Benjamin,	Virginia	1832	Wheaton, Ill.
Hall, Phil. A.,	New York	1836	
Hall, George,		1832	Dead.
Hamilton, A. C.,		1835	Candidate for Assessor 1837; dead.
Hamilton, Col. R. J.,	Kentucky	1831	County Clerk 1831 to 1837; dead.
Hamilton, Pol. D.,	New York	1834	Chicago.
Hanchett, John L.,	do	1835	Office Public Works.
Haines, John C.,	do	1835	Mayor 1858.
Haines, E. M.,	do	1835	Chicago.
Haddock, Edward H.,	N. H.	1833	Alderman 1838.
Harrington, H.,		1835	Dead.
Harris, Benjamin,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Herndon, John F.,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Heald, H. N.,		1836	County Treasurer 1851; Chicago.
Heartt, Daniel B.,	New York	1836	Dead.
Heartt, Robert,	do	1836	Chicago.
Heartt, George,	do	1836	Chicago.
Hickling, William,	England	1835	Chicago.
Hilliard, Loren P.,	New York	1836	County Clerk 1861.
Hyde, Thomas S.,			Member of first Engine Company.
Howe, Frank,		1836	First Secretary G. & C. U. R. R.; dead.
Howe, James L.,	New York	1836	Alderman 1841; dead.
Hough, R. M.,	N. H.	1836	Alderman 1855.
Hough, O. S.,	do	1836	
Holden, C. C. P.,	Vermont	1836	Alderman 1861.
Hobbie, A. G.,	New York	1836	Dead.
Hooker, John W.,		1836	Dead.
Horton, Dennison,	Conn.	1836	Chicago.
Hogan, Charles L. P.,		1834	County Commissioner 1845; dead.
Hogan, John S. C.,		1832	First Post Master; dead.
Holbrook, John,		1835	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Howe, Fred A., Sr.,	Conn.	1835	Dead.
Howe, Fred A., Jr.,	do	1835	Chicago.
Hoard, Samuel,	Mass.	1836	State Senator 1840, and Post Master 1865.
Hubbard, E. K., Sr.,	Conn.	1825	Died 1839, aged 26 years.
Hubbard, E. K., Jr.,	Illinois	1835	Chicago.
Hubbard, Henry G.,	Mass.	1829	Died 1849.
Hubbard, Ahira,	Vermont	1830	Dead; Graceland Cemetery.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Hubbard, Theodore,	Vermont	1836	Post Master Babcock's Grove, Du Page County, Ill., 1844; died Feb. 1, 1873.
Hubbard, Augustus G.,	New York	1836	Alderman of Amboy, Ill.; died April 28, 1865.
Hubbard, Carlos C.,	do	1836	Judge election 1878; died September 13, 1879.
Hubbard, Oscar M.,	do	1836	Served in Confederate Army 1862, 1863 and 1864; died in Texas, April 24, 1877.
Hunter, Genl. David,		1831	Washington, D. C.
Hunter, E. E.,	Kentucky	1834	County Commissioner 1834; County Treasurer 1837; died California.
Huntoon, Bensley,		1835	Judge election 1837; dead.
Huntoon, George M.,		1836	Died in 1879.
Huntington, Alonzo,	Vermont	1835	Chicago, Ill.
Humphrey, James O.,	New York	1834	Carriagemaker; Ohio.
Hugunin, Hiram,	do	1833	President of Town Trustees 1835; died at Waukegan 1857.
Hugunin, Dr. Peter D.,	do	1833	County Judge Wisconsin; dead.
Hugunin, Leonard C.,	do	1833	232 South Halsted Street.
Hugunin, Daniel,	do	1836	Pilot for Com. Perry on Lake Erie War 1812; dead.
Hugunin, Robert,	do	1833	In Naval Service War 1812; dead.
Hugunin, John C.,	do	1835	Candidate for Alderman 1837.
Hugunin, Edward,	do	1835	Died Oakland, Cal., 1878.
Hugunin, Edgar,	do	1835	Kenosha, Wis.
Hubbard, Eber,	do	1835	Cut down North wing Dearborn St. bridge.
Ingersoll, Chester,		1833	Kept Green Tree House.
James, Thomas C.,	New York	1836	Alderman 1847; died 1864.
Jackson, Samuel,	do	1833	Alderman 1837; died 1849.
Jackson, Carding,	do	1835	Deputy Grand Master of Masons.
Jackson, Oren,	do	1835	Dead.
Jackson, Cyrus M.,	do	1836	Dead.
Jackson, William W.,	do	1836	An U. S. Army Officer of the Rebellion.
Johnson, Seth,		1834	Deputy Collector of Port 1843; dead.
Johnson, Sanford,	Virginia	1833	Builder; died April 10, 1873.
Johnson, John,		1836	Colored barber; dead.
Johnson, Peter,		1833	Member St. James' Church 1835.
Jones, Willard,		1833	Member First Baptist Church 1833.
Jones, William,	Mass.	1832	President Board of Education.
Jones, Benjamin,	do	1833	Dead.
Jones, Frenando,	New York	1835	Chicago, Ill.
Jones, K. K.,	do	1835	Quincy, Ill.
Johnson, Lathrop,	do	1834	Ontonagon, Mich.
Jackson, John,		1836	Butcher; dead.
Judd, Norman B.,	New York	1836	First City Attorney and Member Congress.
Jefferson, Joseph,	do	1835	Comedian.
Kercheval, Gholson,	Kentucky	1831	Capt. Chicago Co. Black Hawk war; dead.
Kercheval, Lewis C.,	do	1831	County Commissioner 1832; dead.
Kennicott, Dr. John A.,	New York	1831	Treated first case Asiatic cholera in America; died 1862.
Kennicott, James H.,	do	1831	Attorney; died in Mexico 1840.
Kennicott, Dr. Levi,	do	1832	Black Hawk, Iowa.
Kennicott, Dr. William H.,	do	1832	Candidate for Mayor 1849; died 1853.
Kennicott, Hiram,	do	1832	Silver Cliff, Col.
Kennicott, Jonathan,	do	1832	Civil Engineer; died at The Grove 1849.
Kennicott, Dr. Jonathan A.,	do	1832	To California 1849; resides Kenwood, Ill.
Kennicott, Joseph,	do	1832	Farmer Arlington Haights, Ill.
Kennicott, Alonzo,	do	1832	Farmer Barrington, Ill.
Kimball, Harlow,	do	1834	Oakland, Cal.
Kimball, Martin N.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Kimball, Walter,	do	1832	Clerk Superior Court 1849; Chicago.
Kimball, Henry,	do	1835	County Treasurer 1835; dead.
Knickerbocker, H. W.,	do	1835	Naperville, Ill.
King, Tuthill,	do	1835	Chicago.
King, Henry,	do	1834	Dead.
Kimberly, Dr. E. S.,	do	1832	First Town Clerk; died Oct. 25, 1874.
Kimberly, George E.,	Illinois	1835	Chicago, Ill.
Knickerbocker, Ab. V.,	New York	1835	Harbor Master; dead.
Kimberly, Ira,	do	1834	Dead.
King, Nathan,	do	1836	Dead.
King, Byram,	do	1834	Town Trustee 1835.
Lathrop, S. S.,		1835	Dead.
Labaque, Francis,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
LaFromboise, Joseph,			Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
LaFromboise, Claude,			Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Larrabee, William M.,	Canada	1834	Alderman 1846; died 1879.
Lane, Elisha B.,	N. H.	1836	A trusted city official for 20 years; Chicago.
Lantry, Michael,	Ireland	1836	Stepfather Genl. J. A. Mulligan; dead.
Lane, James,	do	1836	Alderman 1847; Chicago.
Letz, Fredrick,	France	1836	Ex-Fire Commissioner; Chicago.
Letz, George F.,	Maryland	1836	Chicago.
Leary, Albert G.,	do	1834	Member State Legislature; Attorney; dead.
Lowe, James M.,		1834	Dead.
Lowe, Samuel J., Jr.,		1834	Chicago.
Lill, William,	England	1835	First Brewer; dead.
Lincoln, Solomon,	New York	1833	First Tailor in Chicago; dead.
Livingston, John R.,	do	1835	Member first Engine Company 1835; dead.
Logan, Alexander,		1836	Candidate for Alderman 1837.
Loomis, Horatio G.,	Vermont	1834	Located Co. seat DuPage Co. 1839; Naperville.
Loomis, Henry,	do	1836	Burlington, Vt.
Lowe, Samuel J.,	England	1834	Sheriff 1842; died 1850.
Long, James,	New York	1836	Alderman 1856; dead.
Lloyd, Alexander,	Ireland	1834	Mayor 1840; dead.
Lozier, Oliver,	New York	1833	Dead.
Ludby, John,	England	1834	Dead.
Lum, Curtiss,	New York	1836	Dead.
Magie, H. H.,	do	1836	Died January 16, 1879.
Malzacher, Louis,	Germany	1836	Dead.
Manning, Joel,		1835	Judge of election 1837.
Maxwell, Dr. Phillip,	New York	1832	Died Geneva, Wis.
Manierre, Edward,	Conn.	1834	Alderman 1848.
Manierre, George,	New York	1835	Alderman 1846; dead.
Marshall, James A.,	England	1834	Chicago.
Marsh, Sylvester	N. H.	1833	Littleton, N. H.
McDaniels, Alexander,	New York	1836	Wilmette, Ill.
McConnell, Ed.	Ireland	1830	Died May 11, 1878.
McHarry, John,	New York	1834	Michigan.
McClure, Charles,	Canada	1835	Town Trustee 1835; declined.
McClure, Josiah E.,	do	1835	Chicago.
McClintock, Wilson,		1832	Judge of election 1837; dead.
McClintock, James,		1830	
McCord, Jason,	New York	1834	Alderman 1841 and 1843; died 1871.
McDonnell, Charles,	Ireland	1836	Alderman 1842.
McGrath, Thomas,	do	1835	McGrath's Addition to Chicago.
McKay, James,	Scotland	1835	Chicago.
Merrill, George W.,	N. H.	1835	Dead.
Meeker, Joseph,	New Jersey	1833	Dead.
Miltimore, Ira,	Vermont	1836	Alderman 1839; died Janesville, Wis., 1878.
Michel, Joseph,	Canada	1836	Member Old Settlers Society 1856.
Morris, Buckner S.,	Kentucky	1834	Mayor 1838; died 1880.
Morton, N. B.,	New York	1835	Harvard, Ill.
Morgan, Patrick R.,	Ireland	1836	Livery Stable.
Morton, Luther,	New York	1834	Dead.
Morrison, Charles,	do	1835	Dead.
Morrison, Ephraim, Sr.,	do	1835	Dead.
Morrison, James M.,	do	1833	Fire Warden 1836; dead.
Morrison, Orsemus,	do	1833	Coroner 1836; Alderman 1840; dead.
Morrison, Ephraim, Jr.,	do	1835	Chicago.
Morrison, Ezekiel,	do	1833	Chicago.
Morrison, Daniel,	do	1835	Chicago.
Mosley, Flavel,	do	1834	School Inspector; dead.
Murphy, John,	Conn.	1834	Alderman in 1839; kept hotel; died in 1849.
Murphy, Hiram P.,	Illinois	1835	Chicago.
Murphy, James K.,	Ireland	1835	Chicago.
Mulford, E. H.,	New York	1834	Died March 5, 1878.
Murphy, Patrick,	Ireland	1836	Judge of election 1837.
Migleley, Rudolphy,	Germany	1834	
Meyer, Mathias,	France	1832	Baker; Wolf's Point; died 1851.
Monroe, N. L. F.,		1834	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Markle, A. A.,		1835	Member first Engine Company 1835.
McForreston, W.,		1835	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Moselle, Charles,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war
Murray, R. N.,		1831	Naperville, Ill.
Meyer, Leo.,	Illinois	1834	Oldest person living born Ft. Dearborn.
Newberry, Walter L.,	New York	1834	Alderman 1851; died November 6, 1868.
Nichols, Luther,		1832	Chicago; came with Gen. Scott 1832.
Nichols, E. C.,	New York	1832	Dead.
Nickalls, Pattieson,	England	1836	Livery Stable.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Ninson, William,	.....	1832	Voted first Town Election 1833.
Noble, John,	New York	1831	Chicago.
Noble, Mark,	England	1831	Dead.
Norton, Nelson R.,	.....	1833	Built first draw bridge.
Ogden, William B.,	New York	1835	First Mayor; died August 3, 1877.
Ogden, Mahlon D.,	do	1836	Probate Judge 1839 to 1847; died Feb. 13, 1880.
Osborne, A. L.,	Conn.	1835	Laporte, Ind.
Osborne, William,	do	1834	Chicago.
Osborne, James T.,	.....	1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Ouilmette, Michael,	.....	1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
O'Rourke, Peter, Sr.,	Ireland	1832	Early Truckman; dead.
O'Rourke, Peter, Jr.,	do	1832	20 Bunker Street, Chicago.
O'Rourke, James,	do	1832	Removed Indians for Russell 1836; dead.
O'Neil, Thomas,	do	1834	Chicago.
O'Neil, John,	do	1834	Ex-Town Collector.
Owen, T. J. V.,	Kentucky	1831	First Trustee and Indian Agent 1833; dead.
Outhet, John C.,	England	1836	Alderman 1854.
Patterson, John,	Scotland	1835	St. Louis, Mo.
Paine, Seth,	Vermont	1834	Dead.
Park, F. D.,	.....	1831	Chicago.
Palmer, J. K.,	N. H.	1831	On Cholera Committee 1834; Ohio.
Pettitt, Charles M.,	.....	1834	Town Treasurer 1835.
Peck, P. F. W.,	R. I.	1830	Judge election 1837; died 1871.
Peck, Ebenezer,	Canada	1834	Judge U. S. Court of Claims.
Peacock, Joseph,	England	1836	Chicago.
Pearsons, Gustavus C.,	Ohio	1832	Vallejo, Cal.
Pearsons, Hiram,	do	1833	Died in Providence, R. I.
Pearsons, George T.,	do	1832	Died in Springfield, Ill.
Peyton, Francis,	Virginia	1835	Attorney; dead.
Peyton, Lucien,	do	1835	Attorney; dead.
Perry, Albert,	New York	1835	Dead.
Perry, Abijah S.,	do	1836	Dead.
Price, Jeremiah,	do	1835	Candidate for Assessor 1837; died 1851.
Pierce, Smith D.,	.....	1833	Belmont, Iowa.
Pierce, Asa,	.....	1835	Dead.
Price, Cornelius,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Pierce, Asahel,	Vermont	1833	Alderman 1837; Chicago.
Porter, Hibbard,	New York	1833	Died 1879.
Powers, William G.,	do	1835	Dead.
Pool, J. W.,	Penn.	1831	Chicago.
Porter, Rev. Jeremiah,	New York	1833	Wyoming.
Prindiville, John,	Ireland	1836	Chicago.
Prindiville, Redmond,	do	1836	Chicago.
Prescott, Eli S.,	New York	1836	Agent Canal Land; died January 3, 1879.
Pruyne, Peter,	do	1833	State Senator; dead.
Powell, George N.,	.....	1835	Tavern Keeper.
Porter, F. H.,	.....	1836	Chicago.
Pemeton, David,	.....	1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Paine, Christopher,	.....	1832	Dead.
Poor, J. H.,	.....	1832	Member first Presbyterian Church 1833.
Parson, H. C.,	.....	1834	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Perkins, T.,	.....	1834	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Paul, James K.,	.....	1831	First teamster from La Fayette, Ind.; Mich.
Rand, Socrates,	New York	1835	Chicago.
Raymond, B. W.,	do	1836	Mayor 1839
Rees, James H.,	Penn.	1834	First City Surveyor; Chicago.
Rexford, Stephen,	Mass.	1833	Blue Island.
Rhines, Henry,	.....	1836	Ex-Constable; dead.
Richards, James J.,	New York	1835	Evanston, Ill.
Rider, Eli A.,	.....	1832	Voted in 1833.
Reed, James W.,	.....	1833	Supervisor of Roads and Bridges 1834.
Rodgers, Edward K.,	Mass.	1835	Chicago.
Rockwill, James,	.....	1834	Fire Warden 1836; Batavia, Ill.
Roberts, William P.,	New York	1836	841 North Wood Street.
Resique, Samuel,	.....	1834	Fire Warden 1834; dead.
Rue, John C.,	New York	1834	Chicago.
Russell, Jacob,	Conn.	1836	Kept old City Hotel; dead.
Russell, Col. J. B. F.,	.....	1834	Removed the Indians from Chicago; dead.
Rumsey, George F.,	New York	1836	Chicago.
Rumsey, Julien S.,	do	1835	Mayor 1861.
Rudd, Edward H.,	.....	1836	Printed City Ordinances 1839.
Ross, Hugh,	Scotland	1836	Bookbinder; dead.
Ryan, E. G.,	.....	1835	Chief Justice Wisconsin 1880.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Satterlee, M. L.,	Conn.	1836	Chicago.
Sattonstall, W. W.,	New York	1836	Dead.
Sattonstall, William,	Michigan	1835	Chicago.
Scammon, J. Young,	Maine	1835	Alderman 1845; Hyde Park, Ill.
Sherwood, Smith J.,	New Jersey	1836	Dead.
Shapley, Morgan L.,	New York	1833	Meridan, Texas.
Sherman, F. C.,	Conn.	1834	Mayor 1841.
Sherman, Alanson S.,	Vermont	1835	Mayor 1844.
Sherman, Silas W.,	Conn.	1834	Sheriff 1834 and 1836.
Sherman, Ezra L.,	do	1836	Riverside, Ill.
Sherman, Oren,	Vermont	1836	
Sherman, Francis T.,	Conn.	1834	A U. S. General of the Rebellion.
Sherman, A. S.,		1836	Waukegan, Ill.
Shrigley, John,	England	1836	Candidate for Sheriff 1837; dead.
Sinclair, James,	New York	1835	Tinsmith.
Sinclair, John,		1832	Dead.
Simmons, E.,	Ohio	1836	Dead.
Skinner, Mark,	Vermont	1836	Judge 1851; Chicago.
Smith, Dr. D. S.,	New Jersey	1836	Chicago.
Smith, Judge T. W.,		1830	Delegate to draw up City Charter.
Smith, Matthias,		1833	Member of first Engine Company.
Smith, Charles B.,	New York	1835	Chicago.
Smith, James A.,	do	1835	Died July 23, 1875.
Smith, J. F.,	Mass.	1836	Dead.
Smith, George,	Scotland	1833	Banker; Scotland.
Smith, Jeremiah,		1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Smith, William,		1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Shedaker, Christopher,		1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Stowell, Walter,		1831	Dead.
Smith, E. K.,		1833	Manager first Chicago Ball 1834.
See, William,	Virginia		First County Clerk 1831.
Snow, George W.,	Vermont	1832	Assessor 1833; dead.
Snowhook, W. B.,	Ireland	1836	Collector of the Port.
Spalding, S. F.,		1834	Member of first Engine Company.
Speer, Isaac,	Conn.	1836	Died 1879.
Spring, Giles,	Mass.	1833	Died 1851.
Spence, John,	Penn.	1834	Dead.
Spence, James,	do	1834	Dead.
Sexton, Sylvester,	New York	1836	Alderman 1855; dead.
Stearns, M. C.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Steele, James W.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Stowe, W. H.,	do	1834	Alderman 1839; Chicago.
Stowe, H. M.,	do	1834	San Francisco.
Stewart, Hart L.,	do	1836	Post Master 1846.
Stuart, Dr. John J.,	do	1836	Died 1849.
Stone, H. O.,	do	1835	Died 1879.
Strode, James M.,	Tenn.	1835	U. S. Land Office.
Steele, Ashbel,	New York	1835	Sheriff 1840.
Stoce, Clemens,	Germany	1836	Alderman 1839.
Stuart, William,	New York	1835	Editor first daily paper in Chicago.
Sweet, Alanson,		1832	Voted in 1833; Evanston, Ill.
Sweet, R. M.,	New York	1831	Member Old Settlers Society 1856.
Sweeney, John,	Ireland	1834	Chicago.
Scott, Willis,	New York	1826	Chicago, Ill.
Scott, Willard,	do	1826	Naperville, Ill.
Scott, Stephen S.,	do	1826	Died en route from California.
Short, Hugh,	do	1835	Died in Milwaukee.
Talcott, Mancel, Jr.,	do	1832	Police Commissioner; died 1878.
Talcott, Edward B.,	do	1835	Supt. I. and M. Canal; Chicago.
Talcott, Mancel, Sr.,	do	1832	Died 1857.
Taylor, Edmund D.,	Virginia	1835	Mendota, Ill.
Taylor, Solomon,	Conn.	1833	Dead.
Taylor, W. W.,	New York	1834	Chicago.
Taylor, Abner,		1833	Chicago.
Taylor, Deodat A.,		1833	Alderman 1853; Chicago.
Taylor, Anson H.,	Conn.	1832	Died May 9, 1878.
Taylor, Henry,	do	1833	
Taylor, Francis H.,	do	1833	Alderman 1837; Niles, Mich.
Taylor, Charles H.,	do	1832	Judge of Election 1837.
Taylor, A. W.,		1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Thompson, Robert,		1831	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Thompson, Enoch,		1830	Dead.
Tuttle, James B.,		1831	Dead.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Talley, A. M.,	S. C.	1835	Foreman Democrat Office.
Temple, Dr. John T.,		1833	Died in St. Louis 1879.
Temple, Dr. Peter,		1830	Lexington, Mo.
Thompson, Oliver H.,	Vermont	1835	Alderman 1839; dead.
Trowbridge, S. G.,		1834	County Treasurer 1836.
Tripp, Robinson,	Vermont	1834	Chicago.
Tuttle, Nelson,	New York	1836	Dead.
Tuttle, Lucius G.,	do	1836	Died July 15, 1879.
Tuttle, Fredrick,	do	1836	Chicago.
Tucker, Thomas E.,		1836	Cooper; dead.
Tucker, Henry,	Mass.	1836	Dead.
Turner, John,		1835	Ravenswood, Ill.
Towner, Norman K.,			Ypsilanti, Mich.
Updike, Peter L.,	New Jersey	1835	Town Trustee 1836; dead.
Underwood, J. M.,	Mass.	1835	Massachusetts.
Vanderbogart, Henry,		1834	Public School Teacher; dead.
Vaughan, Daniel W.,		1831	Dead.
Vial, Robert,		1834	Chicago.
Vial, Samuel,		1834	Chicago.
Vincent, Akin,		1835	Chicago.
Walker, Rev. Jesse,	Virginia	1826	Died October 4, 1835.
Walkins, Samuel,	do	1830	Dead.
Ward, Bernard,		1836	Alderman 1837.
Wattles, W. W.,		1832	Tavern Keeper.
Watkins, Thomas,		1835	First Post Office Clerk.
Walker, J. H.,	Vermont	1836	Dead.
Walker, Charles,	New York	1835	Dead.
Walker, C. H.,	do	1835	Louisiana.
Wadhams, Seth,	Conn.	1835	Elmhurst, Ill.
Wadsworth, Julius,	do	1836	New York City.
Wadsworth, E. S.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Wayman, Samuel,	England	1834	Chicago.
Watkins, John,		1832	Voted in 1833; Joliet, Ill.
Warner, Seth P.,	New York	1836	Austin, Ill.
Wayman, William,	England	1834	Alderman 1854; Chicago.
Wellmaker, John,	Germany	1830	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Wentworth, Elijah,		1831	Dead.
Wentworth, Elijah, Jr.,		1831	Second Coroner 1832; died 1875.
Wentworth, John,	N. H.	1836	Ex-Member of Congress and Mayor.
Weir, John B.,	N. S.	1836	Dead.
Weir, George E.,	do	1836	Chicago.
Welch, Patrick,	Ireland	1833	Dead.
Welch, Michael,	do	1829	First Irishman in Chicago.
Wheeler, Russell,		1834	Milwaukee.
Wheeler, A. B.,	New York	1836	Dead.
White, George,		1834	City Crier.
Whitehead, Henry,	England	1833	Chicago.
Whitlock, Thomas,		1835	Dead.
Whitlock, Charles,		1835	Dead.
Whistler, Merriweather L.,	Illinois	1805	First white male child born in Ft. Dearborn.
Whipple, Henry R.,	New York	1836	Died 1880.
Wheeler, Dr. Tolman,	Vermont	1831	Chicago.
Wicker, Joel H.,	New York	1836	Michigan.
Wicker, Charles G.,	do	1836	Dakota.
Williams, Eli B.,	Conn.	1835	President Town Trustees 1836; Chicago.
Wellington, E. F.,		1835	
Wilson, John L.,	New York	1834	Sheriff 1856; Chicago.
Wilson, Richard L.,	do	1834	Post Master 1850; dead.
Wilson, Charles L.,	do	1835	Secretary of Legation, London, 1861; dead.
Windett, Arthur W.,	England	1836	Law Student; Chicago.
Winship, James,	New York	1836	Baker; dead.
Woolley, Jedidah,		1831	First County Surveyor.
Wolcott, Alexander,	Conn.	1834	County Surveyor.
Worthington, Daniel,	Vermont	1836	Chicago.
Worthingham, William,		1836	Fire Warden 1836; Chicago.
Woodworth, James H.,	New York	1833	Mayor and Member of Congress.
Wright, John,	Mass.	1832	Elder First Presbyterian Church 1833; dead
Wright, John S.,	do	1832	Founder Prairie Farmer Newspaper; died September 26, 1874.
Wright, Timothy,	do	1833	Philadelphia, Pa.
Wright, Walter,	do	1833	Dead.
Wright, Truman G.,	Vermont	1834	Fire Warden 1834; Town Trustee 1836; Racine, Wis.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	YEAR.	REMARKS.
Warden, Peter,	.....	.....	Member First Baptist Church 1833.
Wight, J. Ambrose,	.....	1836	Editor Prairie Farmer Newspaper.
White, Thomas,	Ireland	1835	Dead.
Wisencraft, Charles,	.....	1833	Member First Methodist Church 1833.
Wright, Thomas,	New York	1834	Member first Board of Education 1837.
Wright, Edward,	Mass.	1833	Paymaster United States Army; dead.
Wicks, Joel,	.....	1834	Member first Engine Company 1835.
Weatherford, William,	.....	1833	Assistant Indian Agent.
Wells, Solomon,	.....	1836	Director Chicago Hydraulic Company.
Wilde, George W.,	.....	1836	Dead.
Walker, James,	.....	1831	County Commissioner 1832.
Wood, Alonzo C.,	.....	1836	Chicago.
Wade, David,	.....	1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Walker, George H.,	.....	1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.
Walker, Willson West,	Vermont	1836	Died at Newark, Ill.
Wiggin, William,	.....	1836	Builder; dead.
Young, William,	.....	1834	Member of first Engine Company 1835.
Zarley, J. W.,	.....	1832	Member Chicago Co. Black Hawk war.

NOTE.—Col. A. S. Hubbard, who prepared the foregoing list, was fully qualified for the laborious work, having been born and raised in Cook County, and a citizen-youth of Chicago just at the time when his early memory could retain the acquaintances and associations necessary to the work. Added to his own store of information, he has been assisted in his work by Albert D. Hager, Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, who has furnished him with all the records of the Society, among which are Prof. Colbert's Historical and Statistical Sketch of Chicago 1868; the records of the Old Settlers' Society of 1855-6, and of the Calumet Club. Personal interviews with old settlers, too numerous to mention, have also been of essential service to him.

In a few instances, names have been put in of persons whose time of arrival was uncertain, while such settlers as came to the place previous to 1831, who have been spoken of in the history, have been left out. Any errors in the list or omissions may be corrected, and reports of them will be gratefully received for insertion in future editions of the work. They may be sent to Col. A. S. HUBBARD, 184 West Monroe Street, Chicago.—[AUTHOR.

CHICAGO CHARTERED AS A CITY.

FIRST MAYOR ELECTED.

The year 1836 had been one of remarkable prosperity to the little village of Chicago. Its population had grown to the astonishing number of 3820 (as estimated), from a beginning of about 200 persons in 1833. Work on the canal had actually been begun and the harbor was in process of improvement, at the expense of the general government. Land speculators were rapidly buying up the lands, and that system of real estate speculation, which has since this period presented such fascinations to the speculative capitalists of the country, was now inaugurated. Under these auspicious beginnings, on the 26th of October the town board took the necessary steps to take upon themselves the forms of a city. The president of the board of trustees invited the inhabitants of each of the three districts of which the town was composed, to select delegates to meet the board, to confer together on the expediency of applying to the legislature for a city charter. The meeting had place on the 25th of November, and resulted in the appointment, by Eli B. Williams, the President of the board, of five delegates to draw up the charter in form for presentation. Their names were Ebenezer Peck, J. D. Caton, T. W. Smith, Wm. B. Ogden, and Nathan H. Bolles. On December 9th, this committee, through Mr. Peck, presented their charter to the board, and after some amendments it was adopted, and on the fourth of March, the next year, 1837, the legislature of Illinois passed the bill approving the charter, and Chicago took upon herself the forms of a city. The next move was to choose a mayor. The material for an able one was not wanting, but from its very excess the difficulty in making a choice was increased. Happily there were no spoils at stake and no rings to covet them.

The issue was defined by the two political parties which then divided the country on political economy. The whig party represented one and the Democratic party the other. And here it may be pertinent to say that the separate policies of the two parties could not be accurately defined in theory so as to be well understood at this day, but practically the Whigs represented a policy which embraced a liberal system of banking, protective tariffs, and an extensive system of public works, while the Democrats did not oppose this entirely, but professed to guard against excesses in their propagation. The most of them went for a metalic currency only, or paper convertible at the will of the holder. John H. Kinzie was the Whig candidate for mayor, and Wm. B. Ogden the Democratic. Says Hon. John Wentworth: "Both were members of the old St. James Episcopal Church, both men of wealth for that time, and there was nothing in the character of either of the men to give either one any advantage over the other. It was a fair stand-up fight between the Whigs and Democrats. Men of each political party wanted the city government to stand under its peculiar auspices." The contest was sharp and spirited, and great care was taken to provide against illegal voting. Young Wentworth was challenged on the grounds of his youth, and was sworn before being allowed to vote—a suspicion of the truth of which charge, he humorously says, he has since outgrown.

Mr. Ogden received 469 votes and Mr. Kinzie 237, showing a large majority of the citizens of Chicago to be in favor of the democratic policy of the country, at which time, it is not too much to say, we were almost at a loss for any very vital issue. The total vote of the south division was 408, the north 204, and the west 97, and of the whole city 709.

ENLARGEMENT OF CHICAGO BY WARDS AND CITY LIMITS.

BY JOHN A. MOODY, CHIEF CLERK IN CITY CLERK'S OFFICE.

In 1835, John H. Kinzie, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Ebenezer Goodrich, John K. Boyer and John S. C. Hogan were constituted by the legislature of Illinois a body politic and corporate to be known by the name of the "Trustees of the Town of Chicago." The jurisdiction of the town extended over all that district contained in sections nine and sixteen, north and south fractional section ten and fractional section fifteen, in township 39, N. R. 14 E. of the 3rd P. M., except that portion of fractional section ten occupied by the United States, for military purposes. The act creating the town provided that the corporate powers and

duties should be vested in a board of nine trustees, after the first Monday of June, A. D. 1835, on which date the term of office of the above named gentlemen expired. In the year following, the system of water works of Chicago was instituted by the act incorporating the Chicago Hydraulic Company.

Two years after the incorporation of the town, on the 4th of March, 1837, the legislature enacted that "the district of country known as the east half of the southeast quarter of section thirty-three, fractional section thirty-four, the east fourth part of sections six, seven, eighteen and nineteen, all in township forty; also fractional section three, sections four, five, eight, nine, and fractional section ten, excepting the southwest fractional quarter of said section ten, occupied as a military post, until the same shall become private property, fractional section fifteen, sections sixteen, seventeen, twenty, twenty-one, and fractional section twenty-two, all in township thirty-nine, range fourteen, east of the third P. M.; being in the county of Cook and State of Illinois, should be known as the city of Chicago."

It is impossible to give the boundaries above fixed by streets. There is a manifest error in the copy of the act which is on file in the office of the city clerk. The maps show that the sections six, seven, eighteen and nineteen, above mentioned, are in township thirty-nine instead of forty.

The territory was divided into six wards; of which the 1st and 2d were in the south, the 3d and 4th in the west, and the 5th and 6th in the north divisions, respectively. The government was vested in the mayor and twelve aldermen—two aldermen from each ward, except the third and fifth wards, which were entitled to but one alderman each until the annual election for the year 1839.

By the act of March 4, 1837, the school system of Chicago was first established; and by an act passed March 1, 1839, additional powers were granted the common council for establishing and maintaining schools.

Within ten years from its incorporation, the new city felt that it did not contain territory enough, and that its original charter was insufficient for its proper government. On Feb. 16, 1847, a supplementary act was passed extending the limits so as to include all the territory bounded as follows:

Beginning at the intersection of 22d street with the lake shore, thence west to Western avenue, thence north to North avenue, thence east to Sedgwick street, thence north to Fullerton avenue, thence east to the lake, thence southward on the lake shore to the place of beginning.

The city was also divided into nine wards of which the 1st, 2d,

3rd and 4th were in the south division, the 5th and 6th in the west, and the 7th, 8th and 9th in the north.

The city census taken in that year showed a population of 16,859 persons. The valuation of the real and personal estate was, $5,849,170; the amount of revenue raised by taxation $18,159,01, and the floating liabilities $13,179,89.

In 1851, the various acts affecting the city were reduced into one act, and additional powers were granted, but the boundaries of the city were not changed.

In 1853, the city was by act of the general assembly divided into the divisions called north, south and west, the limits were also extended so as to include within the city all of sections 27, 28, 29 and 30, T. 39, N. R. 14 E., also those parts of 31 and 32 T. 40, R. 14, lying east of the north branch, and also the W.½ of Sec. 33, 40, 14.

This extension made 31st street the southern boundary, Western avenue from 31st street to North avenue and the north branch from North avenue to Fullerton avenue the western boundaries, and North avenue and Fullerton avenue the northern boundaries.

The jurisdiction of the city was also extended over so much of the shore and bed of the lake as lie within one mile east of fractional section 27.

The number of the wards was not changed, the added territory being annexed to the 1st, 2d, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 7th wards.

The city census taken in 1853, showed a population of 60,652. The valuation was $16,841,831.00, and the bonded debt, $189,670.

In 1855 the sewerage system of Chicago was inaugurated by the creation of a board of sewerage commissioners, with such powers and duties as were deemed necessary to carry into effect its objects.

The amended city charter, approved Feb. 15, 1857, provided for the creation of an additional ward, the tenth, out of the territory in the West Division.

By the revised charter of 1863, the city limits were extended so as to include all of township 39, north range 14 east of the 3rd P. M., and all of sections 31, 32, 33 and fractional section 34, 40, 14, with so much of the waters and bed of Lake Michigan as lie within one mile of the shore, and east of the territory aforesaid. The street boundaries were Egan avenue (39th street) on the south, Western avenue on the west and Fullerton avenue on the north. The territory was divided into sixteen wards of which the 1st to the 5th inclusive were in the south, the 6th to the 12th inclusive in the west and the four remaining in the north division. Again, in 1869, the general assembly extended the city limits on the west so as to include within it the territory lying north of the Il-

linois & Michigan Canal, east of Crawford avenue and south of North avenue. The same act divided the city into twenty wards, of which six were located in the South Division, nine in the West Division and five in the North Division. The city then contained an area of at least thirty-five square miles with a population of 306,605 persons, an assessed valuation of $275,986,550.00 and a bonded indebtedness of over $11,000,000.00.

In 1870 it levied a tax of $4,139,798.70. In 1837 the tax levy was $5,905.15.

Since 1869 there has been no territory added to the city.

In 1875 the question whether the city should reorganize under the general incorporation act, was submitted to a vote of the people, and was adopted by a vote of 11,714 for, to 10,281 against.

Lest this vote may be taken as an indication of the number of voters in the city at that time, I desire to state here that at the last preceding general election for mayor, 47,390 votes were cast.

Under the provisions of the general incorporation law, the council divided the city into eighteen wards—five in the South Division, nine in the West Division, and four in the North Division.

By virtue of various amendments to the charter, the city government was, at the time of reorganization, in the hands of many irresponsible boards.

Under powers given by the new incorporation law, these boards were all abolished, and the departments governed by them re-established on ordinances passed by the city council. The machinery of the city government is now more simple and less expensive, considering the vastly greater business entrusted to it, than under any of the older charters. The mayor and aldermen practically control the entire city government.

The taxation *per capita* in 1837 was about 1.41; in 1847 about 1.08; in 1857 about 6.73; in 1867 about 12.59; in 1877 about 9.83. The highest rate was in 1873, which was about 15.27.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF FORT DEARBORN,

TAKEN FROM THE RECORDS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON, BY HON. THOS. B. BRYAN.

FORT DEARBORN, ILL.

SITUATED AT CHICAGO, ILL., WITHIN A FEW YARDS OF LAKE MICHIGAN; LAT. 41° 51′ N.; LON. 87° 15′ W.

Post established by the U. S. forces in 1804. Aug. 15, 1812, the garrison, under the command of Captain Nathan Heald, 1st U. S. Infantry, composed of 54 regular infantry, 12 militia-men, and 1 interpreter, was attacked by the Indians, and evacuated same day. The Indians numbered between 400 and 500, of whom 15 were reported killed. The killed of the garrison were Ensign Geo. Rowan,* 1st Inf., Doctor J. V. VanVoorhis,† Capt. Wells, interpreter, 24 enlisted men U. S. Inf., and 12 militia-men; 2 women and 12 children were also killed. The wounded were Capt. Nathan Heald and Mrs. Heald. None others reported. The next day, Aug. 16, 1812, it was destroyed by the Indians. Re-occupied about June, 1816, Captain Hezekiah Bradley, 3d Infantry, commanding. The troops continued in occupation until October, 1823, when it was evacuated, and the post left in charge of the Indian Agent, and was re-occupied Oct. 3d, 1828. Capt. Hezekiah Bradley, 3d Inf., commanded the post from June, 1816, to May, 1817; Bvt. Maj. D. Baker, 3d Inf., to June, 1820; Capt. Hezekiah Bradley, 3d Inf., to Jan'y, 1821; Maj. Alex. Cummings, 3d Inf., to Oct., 1821; Lt. Col. J. McNeal, 3d Inf., to July, 1823; Capt. John Greene, 3d Inf., to Oct., 1823. Post not garrisoned from Oct., 1823, to Oct., 1828.

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* His name is spelled Ronan in Wabun.

† Spelled Voorhees in Wabun.

According to the above official record the attack preceded the evacuation. This was a mistake, according to the account of every eye witness who has written its history, of whom there are several.—*Author.*

The following item is from WM. HICKLING, Esq.:

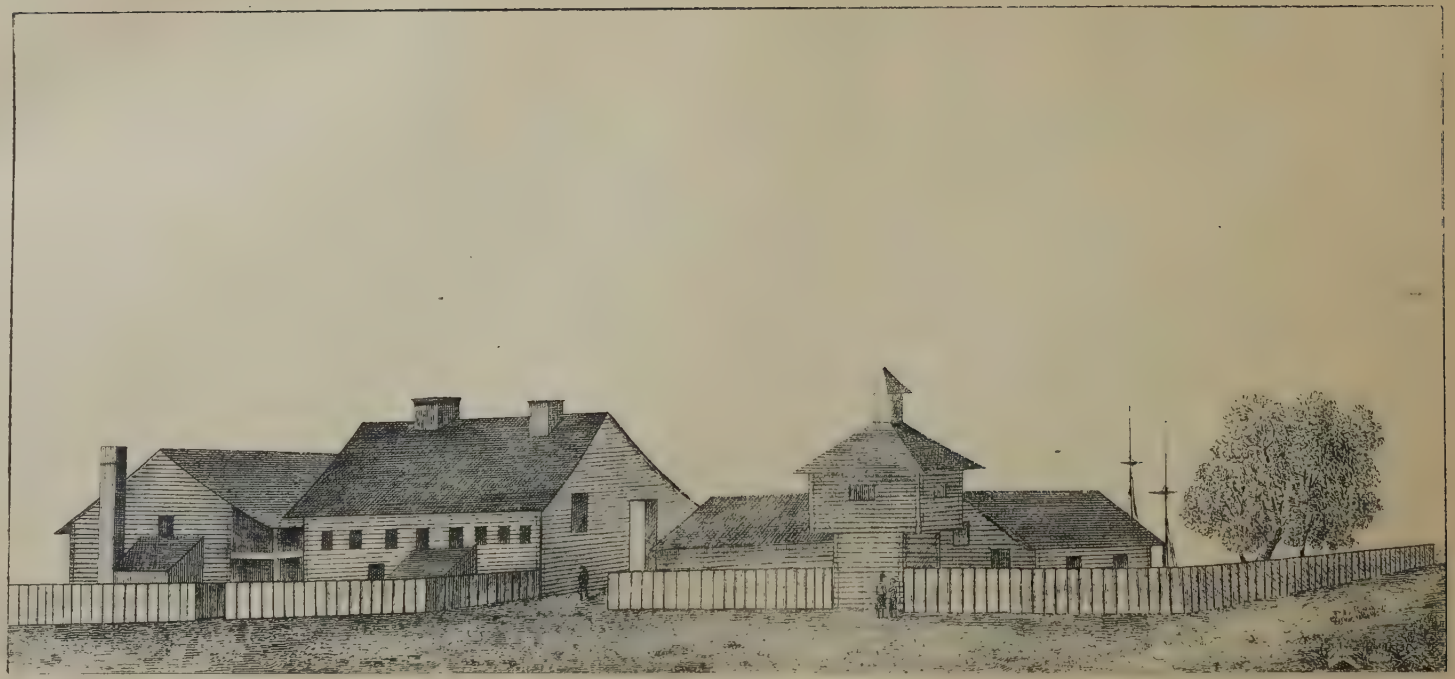
"At this present time there is standing, fronting on State, near the N. E. corner of 33d street, what appears to be a two-story *frame* house; the body of this edifice is made of hewn timber which formerly formed a part of the officers' quarters of Fort Dearborn (erected in 1816). Many years ago, the late Judge Henry Fuller removed this building from its old site, on the Fort reservation, to its present locality; then modernized it by covering with siding and a new shingle roof. In another building erected by Judge Fuller, No. 872 Michigan avenue, may be found an oaken window-frame inserted in the kitchen part of said building; this venerable relic was also removed from the "officers' quarters" of the old Fort, after having done duty there for some thirty years. It seems that the judge had a great liking for these old Fort Dearborn buildings, for he removed a portion of another log building belonging to the old Fort, converting the same into a stable on the rear of his property, No. 872 Michigan avenue. This old relic of the Fort he afterwards sold, and I understand the purchaser broke up the old timbers for firewood."

FORT DEARBORN, ILL.

FROM OCTOBER 3D, 1828, TO MAY 31ST, 1837.

GARRISON.	OFFICERS.	RANK.	ON DUTY FROM	ON DUTY TO	REMARKS.
A. I. 5th Inf. From Oct. 3d, 1828, to May 20, 1831.	John Fowle,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj. 5th Inf.	Oct. 3d, 1828.	Dec. 14, 1830.	Commanding Post.
	David Hunter,	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	" "		{Commanding Post from Dec. 14, 1830, to May 20, 1831.
	John G. Furman,	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	" "	Aug. —, 1830,	A. A. C. S. & A. A. Q. M.
	A. Van Buren,	Bvt. 2d Lt. 5th Inf.	" "	March, 1829.	
	C. A. Finley,	Asst. Surg. U. S. A.	" "	Dec. 14, 1830.	
	James Engle,	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	" "	May 20, 1831.	
	Amos B. Foster,	Bvt. 2d Lt. 5th Inf.	June 20, 1829.	" "	
	Martin Scott,	Captain, 5th Inf.	Nov. 4, "	Aug. 20, 1830.	
		{Troops withdrawn May 20, '31. Re-occupied June 17, 1832.			
G. I. 2d Inf. From June 17, '32. I. to May 15, 1833. G. to May 31, 1833.	Wm. Whistler,	Maj. 2d Inf.	June 17, 1832.	May 14, 1833.	Commanding Post.
	S. G. I. DeCamp,	Asst. Surg.	" " "	Nov. 23, 1832.	
	Seth Johnston,	Capt. 2d Inf.	" " "	May 15, 1833.	No returns between June and Oct. '32.
	I. B. Kingsbury,	1st Lt. 2d Inf.	" " "	May 31, 1833.	"Fort Dearborn having become a
	Hannibal Day,	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	" " "	May 15, 1833.	"Gen'l Hospital on the 11th of July
	I. W. Penrose,	Bvt. 2d Lt. 2d Inf.	" " "	May 31. 1833.	"last, no returns were rendered until
	E. R. Long,	" " " " "	" " "	May 15. 1833.	"its re-occupation; G. and I. 2d Inf. "returned to Post on 1st of Oct. from "Campaign." See Return of Post for Oct., 1832.
A. B. 5 Inf. From May 14, 1833, to Dec., 1836.	P. Maxwell,	Asst. Surg.	Feb. 3d, 1833.	Dec. —, 1836.	
	John Fowle,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj. 5th Inf.	May 14, "	June 19, 1833.	Commanding Post.
	D. Wilcox,	" " " " " "	" " "	Aug. 1, 1836.	{Com'dg Post from Oct. 31 to Dec. 18, 1833; and from Sept. 16, 1835, to Aug. 1, 1836.
	L. T. Jamison,	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	" " "	Dec. —, 1836.	
	J. Allen,	Bvt. 2d Lt. 5th Inf.	" " "	Jan. —, 1834.	
	J. T. Collinsworth,	" " " " "	" " "	June 20, 1833.	
	George Bender,	Major, 5th Inf.	June 19, 1833.	Oct. 31, 1833.	Commanding Post.
	J. M. Baxley,	Captain, 5th Inf.	June 20, 1833.	April, 1836.	
	E. K. Smith,	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	{May 29, '33, Oct. 23, '36,	July, 1834. Dec., 1836.	
	J. L. Thompson,	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	June 20, 1833.	Dec., 1836.	
	John Green,	Major, 5th Inf.	Dec. 18, 1833.	Sept. 16, 1835.	Commanding Post.
	A. H. Tappen,	Bvt. 2d Lt. 5th Inf.	Oct. 15, 1835,	Sept., 1836.	
	I. Plympton,	Capt. and Bvt. Maj. 5th Inf.	Aug. 1, 1836,	May, 1837.	Commanding Post.
	St. Clair Denny,	Captain, 5th Inf.	Aug. —, 1836,	Dec., 1836.	

No Returns on file subsequent to May, 1837.



FORT DEARBORN CHICAGO.

As it appeared, June 1853.

From a Sketch made by A.G. Hackett for Governor Brass

The following letter, from Mr. R. J. Bennett, is inserted as the most authoritative and best history of the last years of Fort Dearborn, which has yet been made public.

CHICAGO, May 11, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD,

Dear Sir:—In reply to your inquiries concerning Fort Dearborn, I am pleased to say the little I can, to give a more definite idea of Chicago's oldest landmark. The "Old Fort," burned at time of the massacre, belonged to an age preceding Chicago, while the defense, erected at a later date on the same site, was known to many still living, and properly belongs to the Chicago that has grown during the last fifty years, because it stood till the tide of improvements and the demands of a growing commerce crowded upon it, and until its last remnant went down in the great fire of 1871.

In July, 1836, my father came to Chicago, became acquainted with it and helped in laying the State road from this place to Galena during that summer. In March, 1844, I came with my father's family from the East, and spent my first two weeks in this State, in the house of the keeper of the Government light. This house stood about where the south abutment of Rush street bridge now stands. So, from my early association, I felt interested in this historical spot. After the great fire, business located me within a hundred feet of the spot where the house stood in which I first lived in this State, and directly upon the "site of Fort Dearborn." This close association of my business with a spot so historical and so closely allied to me by the present and the past, led to the production of two pictures* -one representing the fort as it was from 1844 till after 1850, and the other as it appeared after the stockade, and most of the buildings had been removed and naught but the "Block House" of the fort and the light-house and light keeper's house remained. In the production of those pictures, I followed such sketches as could be found, after verification by scores who had known the fort at an early day, and had pronounced the material used reliable. In describing the place, I can do no better than to use the language of Miss Augusta Meacham, in reply to my inquiries upon this subject.

"Father kept the Government light in 1842, '3 and '4; I think previous to that for a year or two, he was superintendent of all

*The two pictures referred to by Mr. Bennett are both landscape drawings of the fort, river, and light-house, not differing essentially, as far as the block-house, officers' quarters, etc., are concerned, from the view here presented. They are now in possession of Mr. Hoyt.—AUTHOR.

lights on Lake Michigan. The light-house was a stone structure, kept white by lime wash. The dwelling house stood perhaps seventy-five feet east and north of the lighthouse. The old fort was east and just across a rather narrow street or road from it. (This corresponds about to our present River street.) It was west of Michigan avenue; at that time, the avenue did not come to the river, but came to an end just south of the fort."

The fort stood on a sand mound, some twenty feet above the river, and occupied a tract bounded by a line running along about River street to near the center of the river as it now is, and east say one hundred and fifty feet east of Michigan avenue to the lake beach, thence south, say a like distance, south of the present intersection of Michigan avenue and River street, thence west to the place of beginning. The inclosure was a stockade formed by setting logs upright, and close together, the lower end bedded in the earth and the upper sharpened like pickets or pikes. Within this inclosure and near the stockade was arrayed the barracks and the officers' quarters; they were built of hewn logs. Within these and to the south side of the inclosure was the parade ground. In 1857 Mr. A. J. Cross, now connected with the C. B. & Q. R. R., but then in the employ of the city, tore down the fort and lighthouse and leveled the mound by carting the sand to fill Randolph street to grade. One of the buildings was moved but still within the site of the fort (about the center of the store now owned by W. M. Hoyt, and occupied by the firm of which he is the head). That building stood till the fire of 1871 destroyed it, and thus removed the last of Fort Dearborn. A few weeks before that fire I visited that building with my father, and he, laying his hands on one of its corners, said, "This is one of the buildings of the old fort as I saw it in 1836."

War has given way to Peace, defense to aggressive prosperity, but may prosperity never smother our interest in early Chicago and Fort Dearborn.*

Yours Respectfully,

R. J. Bennett.

*The view of the Fort here presented was from the immediate vicinity of the light-house spoken of in Mr. Bennett's letter; hence the light-house, light keeper's house and river, do not appear, as the spectator is looking away from these objects. The large, honey locust tree, appearing in the right back-ground, will be remembered by many of our old citizens. It stood on the west side of Michigan Avenue, so near the street that one needed to stoop in passing on the side-walk. Tradition says it was planted by the daughter of Mr. John Kinzie. It stood till destroyed by the great fire.

THE CHICAGO POST OFFICE.

Letters were first brought to Chicago by the annual arrival of a vessel at the fort, or by some chance traveler who came to the place through the wilderness, and later by government mail carriers who brought the mail to the fort from Detroit, Fort Wayne, or St. Joseph, about once a month. These were the only avenues through which the the outside world could be heard from till 1831, up to which time no post office had been established and private persons were dependent on the courtesy of the commander of the fort for the receipt of letters. Jonathan N. Bailey, an Indian trader, was the first postmaster appointed to act here, and on the 31st of March, 1831, opened his office* on the east bank of the Chicago river, just north of the present Lake street bridge, in a log store, where John S. C. Hogan sat at the receipt of custom. The official duties of Mr. Bailey were very light, the mail arriving at intervals of one or two weeks, and the dozen letters and as many more newspapers it contained were quickly handed out to their eager expectants, when no farther work was necessary till another mail came.

At the breaking out of the Black Hawk war, for some cause, possibly through fear of cholera, he moved with his family to St. Louis, and John S. C. Hogan, the proprietor of the store, who was his son-in-law, became his successor, November 2d, 1832. There are yet, in 1880, a very few of the earliest settlers who retain a distinct recollection of receiving their letters in his scanty quarters, where his attention was divided between his official duties and dealing out sugar, tea or tobacco by the pound, or gaudy fabrics to the tawny customers who were at first his main dependence for income. In 1836 he moved his store and post office to the corner of Franklin and South Water street, where he held the position till March 3d, 1837, subsequent to which time he went to Memphis, where he died. His successor was Sidney Abell. By this time the amount of post office business had increased to a great extent, not only as a delivery of Chicago letters, but as a distributing office to points west, and the former scanty quarters being inadequate to the wants of increasing business, the office was removed to the south side of Clark street, a little south of Water street, and a salary of $4,000 per annum was allowed him. He retained the office till 1841, when President Harrison appointed Wm. Stewart as his successor—the same who was the editor of *The Chicago American*. He retained the office during President Tyler's administration, subsequent to which time he went to Binghampton, N. Y., where he died. James K. Polk

* See Govt. Records at Washington.

was the next President of the United States, and Hart L. Stewart was his appointee for the Chicago post office during his term from 1844 to 1848.

Mr. Fillmore, who took the Presidential chair after the death of Mr. Taylor, appointed Geo. W. Dole as postmaster, who retained the position till the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852, who appointed Isaac Cook to the position in the spring of 1853. The location of the office had been removed to the north side of Clark street, across the alley from the Sherman house. From thence it was removed across the street to the south side of the same alley, and over it was the office of the Chicago Tribune. Thence it was removed to Nos. 82 and 84 Dearborn street.

On the accession of James Buchanan to the Presidential chair in 1857, Wm. Price was appointed postmaster. He retained the office but a few months, when owing to the dead lock between Senator Douglas and the administration on the validity of the Lecompton constitution of Kansas, and kindred toils, it was deemed necessary to remove him, which was promptly done, and Mr. Cook, who was a friend to Buchanan's measures, was restored to his position, which he retained till the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860,* who appointed John L. Scrips, whose editorship of the Chicago Tribune is still fresh in our memories. Mr. Scrips, on account of ill health, declined an appointment under Mr. Lincoln's second term, and Samuel Hoard was appointed as his successor. He retained the position till President Johnson took the executive chair, made vacant by Mr. Lincoln's death, when Rob. C. Gilmore was appointed, but was accidentally drowned immediately afterwards, and Frank T. Sherman was appointed to fill the place during Mr. Johnson's term. On the accession of General Grant to the Presidency in 1869, Francis A. Eastman was appointed to the place. He resigned in 1873, and Gen. John McArthur was appointed by Gen. Grant to the place, who took possession of the office February 14th, and held it till March 10th, 1877, at which time Hon. F. W. Palmer, the present incumbent, was appointed to the position by President Hayes.

At the great fire of 1871 it is worthy of remark that while nearly all private property in the burnt district was destroyed, the mail was all saved by dint of hard work, not exempt from

*Previous to this time Hon. John Wentworth, when representative to Congress in 1853, had obtained at the first session of the thirty-third Congress in the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, approved August 4th, 1854, the first appropriation for the Chicago post office in the following words: "For the accommotion of the custom house, post office, United States courts, and steamboat inspectors, a building of stone 85x60 feet, 60 feet in height from the foundation, to cost not more than $88,000." And it is worthy of mention that this is the only building whose walls survived the great fire of 1871.

danger to the employes of the departments. It was established on the northwest corner of State and 16th streets, from whence, after two months, it was removed to the Wabash Avenue Methodist Church, corner of Harrison street, where it remained till the fire of 1874, when it again fled before the devouring element —saving all the mail—establishing itself at the postal station, corner of Washington and Halstead streets in the West Division, and no interruption was caused by this fire in the delivery of letters. These quarters were retained about a month, when the office was established in the Honore building, corner of Dearborn and Adams streets, where it remained till fire again invaded their quarters, Jan. 4th, 1879, when they, with all the mail saved, took flight to the northeast corner of Washington and State streets, in the basement of the Singer building, where it remained till April 12th, 1879, at which time the office was established at its present locality in the Government building, occupying the square between Adams, Jackson, Clark and Dearborn streets.

The expenses of the office in 1836 were $300, and its commissions the same year were $2,148.29. Ten years later, in 1846, the expenses were $5,234.39, while the expenses were $7,228.51. Ten years later, in 1856, the expenses were $41,130.56, and the expenses, $65,804.41.

Since the fire, beginning with 1872, the total amount of money-order transactions received and paid out have been as follows: For 1872, $7,937,751.20; 1873, $10,632,069.08; 1874, $14,507,-431.83; 1875, $14,741,446.65; 1876, $12,930,824.88; 1877, $13,-157,085.33; 1878, $15,598,765.14; 1879, $16,892,975.92. The sale of stamps, stamped envelopes and postal cards for the same period has been, 1872, $715,010.27; 1873, when postal cards were first introduced, $788,006.29; 1874, $840,388.48; 1875, $970,886.47; 1876, $955,417.70; 1877, $953,148.08; 1878, $1,006,-352.10; 1879, $1,074,237.62.

THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL.

Immediately after the Peace of Paris, in 1783, the Ohio River began to be utilized as a throughfare by which the Americans began their pioneer advances into the great West for settlements. The lakes, as a channel of communication to reach it, were not then thought of, nor could they have been traversed for this purpose if they had, for the British held possession of the whole northern frontier till 1796, as already stated in foregoing pages. These conditions gave the countries along the waters of the Mississippi and its tributaries a great advantage over the borders of the northern lakes in the start, and even as late as 1850 the su-

periority of the Ohio River and the Mississippi as far northward as St. Louis, over the lakes as stimulators to the growth of cities, was demonstrated by the vigorous growth of Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis, while Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago were far behind them, with no hope, unless it were apparently a visionary one of ever reaching them in numbers and wealth.

That this popular decision has been overruled by a fair rivalship between the two local interests, is due first, to the stimulus imparted to Chicago by the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and contingent upon it, the matchless railroad system which centers at the place. As early as 1822, Congress, with intelligent forecast, granted to the State of Illinois, the right of way across the public lands from Chicago to LaSalle for the location of this canal, having the year before obtained a strip of land by treaty from the Indians for this purpose, as already told in preceding pages.

A belt of land ninety feet wide on each side of the canal for its use, was at the same time donated by Congress to the State of Illinois. In 1827, through the efforts of Daniel P. Cook, in the House of Representatives, and Senators Kane and Thomas in the Senate, alternate sections of land five miles wide on each side of the canal were donated to the State of Illinois by the United States, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be applied to the construction of the canal by which the waters of Lake Michigan should be connected for navigable purposes with the Illinois river.*

Wm. F. Thornton, Gurdon S. Hubbard and Wm. B. Archer, were appointed Canal Commissioners, with power to locate its route, and then proceed to the execution of the work. The first thing to be done was to survey the route; and to further this purpose, the commisioners had a meeting at Vandalia, and appointed Wm. Gooding as chief engineer; but as he could not commence work at once, it was agreed that Mr. Hubbard should employ some other one to act in his place till he could assume its responsibilities. Accordingly, Mr. Hubbard returned to Chicago and engaged the services of Mr. E. B. Talcott, who, with a force of engineers under his direction, commenced the survey at once; and by the first of May, 1836, Mr. Hubbard, with his assistance, was able to present complete plans for the work to Gov. Duncan for approval. Two plans were presented; one for the canal as it now is, and one of less dimensions. The former was decided on,

*As a condition of this donation, it was stipulated that government goods or troops were forever to be transported on the canal free of toll; and a few months after it was finished, troops and munitions for the Mexican war were transported free, agreeable to the conditions, thereby giving the work a national character

H. M. SINGER, then Sup't of Repairs.

after several meetings of the full board, and to Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Talcott belongs the credit of first making it. The following month (June), contractors were advertised for; and the next month (July), on the 4th, the ceremony of turning the first sod was duly celebrated in the usual unctious spirit of Chicago citizens. Work commenced immediately thereafter, and under the administration of the board was pushed as rapidly as their means from the sale of lands would admit.

Up to January, 1839, there had been expended one million four hundred thousand dollars. The State then became embarrassed and matters grew worse until 1841, pending which time the State Bank of Illinois having failed, the State itself could not pay the interest on her bonds, and repudiation seemed inevitable. As a consequence, the progress of her extended system of public works, including the canal, was suddenly arrested.

A quiescent period in Chicago's ambition succeeded this untoward event; but in the fall of 1842, the following gentlemen met in council to devise some plan by which to complete the canal and reap the expected benefits from it, which had, as yet, only been in anticipation: Arthur Bronson, of New York, Wm. B. Ogden, Justin Butterfield and Isaac N. Arnold, of Chicago, constituted this council, who, it is not too much to say, had the whole northern part of the State at their backs, besides the bondholders of the State itself. At this meeting Mr. Bronson suggested a plan for completing the canal, and making it a source of revenue instead of a disgraceful wreck of fortune, as it now threatened to prove unless prompt action was taken to impart new life into it.

The proposition was to offer to the bondholders the canal and its revenues when finished, including its landed equities as securities for additional advances to finish it. The plan was timely and simple, and only required the sanction of the State; the bondholders being willing to make the necessary advances under an assurance that they should control the proceeds of the canal and its immunities till they were paid, and Mr. Butterfield drew up the necessary bill to be submitted to the Legislature to bring the scheme into effect. Simple and politic as it was, it must be canvassed by public opinion before the Legislature would act on it; and to bring it understandingly before it, Mr. Arnold addressed the people of Chicago, explaining its features, and Mr. Wentworth, through the columns of *The Democrat*, advocated its feasibility and necessity, and Michael Ryan, a State Senator from LaSalle county, also advocated the measure. When the bill came before the Legislature, Mr. Arnold was one of its members, and as chairman of the Committee on Finance, had charge of the bill in the house. The influence of Thos. Ford, the Governor, hap-

pily was in favor of it. If it had not have been, it would not have passed, for the opposition in the southern part of the State, particularly along the Wabash River, was strong against it, and it was by but a slender majority that this important measure became a law; amended by some prudential modifications, among which was a provision for the appointment of two trustees by the bondholders and one by the Governor, whose business it was to see that all moneys received should be applied to the completion of the work and faithful execution of the trust confided to the bondholders. Capt. Wm. H. Swift, late of the U. S. Army, and David Leavitt, President of The Am. Ex. Bank of New York, were appointed in behalf of the bondholders, and Jacob Fry in behalf of the State.

Work was now resumed on the canal, and under the able and honest administration of these trustees, it was finished April 19, 1848, and on May 1st, 1871, the last dollar of the canal debt was paid, and the canal itself, with its unsold lands together with nearly one hundred thousand dollars surplus in the treasury, was given up to the State. That this successful measure rescued the State from repudiation, was the opinion of the ablest financiers of that period, and that it gave the city of Chicago a solid foundation on which to lay her financial dimension stone has never been questioned by any one.

But few years ago every well-informed citizen of Chicago was familiar with all these events, but now a new generation has grown up, or came to the place, to whom the whole matter is only a history of the past.

The original design was to make the canal a deep cut, sufficiently below the level of Lake Michigan to enable boats to pass from it to the Mississippi river, by way of the Illinois.*

That this design was not carried out at first was owing to the embarrassed credit of the State, as already seen, but the grand original conception has never yet been lost sight of by the representative men of national interests, and in 1862, Mr. Arnold, who then represented Chicago in Congress, introduced a bill to fulfill it. His bill was substantially a proposition to the general government, to aid the State of Illinois in completing the work. It was referred to a committee on military affairs, of which Francis P. Blair was chairman, which reported unanimously in its favor.

* With this end in view, the deep cut was originally made part way through the lime rock which underlaid the surface of the summit, but was abandoned as too expensive. The relinquishment of this plan made it necessary to supply the canal from the Calumet River, instead of Lake Michigan, which was done by means of a dam and feeders. During low water this stream was insufficient, and a steam-pump was then resorted to, to supply water from the south branch of the Chicago River.

The next year, on June 2nd, 1863, a great convention was held in Chicago, to bring this important measure which had now assumed national proportions prominently before the public. The call was signed by Edward Bates, Attorney-general of the United States, and ninety-four members of the House of Representatives. The rebellion was then raging in its as yet unbroken power. The Mississippi river was blockaded, and how to break through the net work of rebel batteries that frowned upon its channel, was an unsolved problem. In this extremity it was argued that if the waters of the great lakes were connected with those of the Mississippi so as to afford a passage for gunboats, such a facility for concentrating force into the heart of the south would give the north a great advantage. That the want of this connecting link in navigating the interior was sensibly felt at this time, is evident from the large attendance at the Chicago convention, the number there from other States than Illinois, being estimated at 5,000. Among them was Hannibal Hamlin, who at the afternoon session of the first day, was made president of the convention, to whom Hon. Chauncey Filley, Mayor of St Louis, President *pro tem*, relinquished the position with which he had been honored while organizing the convention.

On taking the chair Mr. Hamlin addressed the convention in his usual vein of wisdom, setting forth its objects and approving them. A committee was appointed, composed of men from several states to prepare a memorial for presentation to Congress to urge upon that body the necessity of the work. This committee met in New York the following October and prepared the memorial in accordance with their instruction. It was presented to Congress during its following session and passed the House of Representatives, but was defeated in the Senate. Meantime, as the City of Chicago grew, its citizens began to cast about for some better means of sewerage than their slight elevation above the lake had yet afforded. The river was an inky pool of stagnant water, with changeable hues of oily scum, floating lazily on its surface, and the stench arising from it, was sometimes almost insupportable. The fishes had long since deserted it, and lest man should desert its banks something must be done to purify the stream. The only way to do this was to produce a current in it, and this current could only be made by deepening the canal so as to make a declination through the summit, and thence into the valley of the Illinois river. To this end the Common Council of the City of Chicago, Feb. 16th, 1865, passed an Act to contribute two and one half millions of dollars for the purpose of deepening the canal, on condition that the amount expended should be vested in a lien upon it, and its revenues 'after the orignal canal debt should have been paid.

The work was promptly pushed through to completion by the employment of a heavy force, and in July, 1871, the entire excavation was finished and the waters of Lake Michigan found a southern outlet through the south branch of the Chicago river by reversing its course thence through the deepened canal into the Illinois river. The Chicago river through these artificial means became an estuary and as the waters of the Lake flowed through it, it became almost as pure as the source from whence it drew its supply.

Soon after the Chicago fire of 1871, the State convened an extra session of the Legislature and passed an act to refund the money with interest which the City of Chicago had expended in deepening the canal. This was done in a spirit of charity towards the city to relieve her from her then embarrassed condition when she had so many public institutions to rebuild.

The increased dimensions of the canal made it 60 feet wide at the surface, 36 feet wide on the bottom, and a depth sufficient to insure 6 feet of water in the canal at the lowest water. To secure this depth the excavation was made 6 50–100 feet below the lake level at lowest water. There is reported at the time of writing this article (April, 1880) from 6 to 8 feet of water in the canal from Lockport to Chicago, the depth varying according to the action of the wind on Lake Michigan, although the lake is now unusually low. Heavy winds vary the height of the lake for short periods, but independant of this cause there is a variation in the level of the lake of about 4 feet from causes not yet known. The lake level was established by the trustees of the canal in 1847, from which to establish canal levels through the summit. This point became the base of city levels for recording the fluctuations of the lake surface, and was adopted by the Sewerage Commissioners and the Board of Public Works as the base or datum of city levels. It was 11 71–100 feet below the water table on the southwest corner of the central building of the court house destroyed by the fire of 1871.

It was also established on the Lind Block, northwest corner of Market and Randolph streets, which still stands as a monument of a turning point in the greatfire, as well as an old watermark. Since the fire other marks have been established at various places.

The following table shows the elevation of Lake Michigan above or below Chicago datum from Jan. 1854 to Feb. 1880, in feet and hundredths. From the fact that this datum was established at a very low stage of the lake, almost all the records since are above city datum. These below are distinguished by the prefix of a hyphen.

	Max.	Min.	Mean.
1854			1.83
1855	3.45	0.15	1.56
1856	3.05	0.42	1.60
1857	4.35	0.60	2.42
1858	4.69	1.33	2.90
1859	4.45	1.31	2.98
1860	3.53	1.30	2.54
1861	4.40	0.90	2.56
1862	3.50	1.20	2.50
1863	3.30	0.70	2.10
1864	2.80	-.80	1.57
1865	3.66	-.40	1.30
1866	2.50	-1.08	1.07
1867	2.60	0.06	1.49
1868	2.58	-.41	1.01
1869	2.13	-1.00	1.13
1870	3.25	0.41	2.09
1871	2.80	-.30	1.77
1872	1.80	-.40	0.81
1873	2.70	-.76	1.40
1874	2.80	-.20	1.67
1875	2.90	-.90	1.42
1876	4.20	-.10	2.51
1877	3.90	1.10	2.31
1878	3.30	0.40	2.06
1879	3.30	-.50	1.14

The material for the foregoing history of the canal has been obtained from Gurdon S. Hubbard, E. B. Talcott, Wm. Thomas, superintendent of the canal, Isaac N. Arnold, H. M. Singer and F. G. Saltonstall, all of whom have been officially associated with the canal, and are familiar with its growth from its first beginnings.

The following letter from Mr. Galloway is inserted as good authority on the subject on which it treats, so essential to the utility of the canal:

CHICAGO, May 21st, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD,
Chicago, Ills.:

Dear Sir: Your request that I should write you a brief note, in relation to the present condition of the Illinois river as a navigable stream, and what has been done to make it available as an outlet for the Illinois and Michigan canal, is cheerfully complied with.

It is a well known fact that the settlement and cultivation of the country has greatly facilitated the drainage of the entire surface, and hence the magnitude of the floods has been increased; and in consequence of this rapid outflow, the streams fall much earlier in the summer than formerly, and reach a much lower stage than when first navigated by civilized man. Soon after the completion of the canal, it was discovered that, to make it meet the objects for which it had been constructed, it would be necessary to improve the navigation of the river from LaSalle to its mouth, by the construction of some five dams and steamboat locks. Two of these dams and locks have been completed—one at Henry, in Marshall county, and the other at Copperas Creek, some distance below Peoria. It is very desirable that the remaining three dams and locks should be built at the earliest practicable moment, and, if the canal is to be enlarged, to large steamboat capacity, the series of dams and locks upon the river should be continued up to Joliet, from which place to Chicago the canal should be two hundred feet in width, with not less than eight feet depth, in seasons of lowest water in Lake Michigan. My views in relation to the importance of this grand improvement, as a military, commercial, sanitary and social element, have been discussed by myself and others in communications to the press of Chicago, and other cities, upon the canal and river.

Very truly yours,

A. J. GALLOWAY.

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

In the history of all large cities, physical conditions are the first things to be recorded, for these are the superstructure of the whole. (In no disrespectful sense) they are the mud-sills of the edifice.

"The foot ordained the dust to tread."

These physical conditions are as necessary to the fulfilment of the ultimate aim of human amenities, as the trunk of a tree is to the production of fruit on its branches. Science, literature and art are brought into being, and human affections sharpened into activity by the first means used, whereby mankind may live, and grow, and multiply.

That Chicago was a genial atmosphere for all this, and that her canal and the ambition of her early citizens, who had more to hope for than to lose, were an assurance of their fulfilment, has since been demonstrated by the growth of the higher branches of industry begun here, such as books, periodicals, schools and universities, constituting the fruit that grows on such trunks as railroad and warehouse interests, banking and trading interests, and stock, bond and money interests. These latter are the servants of the mind, subject to the whimsical dictation of passion; the magnanimity of man's noblest nature or the self-sacrificing policy of the miser.

The first population of Chicago was composed largely of young men, who, thanks to their inheritance, felt the need of something above the grade of corner lots, and to this end, as well as through a laudable ambition to do something for posterity, they took early measures to secure the means of intellectual improvement to themselves and others by establishing reading rooms. As early as 1838, the Hon. Mark Skinner, Judge Hugh T. Dickey, and others, were instrumental in starting a reading room; but from the small number of subscribers obtained it was found that the yearly expense to each member was ten dollars. This could not be, and was not long sustained, but abandoned for want of funds. In 1840 two other young men, Major Seth T. Otis and Dr. Sidney Sawyer, both from the city of Albany, in the State of New York, were foremost in advocating and discussing with the citizens a plan for a reading room and lectures at a comparatively trifling expense to each member, by bringing into such an association all the mechanics in the city, as well as merchants and their clerks, and all professional men. These young gentlemen had belonged to such an association in Albany, and believed the thing could be done in Chicago on a smaller scale. Judges Dickey and Skinner, and William B. Ogden, and others, gave it their approval, and at a meeting in January, 1841, of a half a

dozen of its friends, held in the hardware store of Major Otis, it was decided that the effort should be made, and if one hundred subscribers were obtained at a tax of two dollars annually to each, the association should be started upon that basis. Judge Skinner drew up the subscription paper, and each person present signed it, and it was left with Major Otis to see how many subscribers he and other volunteers could obtain.

Then commenced the canvass through the *mud* and *slush* of early Chicago. At the end of two weeks, notice was given through the papers that the subscribers should have a meeting. It took place on the 6th of February, in a building on Clark street near where the Sherman house now stands. Nearly every subscriber was present; much satisfaction was expressed, and cheers were raised when Mr. Otis hung across the chairman's desk the long subscription paper of two hundred names, and put a package of four hundred dollars cash into his hands as the result of the canvass. This was double the requirement, and all were jubilant, and when the chairman asked, "What is your pleasure, gentlemen," a member moved that the four hundred dollars cash on hand should be considered as initiation fees, etc., used in fitting up a room for the use of the association. It was carried unanimously, and a tax of two dollars per annum was voted to sustain the association, which was very properly called "The Young Men's Association." A constitution was adopted, and a time appointed for the election of officers.

Walter Newberry was elected its first president, and in a few weeks a room was opened to the members in the second story of "Scammon's building" on the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, and the association was pronounced a success.

In the spring of 1843 a ball was given by its managers at the Lake house, on the North side, for the benefit of the library fund, and here were gathered the true representatives of Chicago—promise for future advancement in the higher walks of life. The object was a literary one, and of course the blandishments of the hall lent an additional charm. Under this double incentive the ladies turned out in effective force, notwithstanding that the mud in the streets was axle deep.

Frink and Walker's stage coaches plowed through it with their fair charge, and made the enterprise a social as well as utilitarian success. Those days were too early for the professional lecturer to come to Chicago, but this deficiency was satisfactorily supplied by home talent. Hon. Mark Skinner began the course with a lecture before the association on Finance and the Illinois School Fund; Dr. Sawyer followed on Mesmerism; Major Otis on True Mercantile Character; Dr. Brainard on Physiology, and other members of the association on subjects of interest in that

day. Such was the beginning of The Young Men's Association, which subsequently took a front rank among the useful institutions of Chicago. It had 1659 members, of whom 134 were ladies; 157 were life, and 16 were honorary, members. The initiation fee for membership was $2.00, and the annual tax $3.00. The number of volumes in the library at the time of its destruction by the great fire of 1871 was a little short of 20,000, added to which were the prominent newspapers of the United States and England, as well as the best magazines and reviews of both countries. Besides these, its geological cabinet was a valuable feature in its treasures. Of all these, nothing, not even the records were saved, but from one of its members who had preserved its records the writer has obtained information for the above.

Mr. Otis, to whose public spirit and enterprise was chiefly due its first success, is still living, in Ann Arbor, Mich. Several other of its founders are living in Chicago, who can recall that early day when, while every thing was to be built anew, the reading room, the palladium of commerce and wealth, was planted in the early spring of Chicago's life, to grow with her growth, and strengthen with her strength.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.

BY W. F. POOLE.

Immediately after the destruction of all the libraries of Chicago, in the great fire of October, 1871, Mr. Thomas Hughes (the author of "Tom Brown at Oxford") and other gentlemen in London, made an appeal to the authors, publishers, scientific societies and literary institutions of Great Britain, for donations of books, with reference to the formation of a free public library in Chicago. The appeal was generously responded to, and more than 7,000 volumes were contributed to the English committee having the matter in charge. The British Museum presented all its publications; the University of Oxford the publications of the University Press, of which about 250 volumes were elegantly bound and were stamped with the University seal. The Commissioners of Patents gave a complete set of the British Patents; the Master of the Rolls a set of the Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Calendar of State Papers, and many of the most prominent writers in the kingdom gave their works. The relatives of deceased authors, as Lord Macaulay and Dr. Arnold of Rugby, donated complete sets of their writings; Her Majesty, the Queen, gave "The Early Life of the Prince Consort," inscribed with her autograph, and bearing this book-plate:

PRESENTED TO THE CITY OF CHICAGO,
Towards the formation of a free library, after the great fire of 1871, as a mark of English sympathy,
BY HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN VICTORIA.

A similar book-plate, with the name of the donor changed, was placed in nearly all the gifts. There was then (December, 1871), no library to receive these books, and no law of the State under which a free public library could be organized. The Mayor, Mr. Joseph Medill, in response to a request of a number of citizens, called a public meeting to take steps for the establishment of such a library, which was held on the evening of January 8, 1872, at which a committee was appointed to prepare for such legislation. The Committee reported, January 20th, the draft of a free library law, which was enacted by the Legislature and approved March 7, 1872. The Common Council passed an ordinance establishing the Chicago Public Library, which was signed by the Mayor April 3, 1872. The state law authorized a tax for the support of the Library not exceeding one-fifth of one mill on the taxable property of the city, which would then yield $58,000 annually. Thomas Hoyne, S. S. Hayes, R. F. Queal, J. W. Sheahan, D. L. Shorey, Hermann Raster, Willard Woodard, Elliott Anthony, and Julius Rosenthal were, April 8, appointed the first Board of Directors, and Thomas Hoyne was elected President of the Board. The English books soon began to arrive, and temporary accommodations for them were fitted up in the iron "Tank," which was attached to the temporary city building on the corner of Adams and LaSalle streets. Donations of books were also received from citizens. January 1, 1873, a reading room was opened, with addresses by Mayor Medill, Mr. Hoyne, the President of the Board, and others, and was put under the charge of the Secretary, Mr. W. B. Wickersham. In October of the same year, Mr. William F. Poole, formerly Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, and then in charge of the Cincinnati Public Library, was appointed Librarian, and he entered upon his duties January 1, 1874. Rooms for the Library were secured on the south-east corner of Wabash avenue and Madison street, and the circulating department was opened to the public May 1, 1874, with 17,355 volumes. By December 1, the collection had increased by the purchase of new books to 32,197 volumes, and the number of registered book borrowers was 16,819. The annual report in June, 1875, gives the circulation of books taken out for home use as 399,156 volumes, which was larger than that of any other library in the United States, except the Boston Public Library. The number of volumes in the Library was then 39,236. In 1876 the number of volumes was 49,024; in 1877, 51,408; in 1878, 57,984; in 1879, 60,426; in 1880, 68,000.

All residents of the city can draw books by depositing a certificate of guaranty, signed by a responsible person, and registering their names. A guaranty is required in order to secure the return of books borrowed, and the observance of the rules. A guaranty remains in force only two years; it must then be renewed, a new registration made, and a new card issued. The number of book borrowers' cards out at one time ranges from 20,000 to 25,000.

The entire expense of supporting the Library is borne by the city, and the money is raised by public taxation. The state law limits the amount of the tax levy to one-fifth of a mill on the dollar on the city valuation, but the City Council may appropriate a less amount. The several tax levies for the Library have been as follows: 1872, $56,839; 1873, $50,000; 1874, $25,208; 1875, $25,000; 1876, $25,000; 1877, $34,375; 1878, $23,000; 1879, $39,000; 1880, $43,000. The total running expenses of the Library, except for the purchase of books, is about $24,000. Seventeen persons give their whole time to the service of the Library, and five a portion of their time.

In May, 1875, the Library was removed from Wabash avenue to the southwest corner of Dearborn and Lake streets, where it now is in rented rooms, which, as regards security from fire and accessibility, are wholly unsuited for such use. Mayor Harrison, in his annual address to the City Council, May 10th, 1880, spoke of the Library as "grandly accomplishing the ends of the projectors and the purposes for which the money of the taxpayers is being expended." On the matter of its location he said:

"The pressing want of the Library is a safer and more accessible building—one that shall be practically fire-proof, and nearer the ground. I am not aware of any other instance where a city library is kept in the third story of a rented building occupied by twenty other tenants, and liable at any moment to be burned up. In case of fire it would be impossible to save any considerable portion of the books, which, independent of associations connected with many of them as gifts contributed to the city after the great fire, have a pecuniary value of over $100,000. A building or any combustible material may be easily replaced, but a library destroyed is hard to replenish. Our Library is the pride of our city, the repository of many rare, choice and valuable works in history, poetry, science and art, and their destruction could not be fully valued in dollars and cents. Should the building in which the Library is located be destroyed, the indifference of the authorities would be condemned in unmeasured terms. While it is yet time to provide against contingencies, I would suggest to your honorable body that some safer and better location be secured."

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY MRS. WILLIAM BARRY.

One of the most solid and noteworthy institutions of the Northwest is the Chicago Historical Society. Its existence dates back to 1856, when Chicago, as a city, was yet in her "teens." The plan for its formation had been some time ripening in the minds of its projectors, and when, at length, it was presented at a meeting of some of the active and influential citizens, called together for its discussion, it met with a cordial and prompt response.

The preliminary steps having been adopted, the society took shape at once, and entered upon a career of almost unparalleled success and usefulness, which found a check only in the ravages of that terrible fire, whose iconoclasm spared not even the records, which told the story of the society's labors and achievements.

The first active members who composed the "body politic and corporate" were Messrs. William H. Brown, William B. Ogden, J. Young Scammon, Mason Brayman, Mark Skinner, George Manierre, John H. Kinzie, J. V. Z. Blaney, E. I. Tinkham, J. D. Webster, W. A. Smallwood, Van H. Higgins, N. S. Davis, Charles H. Ray, S. D. Ward, M. D. Ogden, F. Scammon, E. B. McCagg and William Barry.

The first president was the Hon. William H. Brown. He was one of the early settlers of Illinois, from New England, a man widely known and universally respected. Over fifty years ago he edited a newspaper in Vandalia, Illinois, which contributed largely to defeat the project to legalize slavery in the state.

The first secretary and librarian was the Rev. William Barry, a native of Boston, Massachusetts, whose early archæological and historical pursuits, knowledge of various languages, and familiar acquaintance with the practical workings of similar institutions, peculiarly fitted him for the part assigned him.

The scope of the society's aims, as originally conceived by its founders, was very broad, extending backward as far as history extends—covering the present as fast as it passed into history, whether as related to the civil, political or ecclesiastical subjects of the day, and limited to no nation or tongue. It was on this broad, intelligent basis the society commenced and pursued its work—a work ever widening out and calling for the broadest range of both intellectual and executive ability.

The history of its labors may be divided into two epochs—the period before the great Chicago fire, and that succeeding it.

During the first period great efforts were made by the secretary, partly by visits and partly by correspondence, to secure from old settlers in different parts of the State, all possible traditions and manuscripts relating to the early settlement of Illinois; and a great deal of very valuable material was thus obtained—now, unfortunately, irrevocably lost.

He also at once, began in person, the inspection of the ancient mounds of Illinois, and urged upon the State authorities to connect with the geological survey of the State, a particular and thorough survey of these very interesting archæological remains, which may yet be destined to throw important light upon the early unwritten history of our race.

A very valuable work was accomplished by the society during the civil war. The secretary early comprehending the solemn and vast issues of a struggle so momentous in its results to the whole waiting world, solving, as it might, the greatest political question of the ages, felt that, to meet the just adjudication of the future, the facts and materials of its history should be preserved as they arose. He therefore diligently gathered everything possible pertaining to it, and succeeded in making, probably, the largest collection of material relating to that important conflict, to be found in the country. It consisted of newspapers, manuscripts and magazines, from all parts of the country, but especially from the South—letters from soldiers in both armies—an original diary of a captured rebel officer, and that also of a spectator at the seige of Vicksburg—a large amount of unpublished manuscript material, numbering over seven hundred individual papers—and entire files of Richmond newspapers, published during the war, and preserved by Jefferson Davis.

The original Emancipation Proclamation was consigned for safe keeping to the custody of the society by the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' Home.

It was during its first period that the society received a valuable legacy from the Hon. Henry D. Gilpin, Philadelphia, amounting to about $45,000, which, fortunately, at the time of the fire had not become available to the special library for which it was intended.

The collections, at the time of the fire, comprising books and pamphlets from all parts of the country and from foreign lands, amounted to not far from one hundred thousand. Besides books, manuscripts, etc., there were numerous oil paintings, Indian relics, and miscellaneous curiosities.

But while engaged in its special work of collecting historic

material, it kept a vigilant eye upon all the great interests of the city, and was ready to lend to them its valuable influence and intelligent co-operation. It took an active part in exposing the evils of inter-mural interments—the initiative step which secured to Chicago one of the most attractive pleasure-grounds in the country—Lincoln park. It also encouraged the movement made some twenty years ago, to open by the way of the Georgian Bay, the means of unbroken water-transportation between Chicago and Europe.

Through its influence, in co-operation with the French Consulate in Chicago, effective steps were taken by the French government to open direct trade with Chicago through Canada, the country to avail itself of its large fishing fleet from France, which came over in ballast, to reduce the cost of freight; in addition to which, arrangements were contemplated to establish at Chicago a branch of the "French Credit Mobilier," to furnish the needed aid of money in the enlargement of this international commerce. Unfortunately, when the agent of France was sent hither to carry into effect this scheme, the indications of the war of the rebellion were so threatening as to suppress any immediate movement, and since that time the attempt has not been renewed.

Thus, year by year, had the society been multiplying its labors—extending its correspondence abroad and its influence at home, until it had come to be recognized as one of the most active and respectable institutions of the kind in the country. Among its honorary members were recorded distinguished and illustrious names in our own and foreign lands, some of which are Jared Sparks, Edward Everett, James Savage, Robert C. Winthrop, William H. Prescott, George Bancroft, Charles Sumner, John Young, John Lathrop Motley, Duke of Newcastle, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Lady Jane Franklin. In the year 1868 the society moved from its over-crowded quarters, on the corner of Kinzie and Wells streets, into a "fire-proof" building, erected on its own lot, corner of Ontario and Dearborn streets, intended as a wing to a large and elegant structure to be built at a later period. We come now to the second epoch in the society's history, that succeeding the "Great Fire" of 1871, which laid all its treasures in ashes.

A society that had established for itself such a prestige was not to be daunted, even by this overwhelming calamity. Scarcely had the embers of the great conflagration ceased to glow, when the president, with a few influential members, called upon Mr. Barry to discuss the situation, and plan measures for the immediate resumption of their work. They requested him to once

more take the helm, and enter again with the society upon its new career. In his great solicitude for its welfare he consented to take the proposal into consideration, and for a few weeks he gave the matter serious thought. But as the work opened before him it became so vast in its proportions, and so exacting in its demands, to ensure success, that he felt himself quite unequal to the task, and in a letter published in the Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 26th, 1871, he says:

"The urgent, immediate demand is for an energetic, practical, learned librarian, equal to the labor required and competent, wisely to order, shape and execute it. For such a position I am physically unequal." Meantime he had received assurances from various historical and literary societies of their warm sympathy in the society's misfortunes, and their readiness to aid it in any possible way. He was also informed that contributions might be obtained from the public authorities of France, and probably from other European sources, if they were sought. The New England Historical and Geneological Society, of Boston, placed a room in their new fire-proof building at the disposal of the society, to which its various donations might be sent until it could provide a safe place of deposit. Very considerable collections were soon made, which, by the request of the president, were subsequently forwarded to Chicago, where they were all consumed by the fire of July, 1874. True to those brave instincts for which Chicago has become famous, and which have been literally "tried by fire," these heroic, enterprising men, who held the destinies of the society in their hands, cast down, but not despairing, began again, and nobly pushed forward its work, while still trying to re-instate their own homes and churches, and the innumerable charitable and other institutions of the great struggling city. In the course of time, with a liberal view to the future, they obtained a plan for an extensive and elegant edifice, and soon after they raised sufficient money to erect a small portion of the rear—with the hope that it will gradually grow into its full and symmetrical proportions, as time and means allow, and the necessities of the society require.

The new hall was first occupied Oct. 15th, 1877—at which time the collections consisted of 703 bound volumes, and 988 unbound, and pamphlets. Since then the increase has been very encouraging. At the present date, April, 1880, the number amounts to 4703 bound volumes, and 12,661 unbound and pamphlets. To these the present energetic, zealous and faithful librarian, Mr. Albert D. Hager, has added a great variety of interesting curiosities, among them medals, coins, manuscripts, maps, etc., etc., which will become more and more valuable as their date

recedes. One of the most interesting collections was presented during the last year by the late Mrs. Elizabeth E. Atwater, formerly a resident of this city.

Monthly meetings are held regularly in the hall of the society, at which historical and biographical papers are read to select and cultivated audiences.

During the last year a legacy of real estate, lying in Chicago, was left to the society, by Miss Lucretia Pond, of Petersham, Massachusetts, which, at the time it was devised, was estimated at twenty thousand dollars. It could be wished such legacies were more frequent. The following are the names of the successive presidents of the society:

Hon. William H. Brown, Mr. Walter L. Newberry, Hon. J. Y. Scammon, Mr. Edwin H. Sheldon, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, the present incumbent. The successive secretaries and librarians are as follows: Rev. William Barry, assisted by Col. Samuel Stone, for the first ten years. He was followed by Messrs. T. H. Armstrong, J. W. Hoyt, and W. Cochran. After the fire the vacancy was temporarily filled by Mr. Belden F. Culver, until the services of a permanent secretary and librarian could be secured. This was effected May 17th, 1877, by the appointment of the present incumbent, Mr. Albert D. Hager.

Impressed with the great importance of this institution in a city like Chicago, standing as it does the great metropolitan representative of the Northwest, the society has quietly, but persistently, and with intelligent zeal, resumed and pursued its work—a work ever opening out into broader fields and embracing wider circles. The great strides of modern civilization bring us face to face with all the countries and peoples of the earth. We talk daily with Japan, Egypt and Zululand as easily, and by the same medium as with New York or Boston, and their history becomes ours in divers ways, whether we will or no. We can no longer narrow our lives to our own neighborhood. We are a part of the great whole, and whatever concerns the remotest nation or people concerns us. Every Historical Society which comprehends the extent and magnitude of its relations will gather into its archives whatever throws light upon the history of the world and man's relations with the great problem of life, whether in the darkness of barbarism or the light of a high civilization. And thus does the work of the intelligent historiographer become one of the most broadening and comprehensive in the whole circuit of human pursuits.

THE BOARD OF TRADE.

BY CHARLES RANDOLPH.

The adage that "in union there is strength" finds exemplification in commercial, as in religious, social or political affairs; hence, communities of considerable numbers desiring to promote measures for the common benefit, have found it desirable to effect an organization of some sort that may be representative of the interests involved, and that may give expression to the sentiments of its members, or of the community for which it assumes to speak. At a comparatively early day in the history of Chicago, as a commercial center, its then small number of merchants deemed it for their common interest to organize as a Board of Trade. Whether or not the accomplishment of any special object was at that time had in view, does not appear from any records now in existence. It is certain, however, that the eighty-two names which in April, 1848, were first enrolled as members of the Board were eminently representative of the general commercial interests of the city then containing less than twenty thousand inhabitants. Chicago at that time had no public means of communication with the interior, except by the stage-coach and the "prairie schooner," but its favorable location, at the head of lake navigation, had already drawn to it a considerable volume of agricultural products, which were there exchanged for such needed supplies as could be procured only from the east. A brilliant future was, however, now believed to be dawning upon the infant city. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, connecting the lakes at this point with the waters of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, which has been in progress of construction since 1836, was about to be completed, and doubtless the anticipation of important results to flow from this great achievement, as well as the prospective advantages of a railway system, which had then begun to assume tangible form, had more or less to do with the preparation of the merchants of the city for a united effort to meet the new and inspiring prospects of trade. Whatever may have been the object and expectations of the originators of the enterprise, it is certain that for several years it failed to accomplish very much of practical results, and its membership, instead of growing with the growth of the city, actually declined to but little more than one-half of its original numbers. In addition to occasional meetings for the consideration of questions of a generally public character, there seems to have been an early attempt to establish a daily exchange; this, however, met with but poor success, and for several years various and sometimes novel expedients were resorted to for the purpose of securing the attendance of members at these daily meetings. The promoters of the organization,

although discouraged by these fruitless efforts, clung to the idea that such a body ought to be sustained, and so kept it alive until its necessity became more apparent to others. By 1854 the influence of railroads as contributors to the development of the interior and of the business of the city became so marked in the increase of the grain and provision trade, which could be more advantageously conducted in a general meeting of buyers and sellers than in private offices, that the daily meetings on 'Change began to assume a new importance, since which there has been no grounds for complaint as to the indifference of members engaged in those branches in respect to their attendance.

In 1850 the Board, originally a voluntary organization, became incorporated under a general law of the State, and in 1859 a special act of incorporation was obtained from the Legislature, which has since remained the basis of the organization. Its general objects, as expressed in the preamble to its Rules and By-Laws are, "To maintain a commercial exchange; to promote "uniformity in the customs and usages of merchants; to incul- "cate principles of justice and equity in trade; to facilitate the "speedy adjustment of business disputes; to acquire and dissem- "inate valuable commercial and economic information; and, "generally, to secure to its members the benefits of co-operation "in the furtherance of their legitimate pursuits." In order to promote these objects, an elaborate code of Rules and By-Laws has been adopted, these being amended or modified from time to time, as necessity or experience may seem to require. These Rules and By-Laws, while covering matters touching the government of the corporation, extend to detailed and specific regulations for the conduct of trade; especially that in flour, grain and provisions, in which a large per centage of the members are engaged; although among the members are the representatives of almost every branch of trade in the city.

The business transacted on 'Change has grown to enormous proportions, and includes not only the sales of the vast amount of agricultural products seeking the Chicago market by the receiver from the interior to the shipper eastward, but also a volume of speculation in these products unequalled in any other city in the world. The facility with which this class of property is handled, and the fact that almost any conceivable quantity can find a purchaser for cash on any day in the year, renders the market an exceedingly inviting one for speculative operations; and they are engaged in, through the members of the Board acting as commission merchants or brokers, by almost all classes of persons, not only residents of the city, but those residing at remote points throughout the country; the latter far outnumbering the

former. A very small per cent. of the transactions made on 'Change are other than on commission orders; and these frequently aggregate many millions of dollars daily, the same property being re-sold again and again.

As illustrating the increase of the business of the city in the actual movement of the leading agricultural products finding a market in Chicago, the following tables, taken from the reports of the Board of Trade, are submitted. These, however, only show the amount actually forwarded from the city to consuming points, and give but a very imperfect idea of the amount of trading in them. To arrive at this, especially in the later years, the figures should be increased many fold.

SHIPMENTS FROM CHICAGO.

YEAR.	FLOUR, *barrels.*	WHEAT, *bushels.*	CORN, *bushels.*	OATS, *bushels.*	RYE, *bushels.*	BARLEY, *bushels.*
1838..	.....	78	.....	.....	.....	.....
1840..	.....	10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
1845..	13,752	956,860	.....	.....	.....	.....
1850..	100,871	883,644	262,013	158,084	.....	22,872
1855..	163,419	6,298,155	7,517,625	1,888,538	19,326	92,011
1860..	698,132	12,402,197	13,700,113	1,091,698	156,642	267,449
1865..	1,293,428	7,614,887	25,437,241	11,142,140	999,289	607,484
1870..	1,705,977	16,432,585	17,777,377	8,507,735	913,629	2,584,692
1875..	2,285,115	23,184,349	26,443,884	10,279,134	310,502	1,868,206
1878..	2,779,640	24,211,739	59,944,200	16,464,513	2,025,654	3,520,983
1879..	3,090,540	31,006,789	61,299,376	13,514,020	3,234,363	3,566,401

YEAR.	BEEF, *tcs. and bbls*	PORK, *barrels.*	MEATS, *pounds.*	LARD, *pounds.*	BUTTER, *pounds.*	SEEDS, *pounds.*
1852..	53,965	10,976	1,446,500	1,200,000	.....	12,853
1855..	55,790	77,623	6,401,487	1,803,900	.....	3,484,013
1860..	85,563	91,721	15,935,243	10,325,019	.....	6,055,563
1865..	103,064	284,734	55,026,609	28,487,407	5,206,865	7,514,928
1870..	65,369	165,885	112,433,168	43,292,249	6,493,143	6,287,615
1875..	60,454	313,713	362,141,943	115,616,093	19,249,081	55,428,491
1878..	67,757	346,366	747,269,774	244,323,933	44,507,599	95,441,270
1879..	110,431	354,255	835,629,540	251,020,295	51,262,151	133,566,596

YEAR.	WOOL, *pounds.*	HIDES, *pounds.*	CATTLE, *number.*	HOGS, *number.*	CATTLE PACKED IN THE CITY.	HOGS PACKED IN THE CITY.
1852..	920,113	2,396,250	.....	.....	21,806	22,036
1855..	2,158,462	3,255,750	.....	.....	28,972	80,380
1860..	839,269	14,863,514	97,474	227,164	34,624	271,805
1865..	9,923,069	20,379,955	301,627	644,545	27,721	507,355
1870..	15,826,596	27,245,846	891,709	1,095,671	21,254	919,197
1875..	51,895,832	55,867,904	696,534	1,736,166	65,783	2,329,846
1878..	43,009,697	51,875,447	699,108	1,292,945	*383,960	4,009,311
1879..	47,513,638	61,381,778	726,903	1,732,385	*488,829	4,960,956

*Includes city consumption and shipments in the carcass.

The aggregate value of farm products, including live stock and meats shipped from Chicago in 1879, is estimated at $252,152,000, besides which a large amount consumed in the city is also sold on 'Change.

During its early years the Board was migratory, changing its quarters with the changing centre of business in the city, but always, until 1865, clinging near to the river banks. In 1859 a building, at the time deemed ample in its accommodations for many years, was erected for the use of the Board; this was occupied early in 1860; at that time the membership had increased to about 600. With the impetus given to the business of the members of the Board during the civil war, 1861–5, both in the volume of products seeking a market in Chicago, and in operations of a speculative character, which although previously inaugurated, were greatly stimulated and increased during these years, the membership more than doubled, and its new quarters, although enlarged since first constructed, were found entirely inadequate to the necessities and comfort of those in daily attendance on 'Change. As early as 1863 the question of enlarged accommodations again began to be seriously discussed, resulting finally, in February, 1864, in the consummation of an arrangement by which the members or others desiring to co-operate, organized a building association, under an existing charter granted to the Chamber of Commerce some years previously, but which had never been actively organized. This charter was well adapted to the purposes of such an organization, and its stock of $500,000 was promptly subscribed, and the building contemplated was rapidly pushed to completion. The Board of Trade, at the outset of the enterprise, contracted to lease so much of the building as its necessities required, for the term of ninety-nine years; the rental for which was subsequently fixed at $20,000 per annum. The new building was occupied by the Board in August, 1865, the membership at that time numbering over 1,400. The new building and Exchange Hall, at the time of its construction, was by far the largest and finest of any, used for such a purpose, in the country, and sufficed for all the needs of the Board until it was destroyed by the great fire of October, 1871. Previous to the location of the Board on its new quarters on the corner of Washington and LaSalle streets, that portion of the city had been occupied as residence property, very little of any kind of business being carried on south of Randolph street. No sooner, however, had the location of the Board been decided upon, than the surrounding property began to appreciate in value, and business blocks rapidly supplanted dwellings, so that by the time the building was ready for occupation, it was surrounded by banks and business offices,

entirely transforming the quiet streets of former days to the busy thoroughfares they have since remained.

The fire of 1871 found the affairs of the Board in a most prosperous condition, the business transacted under its auspices being much larger than ever before. The shock produced by this great catastrophe was, for the moment, staggering; and as the members saw the results of their labor and effort swept away in the wild scenes of those brief hours, the feeling of despair was well nigh overwhelming. The situation, however, was one that demanded action, prompt and effective. Temporary quarters were secured near the margin of the burnt district hours before the conflagration was stayed, and rallying around it the members addressed themselves first to relieving the suffering, homeless multitudes; they for two days taking charge of the generous supplies sent from other cities and villages, distributing to the needy, and gathering together the scattered households. This duty being assumed by other organizations, the members turned their attention to business affairs, speedily adjusting outstanding engagements, and preparing for the proper care of the business that scarcely had ceased to flow in in its accustomed volume. The receipts of grain in the city from October 9th to 31st, aggregated over 3,750,000 bushels, notwithstanding the ability to care for such a business was greatly impaired. Among the first official acts of the Board was its determination to re-occupy its old quarters as soon as they could be rebuilt; and they having so advised the Chamber of Commerce, that corporation prepared at once for the reconstruction of the building, but on a much more substantial and elegant design than the one destroyed. The new structure was vigorously pushed to completion, and was formally occupied by the Board October 9, 1872, just one year from the date of the destruction of its predecessor. The new building, of the same dimensions as the old, occupies 90 feet on Washington by 180 feet on LaSalle street, the Exchange Hall being 87 by 140 feet in area, with a ceiling 45 feet from the floor; connected with it are suitable offices and other rooms.

These quarters were, at the time of their construction, deemed ample for all future time, but for several years past they have been overcrowded, and the question is being seriously discussed as to how the Board can secure more room. The membership in 1879 was but three short of 1800, and the daily attendance on 'Change, including visitors, renders locomotion through the Exchange room at times quite difficult. The business relations of members are constantly widening, and the promise for its increase was never more marked than at the present time.

One of the brightest pages in the history of the Board, was the

unwavering support it gave the country in the hour of its greatest need. With the echo of the first gun fired at the national life, the members of the Board rallied to the support of the government, taking the most active measures to organize, inspire, and place in the field, those men who bared their breasts to the fury of battle and finally achieved a victory, the fruits of which may be enjoyed by generations yet unborn. Many of the members gave emphasis to their patriotic emotions by personally joining with the "boys in blue," and sharing in the hardships and dangers of active military operations; others contributed freely of their means to supply the needs of the soldier in camp and of his family left behind. Three regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery were organized under the auspices of and bore the name of the Board of Trade during three years of active service; over these the Board kept special watch, that they should not suffer the lack of anything that money or attention could supply, and on their account, together with contributions to others in the field, not less than $150,000 was raised and distributed by members of the Board.

In other fields of benevolence the members of the Board have heartily tendered their contributions of material aid; the devastations of fire, storm, pestilence and famine ever find them willing to lend a helping hand to the distressed, and assist as best they can to lighten the burden which these casualties from time to time place on some portion of their fellow-men.

That the men composing this body are, in general, possessed of unusual business ability, are remarkable for their quick perception of business possibilities, and are of untiring devotion to business affairs, will perhaps be freely conceded by all acquainted with their habits and modes of conducting those affairs; the best indications of their true manhood, however, are to be found in their generous treatment of the unfortunate, whether of their own numbers or of distressed humanity throughout the world.

THE OLD LADIES' HOME.

BY MRS. B. W. RAYMOND.

In the fall of the year, 1861, Miss Caroline Smith, who had by industry accumulated a small fortune, desiring to leave it for the benefit of the aged, called a meeting of all the clergymen of the city, and two or three members of their respective churches, for the purpose of starting an "Old Ladies' Home." The organization was completed in April, 1862—Rev. James Pratt, D. D., Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, as President, and a Board of Managers numbering about forty.

A house was secured, and Miss Smith, at her own request, was appointed Matron, with three inmates, but she proved wholly incompetent for the position, and after a trial of three months was asked to resign, and with her resignation went the little fortune we were expecting. She, however, bequeathed us about one thousand dollars and two lots near Thirty-fifth street, on Wabash avenue and State street.

Dr. Pratt resigned when he removed from the city, and his successor was J. C. Fargo, Esq., who served but a short time. Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D. D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was unanimously elected president, and at the close of the year 1864, Hon. B. W. Raymond succeeded him, and retained the position until the change to the "Old People's Home," in May, 1872.

In the spring of 1864, we purchased for the sum of five thousand dollars, a house in which eleven inmates only could be accommodated. After the great fire, several more crowded into it, but so great were the discomforts in the old, dilapidated building, that a committee had been appointed to select a lot upon which to build, but no decision had been made in regard to a lot, and no money collected to pay either for it or the building.

It was at this time that the Relief and Aid Society promised fifty thousand dollars towards a lot and building, stipulating, however, that we change the name, our charter and our rules. Many were the meetings called and numerous were the objections made by the ladies of the Board, before they could agree to accept the conditions imposed by the Relief and Aid Society. When they promised the fifty thousand dollars they reserved the right of placing an inmate in the "Home" for each twenty-five hundred dollars given.

It is situated on Indiana avenue, near Thirty-ninth street, covering just one-half of the lot. It is the design of the Society, sometime in the future, to build the twin of this, for Old Gentlemen, hence the name, "Old People's Home."

It is a beautiful "Home," with eighty single rooms and several large ones, has parlor, dining-room, chapel, and a large sitting-room upon each of the three floors. It was completed, and we moved our nineteen old ladies on Nov. 25th, 1874.

At this time many were impatiently waiting, and our numbers increased rapidly. It is nineteen years since *this society* was organized; the names of one hundred old ladies have been recorded, and one hundred and thirty gentlemen and ladies have been members of the Board of Managers.

At the time of the change, when the "Old People's Home" was organized, eight years ago, nine Trustees were elected, viz: W. H. Ryder, D.D., H. H. Taylor, Col J. L. James, A. E. Bishop, B. W. Raymond, N. S. Bouton, H. W. King, Dr. A. Jones and C. G. Hammond, with thirty-six Lady Managers, five of whom were among the original number nineteen years ago. We now have sixty-four inmates, and annually expend nearly seven thousand dollars. From the few thousand generously donated by some and bequeathed by others, we receive less than one thousand dollars interest money per year, therefore you will perceive that we are dependant almost entirely upon voluntary contributions to meet our monthly expenses, collected by our solicitor, Mrs. L. D. Parkes, and small amounts through members of the Board.

An afternoon service is held each Sabbath at 3 o'clock, in the Chapel, conducted by either minister or laymen, as provided by the Visiting Committee for the month, and an evening prayer-meeting during the week.

The building is free from debt, and, so far, all our bills are paid. The Matron, Mrs. Shankland, and the old ladies, will be happy to see their friends, and those friendly to the "Home," at any time.

The Lady Managers desire in this public way to ask their friends to remember that the support of those committed to their care depends upon their donations, and the provision they make either during their life, or by their "wills," towards a permanent endowment of the Institution.

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

BY HON. WILLIAM BROSS.

The Chicago *Tribune*, like all the great newspapers of the nation, had a very contracted and humble origin. It commenced life on Thursday, July 10th, 1847, in the third story of a building on the corner of LaSalle and Lake streets, a single room being sufficient for the counting room, printing office, and editorial sanctum. The men who stood sponsors for it at its birth, were James J. Kelly, John E. Wheeler and J. C. K. Forest. The first and the latter named gentlemen still live to see, and doubtless feel proud of, the sturdy, vigorous manhood of their early venture. Mr. Forest suggested the name, *Tribune*, which Mr. Wheeler readily adopted, having been in the employ of the paper "founded by Horace Greeley." It was independent in politics, with free-soil leanings. Four hundred copies, worked off on a hand press, one of the proprietors acting as pressman, was the extent of the first edition of the *Tribune*.

In July, Mr. Kelly, owing to failing health, sold his interest to Thomas A. Stewart, who for seven years was actively engaged in the management of the paper. September 27, of the same year, Mr. Forest retired from the concern, and it was conducted by Messrs. Wheeler & Stewart till August 23, 1848, when John L. Scripps purchased a third interest; after which the firm name was Wheeler, Stewart & Scripps.

May 12, 1857, the office was entirely destroyed by fire, and, after several removals, it was located in the Masonic Building, No. 173 Lake street, in May, 1850. The paper began to be prosperous, and it was enlarged to the dimensions of twenty-six by forty inches, and had a daily circulation of 1,120.

On the 7th of July, 1857, Mr. Wheeler sold his interest to Thos. J. Waite, who became the business manager. In June following, Mr. Scripps sold his third interest to a party of leading Whigs, and Gen. William Duane Wilson assumed the editorial management. The paper was an active free-soil organ, and supported Gen. Scott for President. Mr. Waite dying August 26th, 1852, Henry Fowler purchased his interest, and March 23d, 1853, General Wilson sold his interest to Henry Fowler & Co., the company being Timothy Wright and Gen. J. D. Webster.

June 18th of the same year, Joseph Medill, of Cleveland, bought an interest in the firm, and the paper was issued by Wright, Medill & Co.

T. A. Stewart sold his interest to his partners July 21, 1855, and September 23, Dr. C. H. Ray and J. C. Vaughan were announced as the editors, and Alfred Cowles was taken into the

firm. The proprietors were then Timothy Wright, J. D. Webster, Dr. Ray, Joseph Medill, John C. Vaughan and Alfred Cowles. Mr. Vaughan withdrew March 26, 1857, and the name of the firm became Ray, Medill & Co., which it retained till July 1, 1858, when the *Tribune* and the *Democratic Press* were consolidated.

The first number of that paper was issued Sept. 16, 1852, by John L. Scripps and William Bross. The office was at 45 Clark street. For a time it was a strictly conservative-democratic paper, but after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill it became free soil, and at the organization of the Republican party it earnestly supported that party. The proprietors finding themselves occupying precisely the same ground politically as those of the *Tribune*, the two papers were united as above stated, on the 1st of July, 1858, each one being valued at $100,000. The consolidated paper was called the *Press and Tribune*, but Oct. 25, 1861, the word *Press* was dropped, and at the session of the Legislature in 1861–2, a charter was granted, with a capital of $200,000, to the TRIBUNE COMPANY. The incorporators were Dr. Ray, Medill, Cowles, Scripps and Bross.

The immense business of the *Tribune* at this time required more ample accommodations, and in 1868 the company began a new building of its own on the southeast corner of Madison and Dearborn streets. The lot is 72 feet on Dearborn by 121 on Madison street. The material was Joliet marble, four stories high, and cost $225,000. Printed on a hand press in 1847, with an edition of 400, it now required two of Hoe's eight-cylinder presses to satisfy the demands of the public. Though the building was intended to be fire-proof, the great fire of 1871 ruined it, and owing to the enhanced price of labor and materials, the new building, of Lake Superior red sandstone, cost $250,000.

The establishment is now equipped with two of Bullock's perfecting presses and one of Hoe's, with improved folding machines attached, so that the papers come out all folded ready for the carriers and the mails.

The principal stockholders of the *Tribune* are now Joseph Medill, William Bross, Alfred Cowles, Horace White and Henry D. Lloyd. Wm. Bross is President, Joseph Medill, Vice President and Editor-in-chief, and S. J. Medill, Managing Editor, and Alfred Cowles, Secretary and Treasurer. Of these Messrs. Medill, Bross and Cowles have been connected with the daily since 1855—a quarter of a century.

It is no disparagement to others to say that the *Tribune* has for many years occupied a leading position in the commercial, the general business and the political affairs of the Northwest.

As a newspaper it has no superior in the nation, for while in some few departments the great New York dailies may excel, it leads them greatly in its western news, and by it more than makes up for any particular advantages which its eastern rivals can claim. All through the rebellion its war news was comprehensive and accurate, and its influence in keeping up the courage of the people to the highest patriotic standard, and in stimulating them to exertion was most effective and valuable. The *Tribune* is in fact one of the most influential, prosperous and powerful journals in the nation, and its pecuniary value is held in hundreds of thousands of dollars. It has justly merited all the position and the ample fortune it has acquired.

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO LEGAL NEWS.

BY MYRA BRADWELL.

The Chicago Legal News is the oldest weekly legal journal in the Western States. The first number was issued October 3, 1868, by Myra Bradwell, as editor and publisher. In February, 1869, the Legislature, by special act, incorporated the editor and her associates, under the title of The Chicago Legal News Company. Several acts were also passed, providing that all laws and decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois, printed in this journal, should be taken as *prima facie* evidence in all the courts of the State, and it was declared to be a good and valid medium for the publication of all legal notices.

As its name implies, it is devoted mainly to legal matters, and publishes the most important decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois in advance of the Reports; the decisions of the District and Circuit Courts of the United States; head notes from the reports of the various State Supreme Courts in advance of the regular issues; abstracts of recent English cases, and the latest general legal intelligence.

The Legal News has been foremost in advocating reforms in the laws of the State, and many of the changes first suggested in its columns have received the sanction of the Legislature.

Notwithstanding the great fire and the financial embarrassment that has swept over the country, the Legal News has never failed to make its regular weekly visits to its subscribers, and we must admit the success of this journal has been far greater than its most sanguine friends ever anticipated.

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO EVENING JOURNAL.

BY ANDREW SHUMAN.

The *American* was the first daily newspaper published in Chicago, or in the State of Illinois. It was started by William Stewart, April 9, 1839, and the late Judge Buckner S. Morris became its proprietor in 1841. It was discontinued for want of support October 17, 1842. On the last day of that month, W. W. Brackett, who had been connected with the *American*, started the *Express* as its successor. In 1844, at the opening of the presidential campaign of that year, the political friends of Henry Clay formed a joint stock company, bought out the *Express*, and started the *Journal* as a Whig campaign paper, the first number being issued April 22d. The stockholders appointed an editorial committee, consisting of J. Lisle Smith, William H. Brown, George W. Meeker, J. Y. Scammon and Grant Goodrich, to conduct the paper, assisted by Richard L. Wilson and J. W. Norris as office editors and business managers. At the close of the campaign, which ended in the defeat of Mr. Clay by James K. Polk, the newspaper office and the paper passed into the hands of Richard L. Wilson, who established it on a permanent basis as an organ of the Whig party. Mr. Wilson continued to edit it until he was appointed postmaster by President Zachary Taylor, in 1849; and when, with other "Seward Whig" office-holders, he was removed by Millard Fillmore, a few months subsequently, he resumed the editorship, associating with him his brother Charles L.—the publishing firm being Richard L. & Charles L. Wilson. At the demise of the Whig party, the *Journal* became a Republican paper, and has continued such until the present time. Richard died in December, 1856. At that time Andrew Shuman was associate editor, George P. Upton, city and commercial reporter, and Benjamin F. Taylor literary editor.

Charles L. Wilson became the sole proprietor of the *Journal* on the death of his brother. In 1861, when Abraham Lincoln became president, and William H. Seward secretary of state, he was tendered and accepted the appointment of secretary of the American Legation at London. He left the *Journal* office in charge of John L. Wilson, an older brother, as publisher, and of Andrew Shuman, as editor. During the years of the war of the rebellion, the *Journal* prospered famously, and when, in 1864, Charles L. Wilson resigned his official position abroad, and returned to resume charge of his newspaper establishment, he found it a very valuable property. His brother, John L., retained his business connection with the office, and Mr. Shuman con-

tinued as managing editor. In 1869, John L. retired, and Col. Henry W. Farrar, his son-in-law, who was also Charles L.'s brother-in-law, became business manager.

The great conflagration of 1871 consumed the *Journal* office and all its books and materials. But it did not omit a single day's issue. Before the flames which devoured the better part of the city were fairly extinguished, the energetic proprietor of the paper, seconded by a force of editorial and reportorial assistants who were as prompt and public-spirited as their employer was resolute, hired the material and presses of a job office on the west side of the river, and issued an *Evening Journal* at the usual hour of publication, and it was issued regularly thereafter. In April, 1872, the *Journal* office was removed into a fine new brick building, with a stone front, and being five stories high, at 159 and 161 Dearborn street, where it continues to be published to this day, being one of the oldest and most prosperous newspaper and printing establishments in the West.

In 1875 Charles L. Wilson's health began to fail, and in March, 1878, he died at San Antonia, Texas, whither, accompanied by his wife and infant daughter, he had gone to spend the winter. Before his death he had perfected a plan for the re-organization of the *Evening Journal* as a joint stock company, of which he was president, and Henry W. Farrar secretary and business manager. After his death, Mrs. Wilson and her daughter, being his sole heirs, became owners of nearly all the stock of the *Journal* company. Andrew Shuman was elected president of the company, and remained in editorial control of the paper, and Henry W. Farrar (Mrs. Wilson's brother) continued as secretary, treasurer and business manager. On the first of March, 1880, the company leased the newspaper establishment to Andrew Shuman and John R. Wilson, a nephew of the late proprietor, and they are in charge of it at this time, Mr. Shuman having control of the editorial department, and Mr. Wilson of the business department. Mrs. Charles L. Wilson and her daughter still own nearly all the stock of the *Journal* company, but the lessees have the option of purchasing it at the end of their lease, or sooner, and it is their purpose to do this.

This is a brief history of the oldest daily newspaper published in Chicago—a continued existence of over thirty-six years. Its pages are a reflex of the eventful years of its publication. Its columns are a chronicle of Chicago's progress from a small frontier village to a great and progressive city. Fortunately nearly all the bound volumes of the old *American*, *Express* and *Journal* were saved from the fire of 1871, and among the most interesting and valuable historical data and relics of the city are contained within their covers.

Among those now more or less famous, locally or generally, who have at one time or another been connected with the *Journal* as writers, are Benjamin F. Taylor, the poet and lecturer; George P. Upton, now of the *Tribune's* corps of writers; J. C. K. Forrest, subsequently of "Long John" Wentworth's *Democrat*, and now of the *News;* Andre Matteson, now of the *Times;* Horace White, subsequently editor of the *Tribune;* Henry M. Smith, subsequently city editor of the *Tribune;* J. H. McVicker, now of McVicker's Theatre; Prof. Nathan Sheppard, now a popular lecturer; Paul Selby, now editor of the *Illinois State Journal*, at Springfield; Prof. J. W. Larrimore, late principal of the Cook County Normal School, and now assistant principal of one of our city public schools; Dr. Frank Reiley; W. K. Sullivan, late president of the Chicago Board of Education, and now city editor of the *Journal;* Charles H. Wignall, deceased, Thomas M. Wignall, the present commercial editor, succeeding him; James H. Field, Henry M. Hugunin, John C. Miller, Oliver Perry, F. F. Browne, and many others.

THE CHICAGO TIMES

BY WILBUR F. STOREY.

The Chicago Times was established in 1854, as a Democratic party paper—more especially as the personal and political organ of Senator Douglas. It was continued with varied fortunes and by different owners as a Democratic party paper, representing different factions of the party, until 1861, when it was purchased by the present proprietor, Wilbur F. Storey. During the whole period of its existence, until thus purchased, it probably had never been legitimately self-sustaining for a single week, having relied upon party contributions for sustenance. Not having been in any true sense a *newspaper*, it had not acquired more than a meager circulation, and its advertising patronage was of small account. When purchased by the present proprietor, it had been some time "run" at a loss of hundreds of dollars per week, its last unfortunate owner having been Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick; and it was not until the lapse of some months and the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, that its purchaser brought it up to the condition of a remunerative *newspaper*.

Its history since is of steady progress, until it has become one of the leading public journals of this continent. It continued democratic until the famous Greeley campaign, when it "bolted" the party nomination, and has since steadily grown in the grace of independence, and is now universally recognized as a *newspaper*, as the organ of the people, and the exponent of independent thought.

A striking evidence of the growth of *The Times* can be obtained by an examination of its material appliances. In 1860 it was "struck off" on a single cylinder press, which printed only one side at a time, the entire capacity of the press department not exceeding one thousand copies per hour. Now it has eight lightning presses, each of which prints, cuts, folds and turns off ready for delivery, ten thousand each hour; or an aggregate capacity of eighty thousand per hour—a most extraordinary press capacity, but which is demanded by that feature in *The Times* system which holds the paper "open" for news up to within the shortest possible time from the moment when delivered to the public. In 1860, *The Times* was edited and printed and published in four or five rooms in a building on Dearborn street. Now it occupies substantially all of its present quarters on the corner of Fifth avenue and Washington street, a building five stories and a basement in height, and 183 by 80 in its dimensions on the ground. Its entire personal force, when the paper was bought by Mr. Storey, in April, 1861, was composed of less than half a dozen editors, reporters, and clerical *attachés*. It now has an editorial, repor-

torial, and clerical staff of over fifty persons, and a corps of telegraphic and special correspondents of over 350, and whose field of operations includes every city and town of any importance in the United States, the principal cities of Canada, Mexico, Great Britain and continental Europe.

In its mechanical appliances, *The Times* has no superiors, and but few equals. It has pneumatic tubes which connect the building with the Western Union Telegraph office, a block distant, and also the various departments of the establishment with each other. It is the first newspaper in the world to introduce lighting by electricity into its composition room; and it has been equally the first, or among the very first, to avail itself of every improvement which, to any extent, would facilitate celerity in the collection and publication of news.

The Times has a most thorough organization of a series of departments, whereby there is secured an entire responsibility, and the utmost swiftness and completeness of execution. Everything pertaining to the work of collecting the matter for each issue, its preparation, and the issuing and delivery of the printed sheet, falls within the province of these various departments. Each of them has its head, who is responsible to the editor for the management of his assignment of labor, and who, in turn, holds each of his employes accountable for the proper execution of his task. The result of all this is a perfect division of labor, and an operating which is swift, noiseless, without friction, and perfect in its execution.

As an evidence of the enterprise of *The Times* in the collection of news, it may be stated that during the Russo-Turkish war it established a European bureau for the collection and transmission of intelligence, solely for its own columns; and that the amount of war news cabled each day was equal in quantity to what was received by *The Times* of London, or any of the leading English dailies.

Another evidence of its enterprise in the collection of news is found in the fact that for years its average annual expenditure for telegraph news has been between $75,000 and $100,000.

It may be added, in conclusion, that *The Times*, advanced as it is in the collection and issuing of news, has in view further improvements of a most pronounced character, and whose nature will be developed in the near future. It is the aim of *The Times* in the future, as it has been in the past, to occupy no second place in the advance of journalism.

THE CHICAGO INTER OCEAN.

BY WM. H. BUSBEY.

The Inter Ocean is the youngest of the three leading morning papers of Chicago, the first number having been issued March 25, 1872. The founder was Mr. J. Young Scammon, an old, highly esteemed and public-spirited citizen, who, realizing that there was a demand for an uncompromising Republican daily, purchased the Associated Press franchise of the *Republican*, which had been wrecked in the disastrous fire of 1871. To keep the franchise alive, Mr. Scammon continued the publication of the *Republican* until all arrangements were perfected to start the new daily, with new men, new type and new machinery.

The Republicanism of the initial number of *The Inter Ocean* was of the most stalwart order, the proprietor indicating the spirit of the paper in the crisp declaration: "Independent in nothing; Republican in everything."

Mr. Scammon went into the enterprise with characteristic zeal and energy, and calling to his assistance a number of practical and experienced men, soon made *The Inter Ocean* a political power, not only in the city and State, but throughout the Northwest.

Its radical Republicanism and its devotion to the party it professed to represent, were made so manifest during the Presidential campaign of 1872, that it at once secured an influence in the party not equalled by many journals of much longer standing. The erratic course of other journals claiming to be Republican also contributed much to the success of the new venture, and the circulation of the paper increased rapidly.

Mr. Scammon continued to be sole proprietor of *The Inter Ocean* until the spring of 1873, when the Hon. F. W. Palmer, of Des Moines, Iowa, bought a large interest and became editor-in-chief. Under his management the paper prospered until the panic of 1873 prostrated the affairs of the country and caused the financial embarrassment of Mr. Scammon, the principal proprietor. In the fall of 1875 the corporation, under pressure of large indebtedness, was compelled to sell the paper to a new organization. This transfer placed *The Inter Ocean* under the control of Wm. Penn Nixon, who had been for some years the business manager.

Notwithstanding the great depression of the times, the paper was put on a firm footing by the infusion of new capital and the introduction of new and improved machinery, and entered upon a new era of prosperity.

Through all its vicissitudes *The Inter Ocean* maintained its political integrity, constantly gaining in influence and circulation. The aggregate circulation of the several editions is probably larger than that of any political paper in the country. The *Weekly Inter Ocean* has a circulation varying from ninety to one hundred thousand copies. The postage on *The Inter Ocean* for the year 1879, was $14,277.84, with one exception the largest amount paid by any newspaper in the United States.

The Inter Ocean is printed on Bullock presses, and was the first paper in the country to perfect and use a folder and machinery for cutting, folding and pasting, attached to the press. This contrivance was the invention and work of Mr. Walter Scott, Superintendent of *The Inter Ocean* machinery department.

From 1873 to May 1, 1880, *The Inter Ocean* was published at 119 Lake street. The establishment was then moved to more commodious and convenient quarters in the new Inter-Ocean Building, 85 Madison street. In arrangement and outfit the new building is one of the most complete in the city.

The Inter Ocean is ably edited in all its departments, and its proprietors are as proud of its success as a newspaper as of its influence as the representative of the principles of the Republican party.

THE DEARBORN OBSERVATORY.

BY ELIAS COLBERT.

The Observatory tower is on the west side of the University building, and is about 90 feet high. The top of the central pier is 66 feet above the ground. The centre of the telescope is about 685 feet above the sea level, in north latitude 40° 50′ 1″; longitude west from Greenwich, 5h. 50m. 26·78s., or 87° 36′ 41.7″; and do. from Washington 0h. 42m. 14.69s, or 10° 33′ 40.4.″ The axis of the transit telescope, situated a few rods west of the tower, is 612¾ feet above sea level. The equatorial instrument is a refractor, with 18⅝ inches aperture, and a focal length of about 23 feet.

A numerously attended meeting was held in Bryan Hall, in December, 1862, on motion of President Burroughs and some of the University Trustees. It was addressed by Rev. M. R. Forey, who wanted to sell a Fitz telescope worth about $3,000. Prof. A. H. Mixer, Hon. W. H. Wells, Hon. T. B. Bryan, Hon. Thos. Hoyne and J. H. Woodworth, were appointed a committee to obtain subscriptions. In one month the committee was ready to act, but Mr. Wells had ascertained that the Fitz glass was not a desirable one, and January 23, 1863, found Mr. Hoyne at the house of Mr. Alvan Clark, in Cambridgeport, Mass., buying what was then the largest refractor in the world, which had been made to the order of the University of Mississippi, but left on his hands by the breaking out of the rebellion. The cost of the glass, $11,187, besides $7,000 for mounting it, was paid by subscriptions of $500 and $100 each, the donors becoming members of the Chicago Astronomical Society, organized in November, 1863. The erection of the tower, costing some $30,000, was paid for by Hon. J. Y. Scammon, the first and only President of the Society. In April, 1866, the big telescope was mounted, and Prof. Truman H. Safford, of Cambridge, Mass., was appointed Director of the Observatory, becoming, *ex officio*, Professor of Astronomy in the University.

During the next three years Prof. Safford employed the telescope in observing and hunting for nebulæ; discovering about one hundred not previously known. By this time the dome of the observatory had got so much out of order that it could scarcely be used; and Walter S. Gurnee donating $5,000 for the purpose, the meridian circle (telescope) was procured from the Repsolds, Germany, and Prof. Safford then worked with that instrument until October, 1871, observing stars in the zone limited by the parallels of 35° and 40° north declination. This was part of the great work undertaken by an association of leading astronomers to re-

vise the Bonn catalogue of stars, determining their positions with the greatest possible accuracy.

The salary of the Director had been paid solely by Mr. Scammon up to the time of the Great Fire. That calamity made it impossible for him to contribute further, and as there was no money in the treasury, Prof. Safford undertook work for the government in determining the positions of points in the Territorial boundaries. He subsequently accepted the position of Professor of Astronomy in Williams College, Mass. In April, 1874, the writer undertook the care of the Observatory and the astronomical instruction in the University, without compensation; and during the next five years gave to it all the time he could spare from his daily round of duty on *The Tribune*. During that interval he took up a subscription for rebuilding the dome, since which the great telescope has been employed to good purpose by three or four observers. He also established the system of time signals which (with slight interruption) have been regularly given from the observatory since November, 1875. Prof. Safford and he had moved in this direction just previous to the Great Fire.

In May, 1879, Prof. G. W. Hough, formerly of the Dudley Observatory, at Albany, N. Y., was elected to direct the Observatory, and is now in charge. He has introduced some valuable improvements.

The Observatory is yet on a slender pecuniary basis, though worthy of a most generous support. It has not been deemed advisable to attempt to raise a permanent fund by general contribution, until the citizens of Chicago have more fully realized the benefit of prosperous times.

The astronomical Society was reorganized June 9th, 1875, the new subscribers becoming members. Its present officers are: President, J. Y. Scammon; Vice-President, W. H. Wells; Secretary, C. H. S. Mixer; Treasurer, H. C. Ranney; Director of the Observatory, Prof. G. W. Hough.

THE CHICAGO BENCH.

RECORDS FROM HON. THOMAS DRUMMOND.

Hon. John McLean was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the 7th of March, 1829, in the place of Hon. Robert Trimble, deceased. Illinois was admitted into the Union as a State on the the 3d of December, 1818; but there was not a District Court of the United States provided for the State of Illinois until March 3d, 1819, when under an act of that date Nathaniel Pope was appointed District Judge of

the United States for the District of Illinois, and retained that office until his death in January, 1850, when he was succeeded by Thomas Drummond, who was appointed District Judge in February, 1850, and continued District Judge of the District of Illinois, and then of the Northern District of Illinois, until he was appointed Circuit Judge, in December, 1869, but he did not assume the duties of the office until January, 1870.

The District Court of the United States for the District of Illinois had what is called Circuit Court jurisdiction, and Judge Pope was the sole judge thereof until the act of Congress of March, 1837, when there was a Circuit Court created in Illinois, which became a part of the Seventh Circuit under that act, and to that circuit Judge McLean was assigned, and held, either alone or with the District Judge, the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Illinois, and also for the two districts, when the State was divided into two districts in March, 1855, until the time of his death in 1861.

Noah H. Swayne was appointed the successor of Judge McLean, January 24, 1862, and became presiding Judge of the Circuit Court in Illinois.

David Davis was appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the 8th of December, 1862, at a time when Illinois constituted a part of the Seventh Circuit; but on the 28th of January, 1863, Illinois was made a part of the Eighth Circuit, and Mr. Justice Davis was assigned to the Eighth Circuit, and became Circuit Judge of the United States for the two districts of Illinois, and so continued up to the time of his resignation in March, 1877, in the manner herein stated.

On the 29th of November, 1877, John M. Harlan was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and was assigned to the Seventh Circuit, that circuit being constituted of the States of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, by the act of July 23, 1866; and so became, and is now, the presiding Judge of the Circuit Court for the two Districts of Illinois.

RECORDS FROM HON. GRANT GOODRICH.

The County of Cook was organized in 1831, with Chicago as the County seat. Richard J. Hamilton was appointed Clerk of the Circuit Court, Clerk of the County Commissioners' Court, Recorder, School Commissioner, Probate Justice and Notary Public. Richard M. Young held the first term of court in the fall of 1833. In May, 1834, he presided at a term held in an unfinished room in the Mansion House, a small hotel erected by E. H. Had-

dock, on the north side of Lake street, about one hundred feet east of Dearborn street. He also held the fall term in the same year. The court was held by Sidney Breese in the spring of 1835, and in the fall, by Stephen T. Logan. In 1836, Thomas Ford presided at one or two terms. In 1837, he was appointed Judge of the Municipal Court of Chicago, a local court, created by the charter of the city of Chicago, passed by the Legislature in that year. He continued to hold this court until it was abolished two years later. Theophilus W. Smith, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, presided at several terms of the Circuit Court after 1836, and Stephen A. Douglas held one term in 1839. About this time the Justices of the Supreme Court were relieved from the duty of holding the Circuit Courts, and John Pearson was appointed to this circuit and continued upon it until 1843, when Richard M. Young again became the presiding Judge, and continued such until he was succeeded by Jesse B. Thomas, who occupied the position until his resignation in 1849, when he was succeeded by Hugh T. Dickey, who held the office until 1853, when he resigned, and Buckner S. Morris was elected to fill out the remainder of the term. In 1855, George Maniere was elected to the Circuit Court, and filled out the full term of six years with great acceptance, when he was re-elected his own successor, but died before the expiration of his second term, honored and regretted by the Bar and the entire community. He was succeeded by Erastus S. Williams, who was elected to and served out a second term.

In 1845, a new court was created, called the Cook County Court of Common Pleas, with jurisdiction nearly co-ordinate with the Circuit Court, of which Hugh T. Dickey was appointed Judge, who held the office until 1849, when he resigned and was elected to the Circuit Court. Mark Skinner was elected in his place, and served out the unexpired term. Giles Spring was elected to succeed him, and held the office until his death in 1853. John M. Wilson was elected to succeed him, and held the position until 1859, when the court was changed to the Superior Court of Chicago, to consist of three judges. Wilson was continued as one of the judges, and Van H. Higgins and Grant Goodrich were elected his associates. Judge Wilson continued to occupy the position by re-election until 1868, when he was succeeded by W. A. Porter, who died in 1873, and his place was filled by S. M. Moore. In 1863, Joseph E. Gary was elected in the place of Goodrich, and in 1865, John A. Jameson, in the place of Judge Higgins. Judges Gary and Jameson still occupy their respective positions, and Sidney Smith has succeeded Judge Moore.

In 1871, a law was passed authorizing the election of four ad-

ditional judges to the Cook County Circuit Court, and in the fall of that year Lambert Tree, John G. Rogers, W. W. Farwell and H. W. Booth, were elected to that position. Judge Tree resigned before the expiration of his term of office, and Wm. K. McAllister was elected to fill out his term. Judges Rogers and McAllister, in 1879, were elected their own successors, and Murray F. Tuley, Thos. A. Moran and W. H. Barnum were elected in the place of Judges Williams, Farwell and Booth.

Many of these men still survive, and have made and are making an enviable record as eminent and able judicial officers. Of those who have passed away, several attained to honorable and responsible political positions, and a well deserved and national reputation as wise and sagacious statesmen.

Richard M. Young was elected to the United States Senate, and afterward became Commissioner of the General Land Office. Stephen A. Douglas was elected to Congress, and at once took rank among the ablest debaters of that body. He was afterward elected for several successive terms to the United States Senate. As a ready and powerful debater he had few superiors, and was for a number of years the acknowledged leader of the more liberal section of the Democratic party. He possessed a singularly powerful personal magnetism, and was idolized by his admirers. In 1860 he was the candidate of the northern Democrats in opposition to Mr. Lincoln. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he took a most patriotic position in support of the integrity of the Union, and by his bold and decisive utterances carried the mass of his party with him. His death in 1861 was regarded as a great national calamity.

Judge Breese was also elected United States Senator, and served out a full term of six years. He was a man of large and varied learning, and high literary culture, a polished gentleman and a most entertaining and instructive conversationalist. In the Senate he took position among its ablest, wisest and most industrious members. To his sagacity and efforts, the State and the nation are largely indebted for some of their grandest enterprises of national progress and national prosperity.

His judicial career was not only able and brilliant, but remarkable in duration. He served as Circuit and Supreme Court Judge for more than thirty years. His reported decisions are models of judicial learning and logical reasoning, polished in style and lucid in exposition. They constitute a proud and enduring monument to his memory and fame. Since the death of Abraham Lincoln, the decease of no man in the State has occasioned so profound and universal regret as that of Judge Breese, who died June 27th, 1878.

Thomas Ford was a man of conspicuous integrity, a thorough lawyer, of a clear and discriminating mind. He was elected Governor of the State, and in that position labored with zeal and persistency for the completion of the Illinois & Michigan Canal. His efforts were successful, but so powerful was the opposition to this work in the southern part of the State, it defeated his prospects for the senatorship. Time has fully vindicated the soundness of his judgment in the eyes even of his most bitter political enemies. Soon after his term of office expired, his health became infirm, and in a few years after he died, in the flower of his manhood, profoundly respected by his friends and those who had been his foes.

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO FOUNDLINGS' HOME.

BY GEORGE E. SHIPMAN, M. D.

In the winter of 1868–9 a fact came to my knowledge which presented two things to me very clearly. The *fact* was a child about ten days old, which was left stark naked on a wharf in one of the coldest nights of the season. I was called to see it in the morning, and found it very badly frozen. The police officer who found it, had great difficulty to persuade any charity to take care of it, but finally the Protestant Orphan Asylum consented.

It is not to be wondered at, that it was done rather reluctantly, and that the other public institutions refused it outright. A charity quite prepared to do justice to a child a year, or even six months old, is not at all prepared to take care of a foundling. In looking up the case I found, (1), that many children were destroyed every year, and (2), that this was partly because there was no place where they could be left—no one who would take care of them. The coroner informed me, about that time, that he held an inquest on about one foundling a day.

On reflecting upon these facts, it seemed a great sin and shame that such a state of things should exist. I laid the case before many of my friends—they all thought as I did, that *something* ought to be done, but *who* was to do it, or *how* it was to be done, no one seemed to know!

In January, 1871, however, it was made very clear to me that I was to assume the responsibility of this work, and that I was to look to God alone for the means to carry it on. To tell the whole truth, I had not intended to open a public institution, but only a private one, keeping it as much as possible unknown. A friend, however, who got wind of my project, published it in all the city papers, and I was thus called upon to take charge of all the foundlings of the city.

On the 31st of January, 1871, the Home was opened at 54 South Green street. Some friends who had seen the notice in the paper, sent me $77.38, and a patient gave me $100 on the day the Home was opened, as she had previously promised.

Before two months had ended, our quarters were found too small, and we moved to the corner of Sangamon and Randolph streets, where we soon found that two two-story houses were none too large.

In May, 1872, a proposition was sent to me from the Relief and Aid Society, that if I would have the Home incorporated they would give $10,000 for a building. The proposition was accepted, the Home was incorporated, the money received, and the lot on South Wood street, now occupied by the Home, was purchased. The erection of the building was commenced as soon as the plans could be matured, and it was finished sufficiently for occupation in May, 1874, costing $50,079.64. $20,000, in addition to the first donation, were given in various sums, from time to time, by the Relief and Aid Society, and the balance was donated by the citizens, or earned or collected by the Ladies' Union Aid Society.

The incorporation of the Home has made no change in its internal management. The corporators have met annually, when we had a quorum, and elected me Superintendent, so that the whole charge and control of the work has been left to me, except the selling of the real estate, which can only be done by order of the Board.

Besides $50,076.64, given for the land, and building, $45,491.21 have been given for the current expenses of the Home, the total amount prior to Jan'y 1st, 1880, being $95,570.85. No fund has ever been raised to sustain the work, and no person is pledged to sustain it, or any part of it, but we have depended upon what the Lord sent from day to day in answer to prayer. The Home has never employed any solicitors, directly or indirectly. If any friends have asked others to give, it has been entirely on their own responsibility and motion.

Since the Home was opened, it has taken in over 2,000 babies, most of whom have been under a year old. About 800 of these have been adopted, many of them into families of wealth and intelligence. Many have been returned to their parents, as a few days' experience sometimes shows the mother that she could not do without the baby. Besides this, the "Home" has given a home and shelter to women at a time of great sorrow and destitution. These have stayed with us from a day or two to 1, 2, or 3 years. Many of them come from the hospitals, where they are sheltered for the shortest possible time, and are then dismissed with their helpless little ones, homeless and friendless. To such the Home has extended open arms, giving them a warm welcome, and caring for them until they could find situations elsewhere.

HISTORY OF CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY DUANE DOTY.

Twenty-two years ago, the Hon. W. H. Wells, then superintendent of public instruction in this city, prepared an historical sketch of the schools, from which we take the following facts:

The first regular tuition given in Chicago was in the winter of 1810–11, by Robert A. Forsyth, and the first pupil was the late John H. Kinzie. The teacher was thirteen years of age, and the pupil six. Mr. Forsyth afterwards became a paymaster in the army. The principal aid employed in this course of private lessons, was a spelling-book that had been brought from Detroit to Chicago in a chest of tea. The first school taught in Chicago was opened in the autumn of 1816, by William L. Cox, a discharged soldier, in a log-house belonging to Mr. John Kinzie. The house had been used as a bakery, and was situated near the present crossing of Pine and Michigan streets. The pupils composing this school were John H. Kinzie, with two of his sisters and one brother, and three or four children from the fort. In 1820 there was a small school in the garrison, taught by a sergeant. In 1829, Charles H. Beaubien, son of J. B. Beaubien, agent of the American Fur Company, taught a small family school near the garrison, embracing the children of Messrs. J. B. and Mark Beaubien. In June, 1830, Mr. Stephen Forbes opened a school near the place now marked by the meeting of Randolph street and Michigan avenue. This was on the west bank of the Chicago river, the outlet of which then flowed in a southerly direction, and emptied near the foot of Madison street. The school numbered about twenty-five pupils. It was taught in a low, gloomy log building, containing five rooms. The walls of the building were afterwards enlivened by a tapestry of white cotton sheeting. Mr. Forbes was assisted by his wife, and resided in the school-house. After continuing the school about a year, he was succeeded by a Mr. Foot. Mr. Forbes was afterwards sheriff of Cook county.

In October, 1831, Mr. Richard J. Hamilton was appointed commissioner of school lands for Cook county, and the school fund remained in his charge till 1840. In the spring of 1833, Col. Hamilton and Col. Owen employed Mr. John Watkins to teach a small school in the North Division, near the old Indian agency house. Those gentlemen afterwards built a house on the

north bank of the river, just east of Clark street, where Mr. Watkins continued his school. This was the first house built for a school in Chicago. In the autumn of 1833 Miss Eliza Chappel opened an infant school in a log-house on South Water street, a short distance west of the grounds belonging to the fort. In the latter part of 1833, Mr. G. T. Sproat came from Boston, and opened an English and classical school for boys in a small church on Water street, near Franklin. In March, 1834, Miss Sarah L. Warren was engaged as an assistant in Mr. Sproat's school. In one of her letters she says: "I boarded at Elder Freeman's. His house must have been situated four or five blocks southeast of the school, near Mr. Snow's, with scarce a house between. What few buildings there were then were mostly on Water street. I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon, in going to and from school, to see *prairie wolves*, and we could hear them howl at any time in the day. We were frequently *annoyed* by Indians; but the great difficulty we had to encounter was *mud*. Rubbers were of no account, and I was obliged to have a pair of men's boots made."

The school section of the original township is situated near the center of the city. In October, 1833, all but four of the one hundred and forty-two blocks of this section, were sold at *auction* for $38,865, on a credit of one, two and three years. The remaining four blocks are (1880), valued at $2,500,000. The value of that portion sold cannot now be less than 65 millions of dollars. Had Chicago kept one quarter of these school lands, she would have had the richest school fund of any city on earth, and her schools would have been absolutely free for all time. In 1834 an appropriation was made to Miss Chappel from the school fund of the town, and the school taught by her at that time, in the First Presbyterian Church, on the west side of Clark street, between Lake and Randolph streets, was properly the *first public school of Chicago*. In the winter of 1834–5, Miss Chappel resigned her charge, and it passed into the hands of Miss Ruth Leavenworth. This school received much aid and sympathy from John S. Wright, the same whose faith in the future grandeur of Chicago was proverbial. He built a house for its use, which was situated on the west side of Clark street, just south of Lake street.

In 1834, the school in the Baptist church, on Water street, became a public school. During this year, Mr. Sproat was succeeded by Dr. Henry Vanderbogart, who resigned before the close of the year, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Wright. In 1835 the school was placed in charge of Mr. James Mc Clellan. Mrs. Warren was engaged as an assistant in this school, from

March 1834, to June 1836. In the winter of 1834–5, Mr. George Davis had a school over a store on Lake street, between Dearborn and Clark streets. In 1835 Mr. Davis taught a public school in the Presbyterian church, on Clark street, and the school of Mr. Watkins, which had now become a public school, was also continued on the north side of the river. In February, 1835, the legislature enacted for township thirty-nine, and range fourteen East, that the legal voters of the town were to elect annually, on the first Monday in June, either five or seven persons, to be school inspectors; these inspectors were to examine teachers, and lay the town out into school districts. Each district was to elect three trustees to take charge of the school business of the districts, and see that the schools were *free*. The trustees had power, to levy and collect taxes for school purposes.

In November, 1835, the town was divided into four school districts. District No. 1 was the North Division of the city. The whole number of schools in the town at that time was seven. In the spring of 1836, Miss Frances L. Willard opened a school in Mr. Wright's building for the instruction of young ladies. Mrs. Louisa Gifford was employed as an assistant in a primary department. In the spring of 1837, this school became a public one, passing into the hands of Miss Gifford, Miss Willard opening another school of a similar character. In 1836, and till March, 1837, Mr. John Brown taught a private school near the corner of Dearborn and Wolcott streets. In 1837, Mr. Edward Murphy opened a private school in the same building. This school also became a public one, and Mr. Murphy taught it at an annual salary of $800, from August, 1837, to November, 1838. Mr. McClellan, who taught in the Baptist church, on Water street, in 1835, continued to teach a public school till 1838.

In March, 1837, Chicago became a city. By the conditions of the charter, the common council were made commissioners of schools for the city. They were to appoint annually not less than five, nor more than twelve school inspectors. The voters still elected three school trustees in each district.

The first board of education, after the incorporation of the city, was elected May 12, 1837, and consisted of the following members: Thomas Wright, N. H. Bolles, John Gage, T. R. Hubbard, I. T. Hinton, Francis Peyton, G. W. Chadwick, B. Huntoon, R. J. Hamilton and W. H. Brown. The teachers in the public schools in 1837, in addition to those already named, were Miss Sarah Kellogg, and Messrs. A. Steel Hopkins, George C. Collins, Hiram Baker, C. S. Bailey and Samuel C. Bennet. In 1838, public schools were taught by Messrs. McClellan, Murphy, Bennet, Collins, Bailey, Calvin DeWolf and Thomas Hoyne.

In 1839, a special act of the legislature laid the foundation of our present school system. In addition to the school fund, the council was authorized to levy a tax for school purposes to supply the inadequacy of the school fund for the payment of teachers. In Feb. 27th, 1840, William H. Brown was appointed school agent, and assumed the charge of the school fund of the city. This office he held for thirteen years, and carefully managed the trust placed in his keeping. The first Board of Education under the new organization consisted of William Jones, J. Young Scammon, Isaac N. Arnold, Nathan H. Bolles, John Gray, J. H. Scott and Hiram Hugunin. The first meeting of this Board of Education was held in Nov., 1840, and William Jones was elected chairman. It is at that date that the written records of the public schools commence.

In December, 1840, Mr. A. G. Rumsey and H. B. Perkins were employed as teachers in the South Division, A. D. Sturtevant in the West Division, and Mr. A. C. Dunbar in the North Division. The salary paid each of these teachers was $33.33 a month. From the regulations adopted by the Board of Education in 1841, it appears that the schools were kept five days and and a half a week, and the amount of vacation allowed in a year was four weeks. Instruction in vocal music was first introduced in 1842, Mr. N. Gilbert being the teacher. From that day to this, captious opposition has been made to the study of vocal music. In 1843 the Council ordered the Board to dispense with it. In March, 1847, a committee was designated to inquire into the expediency of making vocal music one of the permanent branches to be taught in the public schools; a motion was made to include dancing.

In 1844 the first public school-house was erected on Madison street, between Dearborn and State streets. This house was built through the efforts of Mr. Ira Miltimore, at that time a member of the council. It was regarded by most of the citizens as a foolish thing to do, and the building was for a time spoken of as Miltimore's folly, and one of Chicago's mayors recommended in his annual message that the council either sell the building or convert it into an insane asylum, and build one or two small houses suited to the wants of the city. In 1850 teachers' institutes were first established. In 1841 the public schools were taught by four male teachers; five years later, or in 1846, they were taught by three men and six women. In January, 1851, four male teachers and twenty female teachers were employed. The rapid increase from that day to this, June, 1880, is shown in the fact that we now employ 900 regular teachers, and have enrolled this year nearly 60,000 pupils, and the schools now occupy

72 buildings, either owned or rented by the city. In May, 1854, Mr. John C. Dore was elected superintendent of schools, at a salary of $1,500 per annum; Mr. John D. Philbrick was first invited to the position, but declined it. Mr. Dore at once introduced a system of gradation and classification of the schools. Mr. Dore resigned his office in March, 1856, and in June of that year, Hon. W. H. Wells was appointed Superintendent. This officer perfected what Mr. Dore had begun. He prepared a course of study, and by his zeal and intelligence, and thorough knowledge of his profession, he not only placed the Chicago schools in the front rank of schools, but by his works and writings he has made a deeper impression on the graded schools of this country than any other man; and the most successful school men of this generation are those who have taken him as a guide.

Mr. Wells resigned his office, June, 1864, and Mr. Josiah L. Pickard, who had for six years been Superintendent of Schools for Wisconsin, succeeded him. Mr. Pickard was a gentleman of broad culture, and successful experience as a teacher, and the Chicago schools prospered under his direction. Mr. Pickard resigned, June, 1877, and accepted the Presidency of the Iowa State University. Mr. Duane Doty, who for ten years had been Superintendent of Schools in Detroit, Michigan, a graduate of the classical department of the Michigan University, was elected Superintendent, September, 1877, and is the present (June, 1880,) incumbent of the office.

A few public spirited citizens have already by donation or bequest, established perpetual special funds, the interest on which is used for the purchase of school books for indigent children, and for books of reference, maps and apparatus, etc., for the public schools. The Mosely Fund, given by the late F. Mosely, amounts to $11,000. The Foster Medal Fund, given by the late Dr. John H. Foster, amounts to $1,000. The Jones Fund, given by the late William Jones, amounts to $1,000. The Newberry Fund, given by the late W. L. Newberry, amounts to $1,000. The Jonathan Burr Fund amounts to $19,671. The Michael Reese Fund amounts to $2,000. The Carpenter Fund, given by Philo Carpenter, Esq., amounts to $1,000. Similar donations and bequests will doubtless be made from time to time. The aggregate of the present fund is now $37,000.

The following table, giving the population of the city, the school enrollment of pupils, the cost of the schools for the year, and the number of teachers during each year, for the last forty years, will convey a good idea of the city's growth:

	Total Population of the City.	Number Enrolled in the Schools.	Total amount paid for Current Expenses of the Schools.	Number of Teachers.
1837	4,170			
1838				
1839				
1840	4,479	317		
1841		410	$2,676.75	5
1842		531	3,225.90	7
1843	7,580	808	3,099.97	7
1844		915	3,006.22	8
1845	12,088	1,051	3,413.45	9
1846	14,169	1,107	5,635.87	13
1847	16,859	1,317	4,248.76	18
1848	20,023	1,517	5,790.82	18
1849	23,047	1,794	5,195.50	18
1850	29,963	1,919	6,037.97	21
1851		2,287	7,398.97	25
1852		2,404	10,704.04	29
1853	59,130	3,086	12,129.59	34
Dec. 31, 1854		3,500	14,254.72	35
Dec. 31, 1855	80,000	6,826	16,546.13	42
Dec. 31, 1855	84,113	8,577	29,720.00	
1857				
Feb. 1, 1858		10,786	45,701.00	81
Feb. 1, 1859		12,873	58,686.80	101
Feb. 1, 1860	109,026	14,199	69,630.53	123
Feb. 1, 1861		16,547	81,533.75	139
Dec. 31, 1862	138,186	16,441	86,755.32	160
Dec. 31, 1863		17,521	92,378.86	187
Dec. 31, 1864		21,188	113,305.24	212
Aug. 31, 1865	178,492	29,080	176,003.73	240
Aug. 31, 1866	200,418	24,851	219,198.66	265
Aug. 31, 1867		27,260	296,672.89	319
July 1, 1868	242,373	29,954	352,001.80	401
July 1, 1869	252,054	34,740	446,786.50	481
July 1, 1870	306,605	38,939	527,741.60	537
July 1, 1871		40,832	547,461.74	572
July 1, 1872	367,396	38,035	479,444.44	476
July 1, 1873		44,091	524,702.09	564
July 1, 1874		47,963	588,643.11	640
July 1, 1875	395,408	49,121	662,093.47	700
July 1, 1876	407,661	51,128	710,628.19	762
July 1, 1877		53,529	551,621.17	730
July 1, 1878	436,731	55,109	579,508.68	797
July 1, 1879		56,587	630,711.17	851
July 1, 1880*	500,000*	60,000*		900

* Estimated.

Our schools have continued to prosper, and now hold a rank second to none in any city of this country, or of the world.

The total amount assessed for school tax in the city from 1840 to 1845, inclusive, was:

In 1840	$ 786.98
" 1841	1,662.27
" 1842	1,518.50
" 1843	785.24
" 1844	5,722.08
" 1845	3,165.02
A total in six years of	$13,650.09

The increase in 1844 and 1845 was for building the Dearborn School. In November, 1846, the board enacted as follows:

"No scholars shall be admitted into school unless they appear within a quarter of an hour of the time prescribed by the rules for commencing the schools."

The first step towards a uniformity of text-books to be used in the schools, was taken Dec. 9, 1840, when Worcester's Primer, Parley's First, Second and Third Books of History, and an elementary Speller, were adopted.

With a trained corps of teachers, now, June 1st, 1880, numbering nine hundred, with an annual increase in membership of pupils of about three thousand, with a course of study and a body of rules which experience has brought into being, with a board of education consisting of fifteen members appointed by the Mayor, and confirmed by the council, with officers of long and successful experience in school work, there is every reason for the belief that our schools will continue to maintain the high standard of excellence now conceded to them.

This standard has been reached through many generations of culture and progress, made in other countries than the United States, for it can hardly be denied that the pupils themselves are the essential material out of which the model school system may be moulded, and inasmuch as Chicago is indebted to foreign countries for no inconsiderable part of her pupils, she is equally indebted to them for that varied intellect and talent that characterizes her schools. Her well arranged school houses, of modern style of architecture, have also contributed their due share towards this end, and her salubrious climate, so invigorating to body and mind, must not be lost sight of among these factors.

THE RAILROAD SYSTEM OF THE NORTHWEST.

The new method of cheap and expeditious transportation overland by means of railroads, has not yet been long enough in use to determine practically what changes in the great world of progress, are destined to grow from it, or rather what new elements of aggrandizement and accumulation of wealth and influence are to come from it. Dating from the earliest historical records, as they faintly glimmer through the uncertainty of Orientalism, we find the Phœnicians, about 700 years before the Christian era, bringing wealth and fame to their nation by means of their commerce, in which branch of industry they were as far as known, the world's pioneers.

Their country was situated at the western extremity of the Mediterranean Sea and the northeastern extremity of the Red Sea, which locality gave them a great advantage over any other people in the distribution of their merchandise. This stimulated their manufacturing interests as well as their fine arts and scholastic sciences, and for several centuries this people though their whole country was not larger than the State of Illinois, represented the intelligence and handicraft of the world.*

Southern Europe, including the Ancient Britons, paid tribute to them in the purchase of their fabrics, and learned of them and the Arabians,† the elements of science.

For this proud position they were indebted to their natural channels of communication with the outside world afforded by the two great seas that reached their territory from two nearly opposite directions. Physically the great northwest by means of the lakes and St. Lawrence river, and the Mississippi holds a relative position to the world not unlike theirs, when commerce was confined to inland seas, or the tedious process of caravans over land. That the Phœnecians have not held their original high position till the present day is due to the later discoveries by which the ocean could be navigated, thereby giving any other nation which had a sea-coast an equal advantage with them.

* Heroditus defines their territory as a belt of land about 50 miles wide, along the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, and runs their boundary south of this extreme end, to the northeastern extremity of the Red Sea, which he called the Arabian Gulf. Thence he runs it to the eastern delta of the Nile, about 60 miles above its mouth, thence along its meanders to the sea.

† The Arabians inhabited the country between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

After the Grecian and Roman civilization, the English, by means of their easily defended island and their commercial enterprise, substantially monopolized the commerce of the world, and by this means rose to a higher position in the scale of nations than the Phœnecians ever held, and, it is not too much to say, retained it till the late era of railroads became so important a means of transportation as to rival any advantages which even the mistress of the seas can claim. Not that either one means of transportation can ever be independent of the other, but that both must be in harmonious alliance to achieve the highest destinies of states is manifest; and where on the face of broad nature can be found a place where facilities for lake, river and railroad communication are so advantageously combined as in the northwest? Our present railroad system has grown into comparative maturity so rapidly that we have hardly had time to take breath and reduce to an economic theory our vantage ground, and the question is often asked, What is to be the end of all this?

Not a few think they see in it an engine of power wherewith to concentrate the wealth of the country into a few hands; control legislation and undermine liberty. If there is real danger that such a calamity is in store for us, the danger of it is increased by the suggestion. But do facts show that any such condition has yet been put in process of development? On the contrary, if the two interests compare notes, will it not be found that the wealth and influence of the landholders in accumulating power has at least kept pace with that of the railroads. Lands and their products have more than doubled in value by their introduction, and as long as this equitable division of the profits continues, the landowners need feel no jealousy toward the railroads, and instead of any special legislation to protect the interest of either the absence of all legislation as to rivalship of interest is all that is wanted to insure the rights of both.

The last thing that would advance the interest of the railroads would be to make their rates oppressive to their patrons, for they are not above the subtle force of public opinion, nor have they any immunity from the rivalship of carriers by river and lake transportation, a means for the carriage of heavy products, sufficiently provided by nature in the great interior to set railroad monopolies at defiance, if any should arise; and every interest here and all classes, as equal sharers in this great heritage with which the plentitude of nature has endowed us, may act in concert with the common end in view, to establish in our midst all that is ennobling in the domicile and in the state.

Our locality, though not the precise geographical centre of North America, is the hydraulic centre from which rivers flow to

its circumference. It is also the diverging centre from which railroads reach the seaboard portals to the great interior from every direction available to the commerce of the world. Had it not have been the first, it never could have been the second: a proof that our facilities for navigation hold the railroads in abeyance. This great almoner, that called our railroads into being, will ever be their ally, as long as the servant is not above his master; and fortified by this transcendent power, the railroads have as yet only begun their career. What they have already accomplished may be summed up as follows: In our immediate midst they have penetrated through low lands and over rolling plains wherever the rich soil of the country gave encouragement to farmers and villagers, and to them have brought the piano, etc., to infuse the soul with gentleness and stimulate the higher virtues of the rising generation, and have taken the surplus products of the farmer in exchange; among all classes they have awakened a laudable ambition to rise in the scale of manhood and womanhood, by bringing to them the newspaper and magazine from Boston, New York, Philadelphia and London in exchange for the creature comforts so necessary for those cloistered book worms and artists who have produced these literary luxuries, perhaps in some dingy garret. In this way the railroads have helped to fraternize the whole human race into good fellowship with each other; have helped to round off the tangent points of human character, which grew from isolation, and to diffuse the fruits of culture and education throughout the countries which they traverse. But the most efficient service they render to our country may be found in the influence they exert on the unity of the nation. Whatever may be the caprices by which any section of it may be dissatisfied with another, there is a binding force in the reciprocity which grows from trading relations and the interchange of courtesies, which comes through the despatch of railroad communication, that subordinates the feuds of petty quarrels to its fiat, and restores equilibrium to minds distempered with overreaching ambition, envy or political charlatanism.

This decree is ingrained by social laws into our railroad system; and by the law of supply and demand, mutual protection is guaranteed to the carriers and their patrons, with all the advantage to the patrons of rivers, lakes and canals, and an honest public opinion as allies if the carriers are too grasping. It would be premature to speculate as to when we are to become the seat of the fine arts through the gifts from nature, which have placed us where we now are; for there is so much rough hewing to be done first. But that this is to come some day is as certain as that human aspirations obey the passionate will.

The mind is too feeble to take in at one view the grandeur of the future destiny that must come to us by means of our matchless transportation system under the direction of a considerate public mind. Our influence is already felt on the eastern shores of Asia, and it has spread its toils through the workshops of Europe, from whence their artisans bow with obsequious respect, and follow the course of empire as a necessity. This is only the beginning. The end will be the subordination of the untamed forces of nature in the great interior to the intelligent rule of man in the majesty of his power—united under a government bound into integrity by an inflexible centre, which is the northwest.

The following statements show the manner in which railroads are taxed in each of the Northwestern States:

CHICAGO, Ill., June 2, 1880.

R. BLANCHARD, Wheaton, Ill.,

Dear Sir:—Replying to your inquiry concerning the methods of taxing railroad property in the States of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, I have to report to you that in Iowa a railroad property is assessed as a unit at a certain rate per mile. This assessment is made by a board consisting of the Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor and State Treasurer, and is termed the Executive Council. This assessment includes all property, both real and personal, belonging to the railroad company, and used exclusively in the operation of the road. The valuation is fixed at a certain sum per mile of main track, and the number of miles of main track in any county, town, or lesser taxing district, determines the amount of the railroad assessment in said district. The fact that machine or repair shops, or round houses, or other valuable improvements connected with the operation of a railroad, are built at any point on the road, does not increase the assessment in that particular locality. All such property is taken into account by the Executive Council in determining the value of the road per mile, but that valuation having been fixed, each mile of road is, for purposes of taxation, of the same value as every other mile. Against the valuation found as above indicated, taxes are extended at the same rates and for the same purposes, as in the case of the property of private individuals.

In the state of Wisconsin the taxation of railroad property is imposed in the form of a license for operating the road. The annual license fee is graded as follows:

1st. Four per cent. of the gross earnings of all railroads whose gross earnings equal or exceed $3000 per mile per annum of operated railroad.

2nd. Five dollars per mile of operated railroad, of all railroads whose gross earnings exceed $1,500 per mile per annum, and are less than $3,000 per mile per annum of operated road, and in addition two per cent. of their gross earnings in excess of fifteen hundred dollars per mile per annum.

3rd. All lands owned by railroad companies are subject to special assessments for local improvements in cities and villages; and all lands owned or claimed by any railroad company, but not adjoining the track of such company, are subject to all taxes.

In the state of Minnesota there are two methods of taxing railroad property, and railroad companies are permitted their choice of the plans provided by law. Railroad property may be assessed by the several local assessors at the same time and in the same manner that the property of private individuals is assessed. Taxes are levied on such assessments as in the case of private parties.

There is also a general statute of which railroad companies may avail themselves, which provides that the railroad, its appurtenances and appendages, and all property, estate, and effects of a railway corporation, held or used for, in,

or about, the construction, equipment, renewal, repair, or for the maintaining or operating of the railroad, and including the lands granted to such company to aid in the construction of such railroad, and the stock and capital of such company, shall be forever exempt from all taxation, and from all assessments; and in lieu of such taxes and assessments, such railroad company shall, during the first three years of the operation of its road, pay into the treasury of the state, one per cent. of the gross earnings of said railroad, and shall during the seven years next ensuing after the expiration of said three years, pay into the treasury of the state, two per cent. of the gross earnings of said railroad, and after the expiration of the ten years above provided for, said railroad shall pay into the treasury of the state, three per centum of the gross earnings of said railroad. And the payment of such per centum annually as aforesaid, shall be in full of all taxation and assessment whatever.

I have given you above a brief abstract of the laws respecting taxation of railway property in the states of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. While the information is not given in sufficient detail to enable a novice to understand how the machinery is worked, it is nevertheless sufficiently explicit to enable any one to understand the principles involved in the collection of revenue from this class of property. Yours truly,

FRANK P. CRANDON,
Tax Commissioner of the C. & N. W. Ry. Co.

CHICAGO, May 19, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD:

Dear Sir:—In reply to your queries relative to taxation of railroads in Illinois I have to say, that the Illinois Central Railroad Company pays to the State Treasurer a specific per centum of its gross earnings in lieu of all other taxation.

The property of all other railroad lines in the state is valued by the assessors at about the same rate as the property of private citizens; the assessment thus made is reported to the State Board of Equalization, who review the lists and correct any apparent discrepancies, and their final action upon the case generally proves quite satisfactory to all parties.

At an early day, assessors in some localities seemed to desire to assess railroad property much higher than other property, but they learned that such action increased their own burden, by rendering it necessary for the roads to increase their tariffs wherever any special increase of cost was made.

Yours respectfully,
A. T. HALL, *Treasurer.*

CHICAGO, Ill., May 18, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD, Wheaton, Ill.:

Dear Sir:—At your request I furnish you information touching the assessment of railroad property in Indiana.

Railroad corporations are required to return sworn lists, or schedules, of the taxable property of the company, showing the property held for right-of-way—the length of the main and all side and second tracks and turn outs, in each county, city or town, through or into which, the same may run: also, the number of locomotives, passenger, and all other cars; describing them.

The right-of-way, including the superstructures, side or second tracks, station and improvements on the right-of-way, is denominated "railroad track," which is listed and taxed in the several counties, townships, cities and towns in proportion that the length of the main track in such city, county or town bears to the whole length of the road in the State, except the value of the side or second tracks, turnouts, and all station houses, depots, machine shops, or all other buildings belonging to the road, shall be taxed in such county, city or town.

The movable property belonging to a railroad company shall be held to be personal property, and shall be denominated "rolling stock." It shall be listed and taxed in the several counties, townships, cities and towns, in the proportion

that the main track used or operated in such township, city or town bears to the whole length of the road owned or operated by the company. The schedule must state the number of miles upon which it is used in the State, and the number of miles upon which it is used elsewhere. The tools, materials for repair, and all other personal property, except "rolling stock," shall be listed in the township, city or town where the same may be on the first of April. The real estate of the company, except what is denominated "railroad track," shall be listed in the city, county or town where the same may be located. Such personal property and real estate is assessed in the same manner as the property of other persons. The State Board of Equalization, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State, assess property denominated "railroad track" and "rolling stock." The amount so assessed is certified to the proper County Auditor by the State Auditor and by the County Auditor to the several cities, townships and towns in his county.

There are other details, but it is believed the above will give a correct general idea of the manner of assessing and collecting taxes upon railroad property.

The law has been in force since December, 1872.

After the reports have been made by the several railroads the state board gives notice of the time when it will make the assessments, at which time the companies can be heard if they shall so desire. I think the assessments, as a general thing, have been satisfactory. Yours truly,

A. L. OSBORN.

FROM REPORT ON RAILROAD TAXATION BY J. Q. ADAMS, JR.,

OHIO.

All property is taxed on a basis of its true value in money. The real estate of each railroad is taxed in the place where it lies; but personal property is held to include the road bed, water and wood stations, and all other such realty as is necessary for the daily running operation of the road. A board consisting of county auditors of the counties through which any railroad runs, estimates the value of all the personal property of the railroad company, including the above named items, and apportions it among the counties and municipalities through which it runs, so that to each "shall be apportioned such part thereof as shall equalize the relative value of the real estate, structures and stationary personal property of such railroad company" in the state, and so that the rolling stock (including that hired or run under control of the company) shall be apportioned to each county and place in proportion to its part of the whole road in the state. And when only part of the railroad is in the state, the principal sum to be apportioned is the proportion of the road in Ohio to the whole road. When the road is wholly in one county the auditor thereof acts as a board.

The county boards report to a state board of equalization, which has power to raise or reduce the valuation of each road, provided that the aggregate valuation cannot be reduced. No appeal is provided.

There is no franchise tax, nor tax on receipts; and stock in the hands of individuals is taxed to them.

MICHIGAN.

In lieu of all taxes, except those on real estate not used for railroad purposes, a tax is laid of (2) two per cent. on gross earnings not exceeding $2,000 per mile, and of (3) three per cent. on gross earnings exceeding that sum. There is, also, a tax of three per cent. on receipts from passengers carried in any palace or sleeping car, or any car for which an extra price is paid; and a tax of two per cent. on gross receipts derived from the leasing or hiring of cars by any "special," "fast," "colored," or other freight line.

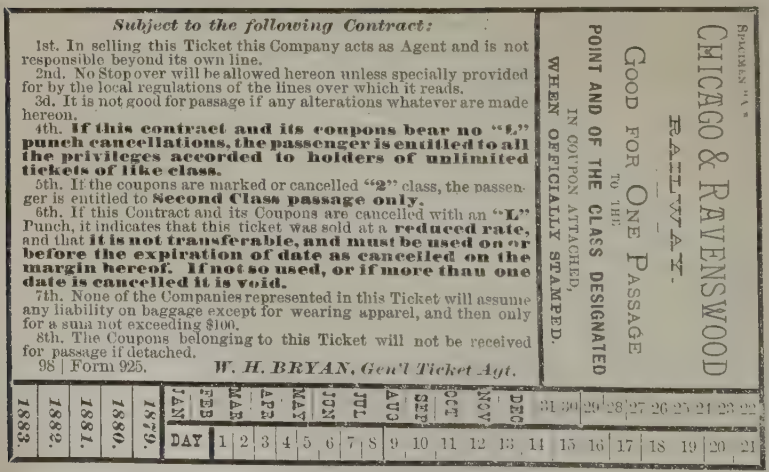
Real estate not used for railroad purposes is subject to local taxes where it lies. There is no tax on the personal property of railroad companies, nor on franchise, nor on rolling stock. Nor is stock taxed in the hands of its owners. There is no apportionment of tax among counties or municipalities, the whole amount being paid to the state and devoted to special purposes.

The railroads incorporated before 1850 were subject to an annual tax of $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent. on their capital stock and all loans used in construction. The Lake Shore and the Michigan Central are still taxed in this way.

THE RAILWAY TICKET COUPON SYSTEM.

(By A. E. Little, of the Chicago and Northwestern Ry.)

A mere cursory examination of the "Records of the National General Ticket Agents' Association," should readily satisfy the "veteran traveler" that he is under lasting obligations to that energetic body of "evolutionists"—the General Ticket Agents—for their unceasing labors, for the past thirty years or more, in perfecting a thorough and comprehensive system of ticketing passengers, and the checking of baggage, between almost any of the railway points in the United States and Canadas; but however desirable it might be to undertake to convince the traveling public that it should rest content with the great benefits accruing from "through ticketing," instead of seeking additional advantages from the numerous *discrepancies* inherent in the system, such an effort would be beyond the scope of this article, which is intended to be merely a brief outline of the complex and costly "coupon" system in force on nearly all of the railways of this country. Below is given a specimen of the modern coupon ticket "contract."



Subject to the following Contract:

1st. In selling this Ticket this Company acts as Agent and is not responsible beyond its own line.

2nd. No Stop over will be allowed hereon unless specially provided for by the local regulations of the lines over which it reads.

3d. It is not good for passage if any alterations whatever are made hereon.

4th. **If this contract and its coupons bear no "L" punch cancellations, the passenger is entitled to all the privileges accorded to holders of unlimited tickets of like class.**

5th. If the coupons are marked or cancelled **"2"** class, the passenger is entitled to **Second Class passage only.**

6th. If this Contract and its Coupons are cancelled with an **"L"** Punch, it indicates that this ticket was sold at a **reduced rate,** and that **it is not transferable, and must be used on or before the expiration of date as cancelled on the margin hereof. If not so used, or if more than one date is cancelled it is void.**

7th. None of the Companies represented in this Ticket will assume any liability on baggage except for wearing apparel, and then only for a sum not exceeding $100.

8th. The Coupons belonging to this Ticket will not be received for passage if detached.

98 | Form 925. *W. H. BRYAN, Gen'l Ticket Agt.*

CHICAGO & RAVENSWOOD RAILWAY.

GOOD FOR ONE PASSAGE

TO THE

POINT AND OF THE CLASS DESIGNATED IN COUPON ATTACHED, WHEN OFFICIALLY STAMPED.

1883.	JAN																														31	30
1882.	FEB																													29	28	27
1881.	MAR																															
1880.	APR																															
1879.	MAY																															
	JUN																															
DAY	JUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8																							
	AUG									9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
	SEP																															
	OCT																															
	NOV																															
	DEC																															

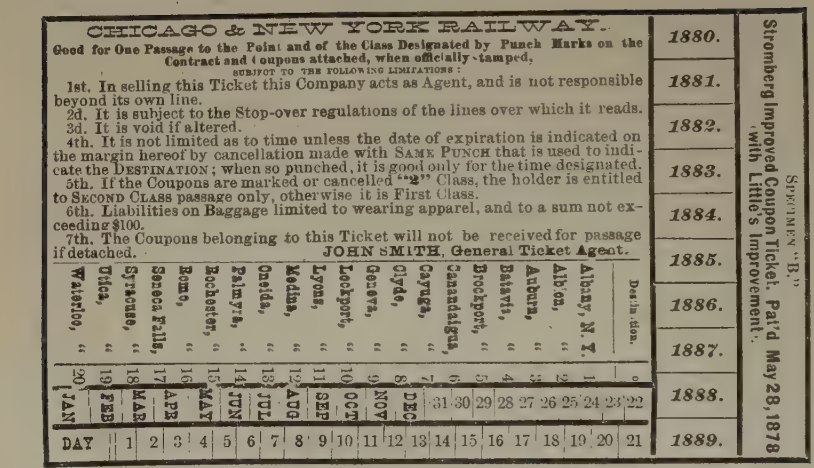
That portion of the ticket in which the signature of the General Ticket Agent appears is called the "contract," as it recites the terms under which the ticket can be used; to this contract are added as many "coupons" as there are separate railway or transportation lines in the route of the entire ticket, thus giving each line participating in carrying the passenger to his destination, a voucher against the company issuing the ticket for the service performed; while each coupon shows the line over which, and the points between which it is

good, yet such coupon is good for passage only when attached to the contract governing its use. In early days these coupons bore the signature of the General Ticket Agent of the issuing road, thus making them complete tickets in themselves, but upon finding that the sharp speculative instinct of the average American had discovered that nearly all railways participating in "through" passenger traffic, generally received for such service a less sum than they charged for local traffic between the points named on coupons, and that such a situation of affairs naturally encouraged "speculators" to buy *through* tickets by the *lot*, to convert the same into "split tickets," to supply *local* demand, the railways found it absolutely necessary, for the protection of their local traffic, to adopt the above style of contract ticket, and to rigidly enforce the rule of refusing coupons when same were presented without the contract originally accompanying them. In the enforcement of this necessary rule, the railways have been sustained by decisions of different state courts.

For the purpose of keeping perfect records of all tickets printed, issued, or sold, each *route* must have a separate "Form Number," and each ticket of any "Form" should have a consecutive number: On the ticket marked "A," 925 is the number of the *route*, and 98 the number of the ticket. As these tickets are charged to and reported by agents by "Form," and by consecutive numbers, and as the issuing road uses the same numbers in reporting to the roads over which the tickets are issued, a perfect check can be had on every individual ticket by all parties interested. In addition to showing on the coupons of intermediate lines the points between which such coupons are good, the *final* destination of the ticket should also be given, as the proportion accruing to the intermediate lines may be different by different "forms" or routes, although the intermediate service performed may be the same in each case.

While the use of the contract coupon ticket prevents speculation in detaching the "coupons" and selling same, it does not prevent a passenger from using the ticket for a portion of the prescribed trip, and selling the remainder of the ticket; and this fact has been long known and taken advantage of by our enterprising countrymen, who have been but too often aided and encouraged by many of the railways that entered into an insane competition for *through* business. *This discrepancy* has recently been corrected by the employment of tickets limited as to time of use, in cases where too great a difference exist between the rates as made by the *short line* and the sums of the local rates of the roads composing the long line, desiring to meet the competition. As will be seen on sample tickets, this time limitation is effectively made by cancellation of the date to which the ticket is good.

Many of the "trunk lines" of this country are carrying stocks of *thousands* of different "forms" of coupon tickets, by as many different routes, and reaching to all parts of the United States and Canadas known to the enterprising ticket seller, and every year adds largely to the multiplicity of forms, by the addition of new routes to old and new points. Indeed, so great has this burden become that railway companies can no longer afford to print separate "forms" for each *destination*, but are rapidly adopting what is known as the "combination coupon," which bear the general features of the ticket already described, but allows the same "form" to be used for many destinations and classes, as will be seen by specimen "contract" marked "B." ?



CHICAGO & NEW YORK RAILWAY.

Good for One Passage to the Point and of the Class Designated by Punch Marks on the Contract and Coupons attached, when officially stamped,

SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING LIMITATIONS:

1st. In selling this Ticket this Company acts as Agent, and is not responsible beyond its own line.
2d. It is subject to the Stop-over regulations of the lines over which it reads.
3d. It is void if altered.
4th. It is not limited as to time unless the date of expiration is indicated on the margin hereof by cancellation made with SAME PUNCH that is used to indicate the DESTINATION; when so punched, it is good only for the time designated.
5th. If the Coupons are marked or cancelled "2" Class, the holder is entitled to SECOND CLASS passage only, otherwise it is First Class.
6th. Liabilities on Baggage limited to wearing apparel, and to a sum not exceeding $100.
7th. The Coupons belonging to this Ticket will not be received for passage if detached.

JOHN SMITH, General Ticket Agent.

Waterloo, Utica, Syracuse, Seneca Falls, Rome, Rochester, Palmyra, Oneida, Medina, Lyons, Lockport, Geneva, Clyde, Cayuga, Canandaigua, Brockport, Batavia, Auburn, Albion, Albany, N. Y. Destination.

DAY	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
1									JAN	
2									FEB	
3									MAR	
4									APR	
5									MAY	
6									JUN	
7									JUL	
8									AUG	
9									SEP	
10									OCT	
11									NOV	
12									DEC	
13										
14									31	
15									30	
16									29	
17									28	
18									27	
19									26	
20									25	
21									24	
									23	
									22	

SPECIMEN "B"
Stromberg Improved Coupon Ticket, Pat'd May 28, 1878 with Little's Improvement.

Having now described the coupon ticket—its use and abuses—a brief statement of how it is treated in the accounts of a railway will be in order.

A record of all "forms" printed is kept in a book called a "Chart of Forms," which gives the "form number" of each route, the destination of each form, and the names of the different lines composing each route, together with their junctional points. The general ticket agents chart must be as correct as that of the navigator, otherwise he will be swamped in a sea of papers, and this chart is the constant guide of the "stock clerk" in ordering and supplying tickets.

The rates governing the sale of coupon tickets are made by the general ticket agents at their stated meetings. And, as a general rule, the rates between common points are based upon the sum of the local fares of the road composing the *short* line between said points. Yet this rule does not always obtain. Sometimes a fixed rate per mile by the short line will be made irrespectively of the local rates of the roads in the line. Sometimes a *round* rate will be made because it looks to be just about the "correct thing," and then again the public sometimes has a potent influence in naming rates for a season, but, for the purpose of this article, it may be said that the "short lines" usually predominate in making rates, and in divisions of same every line claims that it is entitled to its "pro rata" proportion between competing points by its *very shortest* line to such points.

It has already been remarked that coupon tickets are charged to ticket agents by "form" and "consecutive" numbers, and that they are required to report their sales, by the same numbers and to give the destination of tickets. They are required to report promptly after the close of each month; when their reports have been examined as to the use of authorized rates, checked with the "home" or company's coupon, to see that all tickets indicated by those coupons have been accounted for, the reports are entered upon the "Apportionment book" for a proper division among all the roads interested in the sales. This book is of mammoth proportions, and has columns for each road participating in an interchange business; the sales of each agent are entered in detail and each form sold, or as many of each form as are sold by the same agent are made the subject of a separate division among the roads over which the form reads. When the book is balanced it will show in detail the division of every form of tickets sold, carried to the proper column, so that a report to the roads sold over can be readily transcribed. These reports are usually forwarded to the lines interested about twenty days after the close of each month, and,

by common consent, all errors discovered in same are corrected in the following month's report, if notified so as to make correction in that month, although errors will be adjusted at any time upon notice, but the original report must stand as originally made up. This rule is made to enable railway companies to write up the General Books and adjust balances without vexatious delays. After an interchange of ticket reports the balances are subject to sight draft, or if the balance is not large enough to go to the trouble of drawing for same, it can go into the account current of the company from which the balance is due.

While settlements are made by the reports as originally made up, the reports are carefully checked with the tickets collected at the earliest practicable moment, and all claims for the non-reporting of tickets, or for the use of unauthorized rates and divisions are forwarded to the delinquent road, and a letter-press copy of such claim is kept and held in view until the same is satisfactorily adjusted.

The limit allowed for this article will not admit of any reference to the system of checking "through baggage", which is an important adjunct of the coupon system and one of its costliest appendages, nor will there be space in which to notice the important labors of the General Passenger Agent, who devotes his time almost entirely to labor arising out of the system of "through ticketing", suffice it to say that there is nothing connected with the "system", but that is at once costly and complicated for the railway companies, and nowhere except in this country are the passengers wants so liberally and carefully provided for.

RAILROAD SYSTEM OF CHICAGO, WITH ITS EARLY HISTORY.

BY AUGUSTINE W. WRIGHT.

The Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, chartered January 16th, 1836 (ere Chicago had received her charter as a city), may claim the honor of being her first railroad. Its primary incentive was to advance the price of real estate, and promote the prosperity of Chicago. Its capital stock was one hundred thousand dollars, with power to increase it to one million dollars. It was optional with the company to make portions of it with branches of the same, a toll-road, to be operated either with horse or steam power.

Wm. Bennett, Thos. Drummond, J. C. Goodhue, Peter Semple, J. M. Turner and J. B. Thompson, Jr., were authorized as commissioners to receive subscriptions to the stock. Their charter allowed three years from its date, as the limit of the time in which work on it should be commenced, to comply with which provision the company commenced the then questionable enterprise in 1838.

The first problem was how to get a foundation through the great slough that intervened between the little incipient town and the ridge on which Oak Park now stands. It was then deemed impossible to find a firm bottom on these shaky lands, and piles were resorted to with longitudinal stringers, to secure support from one to another. Thus the work began along Madison street, but was soon abandoned as premature, and no farther

attempts to prosecute it were made till 1846, when Wm. B. Ogden, John B. Turner, for whom Turner Junction was named, and Stephen F. Gale, purchased the charter from Messrs. Townsend and Mather, of New York, who, up to this time, held it with the assets of the company. Ten thousand dollars in stock was to be paid down, and ten thousand on its completion to Fox River. A preliminary survey was made, and the work put in charge of Richard P. Morgan. The next year, on the 5th of April, a Board of Directors was appointed, and books were soon opened for subscription to the stock. Here fresh difficulties came up. Many thought the road would injure the retail trade of Chicago (which was all she then had), by facilitating the transportation of goods to country merchants, and the latter feared that their trade would suffer by such quick and easy access to Chicago as the road would give to the farmers. Despite these difficulties, through the efforts of Benj. W. Raymond and John B. Turner, in their success in negotiating loans in New York, and the reluctant home subscriptions to the stock, the road was finally completed to Cottage Hill, sixteen miles distant, in December, 1849, to which place their rickety old second-hand engine and cars (the best they were able to procure), ran on a slip-shod foundation of wooden stringers faced with strap iron. This was Chicago's first railroad.

Chicago's connections by railroad with Lake Erie were now considered of the first importance. The Michigan Southern Railroad, begun in 1837, and the Michigan Central, begun in 1842, were sharp rivals in this enterprise. The cars of the latter reached Chicago May 21st, 1852, and those of the former the next day, both of which were greeted with shouts of welcome as substantial stimulants to prosperity.

This generation can hardly appreciate all that Chicago owes to the pioneers who built its railroads, and among the number the name of John B. Turner should ever be retained in grateful remembrance, together with Benj. W. Raymond, Stephen F. Gale, and others. The following table gives the name of each railroad centering at Chicago, with the date of its arrival, together with other statistics, indicated on the head lines. It is the result of much research amongst the voluminous records of railroad literature now extant, and may serve the reader as a kind of *multum in parvo* history of one of the great elements of the prosperity of the country in which all are interested·

Name of Railroad.	Date of entering or connecting with Chicago.	No. of Miles in operation Jan. 1st, 1880.	Carried One Mile.		Cost—(including A, excluding B, Equipment.)	Remarks.
			Tons of Freight.	No. of Passengers.		
		1,500				In addition to this 2,546 miles owned, the C. & N. W. R'y has close traffic arrangements with other companies controlling about 1,500 miles of road, and which gives its traffic to C. & N. W. R'y.
Chicago & Northwestern R. R.	Fall of 1848.	2,546	681,878,311	116,068,482	A, $72,373,028.64	Galena & Chicago Union, the first R. R. out of Chicago, is now a part of C. & N.W. R. R.
Michigan Central	May 21st, 1852.	804	548,053,707	79,684,072	B, 33,069,901.00	First through train came in May 21, 1852.
Lake Shore & Mich. Southern	May 22d, 1852.	1,177	1,340,467,821	133,702,021	A, 83,245,063.54	Commenced running trains Feb. 20, 1852. First through train came in May 22, 1852. For year 1878.
Illinois Central	May, 1852..... Oct., 1856	1,256	335,470,860	44,586,972	A, 33,956,781,68	Piling along lake shore finished, 1856.
	Nov. 1st, 1850...	843				Entered Chicago on independent track, 1863.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	—— 1863.....	1,857	1,059,147,505	.....	69,244,024.78	The 843 miles is shortly to be acquired. The freight tonnage is calculated by R. R. Gazette.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific	Oct. 18th, 1852.. Jan. 5th, 1854...	1,231	484,610,209	62,811,574	A, 33,528,805.91	
Chicago, Alton & St. Louis	—— 1857.....	841	402,234,396	54,219,073	B, 22,291,572.88	1857, independent entrance.
Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne & Chicago	Nov. 10th, 1856	469	637,470,506	77,819,493	A, 38,743,395.00	For year 1878.
		20				20 miles are leased. Enters over C. C. & I. C. R. R. C. D. & V. R. R. mortgage foreclosed. Succeeded by this Company.
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	Oct., 1869	132	69,326,762	3,612,690	A, 4,030,854.00	
Chicago & Iowa	Jan. 1st, 1872...	160	.....	.....	3,888,026.19	R. R. Com. Report, 1877.
Chicago & Pacific	April 14, 1873..	88	3,824,040	2,600,190	.....	Enters over C., B. & Q. R. R. For year 1878.
Columbus, Chic. & Ind. Cent. Pittsburg, Cin. & St. Louis	March, 1865.....	581	402,272,870	33,964,174	33,769,796.96	Tonnage and part Mileage calculated from Report of Cost, and number of tons and passengers.
Louisville, New Albany & Chi.	.....	288	.....	5,135,266	A, 3,000,000.00	Money to build furnished by Michigan Central R. R. Sold and reorganized, 1869.
Chicago & Mich'n Lake Shore	Feb. 1st, 1870...	250	12,868,975	5,649,815	A, 7,110,049.93	Mich. Com. Report, 1877.
Chicago, Pekin & Southwest'n	Jan. 6th, 1873...	124	.....	.....	A, 2,088,893.81	Cost from Poor's Manual.
Kankakee to Cin. { I. C. & L.		184	41,000,163	18,971,742	A, 16,854,415.93	Poor's Manual, 1877.
Kankakee to Cin. { C. L. & C.	Aug. 25th, 1872	75	.....	.....	A, 1,581,187.87	Report R. R. Com. 1879.
		14				14 miles leased.
Chicago, Clinton & Dubuque	—— 1871.....	208	14,577,349	3,963,083	A, 6,464,017.00	Poor's Manual, 1879.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul	Feb., 1873.....	2,387	401,595,734	78,119,592	A, 70,4 7,770.18	
Chicago Div. Baltimore & Ohio	Nov. 17th, 1874	271	86,142,435	11,045,327	B, 7,489,182.48	
Wabash in Ill. west of Bement	March 23, 1880	1,596	.....	.....	.....	First train through March 22, 1880. Not opened for traffic Jan. 1st.
Grand Trunk to Port Huron	Feb. 12, 1880 ...	325	.....	.....	.....	Opened for freight, ditto.
		19,227				

THE DAILY NEWS.

BY M. E. STONE.

The first number of the *Daily News* made its appearance upon the streets of Chicago on the afternoon of December 20th, 1875. It was founded by Percy R. Meggy, Wm. E. Dougherty and Melville E. Stone. The experiment of publishing a one-cent paper had been tried before in Chicago and had failed; in the present instance, it was by no means promising. There were four other English afternoon dailies in the field—the *Journal*, *Post*, *Telegraph* and *Courier*. Early in 1876, Mr. Dougherty sold his interest and later in the same year, Mr. Meggy followed his example, leaving Mr. Stone for a time sole proprietor. He soon disposed of an interest to Mr. Victor F. Lawson, and in August, 1876, the firm became Victor F. Lawson & Co., under which title the publication has continued without change of partners to this date. Mr. Lawson has charge of the business department, while Mr. Stone directs the editorial and mechanical branches.

In August, 1877, the proprietors of the *Daily News* purchased and absorbed the Chicago *Evening Post*, into which, three years before, the Chicago *Evening Mail* had been merged.

The Chicago *Daily News* has been remarkable for its rapid growth in circulation and influence, and is generally regarded as the most remarkable journalistic success of the time. Until the exciting days of the electoral count, in the winter of 1876–7, the average daily circulation fell below 15,000. It then rapidly increased, until, for the year 1877, it averaged over 22,000; in 1878 it averaged 38,000; in 1879 it reached an average of 45,000, and for the first half of 1880 it has exceeded 55,000. Its average daily issue now exceeds that of any other newspaper published west of Philadelphia, and is surpassed in the United States by not more than five of the daily papers.

The *Daily News* is, and always has been, independent in politics.

HARBOR AND RIVER CONVENTION.

This convention met at Chicago July 5, 1847. Its object was to influence the federal government to make appropriations for the improvement of Rivers and Harbors.

James L. Barton, of Buffalo, N. Y., was on motion of William B. Ogden, elected temporary chairman, and A. B. Chambers, of St. Louis, and Hans Crocker, of Milwaukee, were elected secretaries *pro tem.* The Hon. Edward Bates was made President of the convention, with Vice Presidents from seventeen states represented, and ten secretaries.

Letters were read from Thomas H. Benton, Silas Wright, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, Gen. Cass and Daniel Webster.

Elaborate speeches were made by John C. Spencer, Judge John McLean, of Ohio, by Edward Bates and others, and resolutions in favor of appropriations for the improvement by the National Government, of Rivers and Harbors were adopted.

Says Norman C. Perkins, in his history of this convention:

"In 1846 President Polk had vetoed the bill, which passed both houses of Congress, making appropriations amounting to nearly a million and a half of dollars for various works of internal improvement, in the way of removing obstructions to navigation in rivers and constructing harbors, and a plan was devised for holding a mammoth convention at Chicago for the purpose of giving expression to the popular disapproval of the veto, and of encouraging Congress to persist in the course it had undertaken. The opening day was fixed for the Fourth of July, and delegates were chosen from all parts of the Union. The Whigs everywhere favored the doctrine of internal improvements by the general government, and in the West that was good Democratic doctrine, too; so the convention was intended to be non-partisan. Indeed, so jealously was its political neutrality guarded, that the late Norman B. Judd, who was then a Democrat, made a fiery and effective protest in the convention against its being used or treated as in any way connected with the Whig party.

The convention was held on the court house square, under a huge tent that covered about two-thirds of the block. The old frame court house then stood on the northest corner of the square, and the jail stood on the northwest corner. The old brick Sherman House stood where its modern namesake stands, and from that westward to LaSalle street, the space was occupied by narrow wooden shanties, a story and a half or two stories in height. On the southwest corner of Randolph and LaSalle streets—long known as "Sharp Corner"—there was one of a row of similar shanties fronting north on Randolph street. To the south of this were several two-story brick houses, one of which, on the ground now occupied by the building No. 90 LaSalle street, belonged to Judge Jesse B. Thomas, whose father was president of the first Constitutional Convention in Illinois, and whose sons settled in Chicago, where one of them still remains. On the northwest corner of Washington and LaSalle streets stood the residence of Tuthill King, who still owns the land, subject to a ground lease, while on the corner now occupied by the Union National Bank, P. F. W. Peck lived. Opposite to the court house square, on Washington street, were the residences of B. W. Raymond, Alexander White and a few others. About that time the First Baptist church was built, which stood on the corner now occupied by the Chamber of Commerce. On the corner next to Clark street was the First Presbyterian church, which was

afterward converted into Smith & Nixon's piano warerooms, and into offices. Across Clark street stood the First Methodist church, which was removed to make way for a church with secular attachments, very much like the one now standing there. On the east side of Clark street there was a yellow brick house, belonging to a man named Goodrich, on the corner of Washington street, where Larmon Block afterward stood, and to the north of that was a block of three or four blue brick dwellings, owned by F. C. Sherman, while on the corner of Randolph was the two-story frame building belonging to George W. Cobb, and occupied chiefly by law offices. Such were the surroundings of court house square in 1847. The tent spoken of was probably made by George Foster, who at that time was a ship chandler here.

The President of the convention was Edward Bates, of Missouri, who made the great speech of the occasion, and who was afterwards President Lincoln's first Attorney-General. Mr. Bates was, it will be remembered, a candidate for the Presidential nomination against Mr. Lincoln, and was supported in his candidacy by his old friend, Horace Greeley, whom he had met at this Chicago convention in1847. It was said that Mr. Greeley's trip to Chicago at that time first gave him the exalted idea of the natural advantages of this part of the country, which afterwards found expression in his oft-repeated, and now historic hortation of "Go West, young man." John C. Spencer was also a delegate from New York, and was reckoned one of the ablest men in that very remarkable gathering. His son, Champion Spencer, was afterwards a member of the law firm of Monroe & Spencer in this city, for many years. Another member of the convention was Thomas Butler King, who at that time was one of the three Whig members of the House of Representatives from Georgia. The other two were Alexander H. Stephens and Robert Toombs. Another prominent delegate was Governor Bebb of Ohio. King made a speech in reply to those who claimed that Congress had no authority to improve harbors except upon the seaboard. "Talk about salt water," said he, "why, right here in your own harbor, for the lack of sufficient protection, there have been enough cargoes of salt lost to make the whole of Lake Michigan as salt as the Atlantic Ocean!"

About the only man who was injured by the convention was General Cass. He was invited to be present, but replied as follows:

DETROIT, MAY 29.

DEAR SIR: I am much obliged to you for your kind "attention in transmitting me an invitation to attend the convention on internal improvements, which will meet in Chicago in July. Circumstances, however, will put it out of my power to be present at that time."

These "circumstances" were very unfortunate ones for Gen-

eral Cass. He chanced to be running for the Presidency the next year, and his letter was dug up and used as a very effective campaign document against him. There is in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society a memento of the campaign of 1848, in the shape of a tiny pamphlet of twelve pages, about an inch square, containing this famous letter in English, French and German. The title page is thus: "General Cass' letter to the River and Harbor Convention. Fifth Edition. Chicago: Journal Press, 1848."

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ILLINOIS ST. ANDREWS SOCIETY.

"The benevolent feelings implanted by the great Creator in the hearts of men are given for practical development, and if it be true that no braver hearts beat than those which throb under a Scottish plaid, much more so is it universally conceded to be true that no where does the development of benevolent feelings find readier expression than amongst Scotchmen.

The expression of these feelings and promptings is not confined to individuals. It assumes an organized form, becomes more efficient, and concentrates individual effort into well digested and laudable systems of benevolence.

Especially is this true of Scotchmen in foreign lands; for ever since the organization in 1657, of 'The Scottish Charitable Society of Boston' (the oldest organization of the kind on the North American continent), wherever a few Scotchmen are located together, an immediate desire manifests itself (and is always acted upon) to form a charitable or St. Andrews Society, for the purpose of relieving their distressed fellow-countrymen."

On the 26th of January, 1846, the Illinois St. Andrews Society was organized, only one of the original members of which now survives, George Anderson, Esq., the postmaster of the South Division post office, in the city of Chicago.

A Constitution and the code of by-laws were adopted in 1850, and revised and amended in 1858, and again in 1872, after the great fire of October, 1871.

The Society was incorporated by special act of the Legislature of Illinois, in February, 1853.

Since the first organization, in 1846, the Socetiy has never failed to hold its regular anniversary meeting on St. Andrews day.

From a weakly child the Society has grown into a strong and stalwart man. Members in large numbers have flocked to its standard, and its position has now become so well assured and permanent that no worthy applicant for its bounty is ever turned away with empty hands.

But not alone on the living are its benefits conferred. In the Cemetery at Rose Hill, that beautiful "city of the dead," the Society since 1858 has owned a burial place, where the friendless and destitute Scotchman dying in a foreign land amongst strangers, "far from the loved ones at home," is tenderly cared for, and his ashes repose in peace in the grounds and under the shadow of the monument of this most excellent charity, with a stone marked to indicate the spot where he sleeps. Over 70 persons now "after life's fitful fever sleep well" in these grounds.

The active membership of the society now numbers nearly 400, and is constantly increasing.

Since the organization in 1846, the following named gentlemen have been Presidents of the Society. Those marked * deceased:

The Year ending, November 30th.	
1846, *George Steel.	1863, *Gen. Daniel Cameron.
1847, *Alexander Brand.	1864, William James.
1848, *James Michie.	1865, Robert Hervey.
1849, *Alexander Brand.	1866, William Stewart.
1850, *George Steel.	1867, *Hugh Macalister.
1851, *Alexander Brand.	1868, *Dr. John Macalister.
1852, *Alexander Brand.	1869, Robert Hervey.
1853, George Anderson.	1870, Gen. John McArthur.
1854, *John McGlashan.	1871, Gen. John McArthur.
1855, John H. Kedzie.	1872, Gen. John McArthur.
1856, John Alston.	1873, Robert Clark.
1857, John Alston.	1874, Robert Hervey.
1858, Robert Hervey.	1875, Robert Hervey.
1859, *Andrew Harvie.	1876, Godfrey McDonald.
1860, John R. Valentine.	1877, Godfrey McDonald.
1861, Dugald Stewart.	1878, Daniel R. Cameron.
1862, Robert Hervey.	1879, Daniel R. Cameron.
	1880, Alexander Kirkland.

For nearly fifteen years, Wm. M. Dale has been treasurer, and for about twelve years John Stewart has been secretary. The society has a large permanent or reserved fund invested in U. S. bonds, and a benevolent or charitable fund adequate to all purposes of relief.

The means of the society are derived from the annual subscriptions of the members ($3), the fees on initiation ($2), and the profits derived from the anniversary dinners on St. Andrews day, and the annual balls given by the Society for the benefit of the ladies, as they are not admitted to the annual dinners.

The Society is in a very flourishing and prosperous condition.

The Marquis of Lorne, Governor General of Canada, and Robert Gordon, Esq., for many years the president of the St. Andrews Society of the state of New York, are honorary members of the Society; and this brief sketch of its history is with pleasure furnished to Rufus Blanchard, for insertion in his forthcoming work on the history of Chicago, by

ROBT. HERVEY.

THE ILLINOIS STAATS ZEITUNG.

BY WASHINGTON HESING.

The rapid growth of Chicago is not exemplified in a better way than by the increase in wealth, in influence and in political power of the press of Chicago. Where but less than a generation ago the press, if it be even worthy of that name, was of doubtful existence and of no importance whatever; the press of to-day compares most favorably in stability and in standing with that of any city in the world.

This is not only the case with the English press, but it is also the case with the German press, of which the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, the exponent of the principles of the German-Americans of the Northwest, is the representative.

The *Illinois Staats Zeitung* was founded in the spring of 1848, by Robert Hœffgen, the entire capital invested amounting to two hundred dollars.

Mr. Hœffgen was assisted by an apprentice, who received 75 cents per week. In those days it was incumbent upon the proprietor of the newspaper, not only to direct the general management, but to do nearly, if not all, the work.

At first the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* appeared as a weekly, thus enabling one man to do all the work. Mr. Hœffgen collected the advertisements and solicited subscriptions, set his own type, ran his own press, and having completed his paper indoors, started out upon the street with his entire edition under his arm, to distribute the same to his subscribers. It might be cited as an example worthy of emulation at the present time, when the price of paper is agitating the minds of publishers, that subscribers were requested to send in rags to pay for their subscriptions, these in turn being traded to the dealer in print paper. In this way the rags were saved, and the publisher always received more for his paper in rags than he would have got in cash.

In the fall of 1848, Dr. Hellmuth then being the editor, the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* was the only German newspaper in the United States to discover in the Buffalo platform the principles, upon which afterwards was founded the Republican party. The county of Cook gave Van Buren a majority of 1,200, no little credit of which is due to the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, for its staunch and unswerving advocacy of the principles laid down in that campaign. After the presidential election, Arno Voss was the editor, who was succeeded in 1849 by Herman Kriege and in 1850, Dr. Hellmuth again assumed the editorial management. Under his charge, the paper appeared twice a week until Aug. 25th, 1851, when Geo. Schneider became connected with the paper, who changed it into a daily, with but 70 subscribers, its weekly list being only a little over 200.

In 1853, the circulation of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* had increased to 300, which necessitated the employment of three (3) carriers, one of whom is still to-day in the employ of the company. Within the same territory where formerly there were but 100 subscribers, now there are 3,400.

In 1854, the number of subscribers had increased to 800.

Geo. Hillgaertner was at this time associated with Geo. Schneider. As the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* was the first German paper to discover the cardinal principles of the Republican party in the Buffalo Platform, so it was the first to oppose the Nebraska Bill, and to begin the determined opposition to Douglas. It was mainly instrumental in leading the Germans into the Republican party, and, in 1856, was using its utmost endeavors in behalf of Fremont. In that ever memorable campaign between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, no paper did more for the success of Mr. Lincoln than the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, because the Germans held the balance of power.

From this time on, began to develop the influence of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*. It has been often felt in the common council, the Legislature, but especially in political movements in Cook county, for more than once has it been opposed by the entire Anglo-American press, and yet has carried the day.

In 1861, Mr. Wm. Rapp became editor of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*. In the same year, Mr. Lorenz Brentano bought out Mr. Hœffgen's interest, and assumed the editorial management. In the following year, Mr. Geo. Schneider sold his interest to Mr. A. C. Hesing. Messrs. Brentano and Hesing were associated together until 1867, when Mr. A. C. Hesing purchased Mr. Brentano's interest. In this year, Mr. Hermann Raster was engaged as chief editor, which position he fills to-day.

The great fire in 1871 claimed the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* as one of its victims. Its loss was total, yet it was among the first of the Chicago dailies to appear, and that, too, within 48 hours after the fire had ceased. Preparations were soon made for permanent quarters. On the tenth of March, 1873, the present imposing structure on the northeast corner of Washington and 5th Ave. was completed and occupied. The cost of the same, with machinery, presses, etc., amounted to nearly $300,000.

The *Illinois Staats Zeitung* of to-day is among the German-American newspapers second only to the *New York Staats Zeitung* in wealth and in circulation, while in ability, in power and in influence, it is not equalled, much less surpassed, by any German newspaper in the United States. The combined circulation of all the editions of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* amounts to over 55,000, being larger than that of any German newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains.

THE CHICAGO RIVER AND ITS BRIDGES.

The entire southern extremity of Lake Michigan is one continuous waste of drifting sands. At no place are to be found rugged shores where deep rivers empty the surplus floods of extensive water-sheds, but, on the contrary, the water-shed of the western shore of the southern portion of the lake is a narrow belt along its immediate margin. Except the Calumet, the Chicago River is its principal channel, and, small and insignificant as this stream is, it has a history, a mission and a destiny never equaled by any other small stream, except, perhaps, the river Thames, on whose bank the largest city in the world has been built. Fortunately the economic forces of nature gave a depth to the Chicago River sufficient to float large vessels, thus making it available for the commercial wants of a great city; and the peculiar features of this stream, with its two branches uniting into one from opposite directions, have imparted to it the substantial uses of an artificial canal, traversing the business portions of a large city, for the purpose of facilitating the transshipment of the cerials of the Northwest, as well as the other heavy materials of our commerce. So marked is the convenience of this natural channel for this purpose, that, perhaps it is not too much to say that had an artificial canal been built for the purposes for which the river is used, it could hardly have been planned to suit the convenience of trade better than nature has fashioned it for us; and here it should not be forgotten, that, owing to the diminutive water-shed of the river, a uniform height of surface is secured, with scarce two feet variation between high and low water, which condition greatly facilitates the transfer of grain, and perfects facilities for the elevator system, for which Chicago is famous.

As the city began to grow along the banks of this stream, something besides the birch bark canoe or the dugout was required for crossing it, especially as vehicles drawn by horses were coming into use, and, in 1832, Mark Beaubien, who was not fond of hard work, but was willing to sit at the receipt of custom in a ferry boat, and wait the long hours of the day to secure the fees of the occasional traveler across the river, established a ferry at the fork. The main landing was on the south side, from which passengers could be ferried over to either the North or West Side.

It was stipulated that residents of Cook County should be

passed free, and consequently Mr. Beaubien's fees came from strangers who were passing through the place or had taken up a temporary residence there. His ferry-boat consisted of a scow which he purchased of Mr. Samuel Miller for $65, and he gave bonds in the sum of $200 for the faithful performance of his duties, James Kinzie signing as his voucher. But any hopes of a permanent income from this ferry were soon frustrated; for the same year it was established (1832) a bridge was built across the north branch on Water street, and one across the south branch between Randolph and Lake streets, at which place it stood till 1840. The latter cost $486.20, the whole of which was raised by subscription, the Pottowattomies contributing $200 towards it, which proved them to be pioneers in Chicago thrift and improvement, besides being aborigines of the soil. The first bridge across the Main river was built at Dearborn street, the precise date of which cannot be ascertained, but it was probably in 1833. It was a bone of contention between the North and South Divisions, on what ground has not come within the knowledge of the writer, but it is certain that as a compromise the Council Board of the town caused it to be removed in 1835 and established it on Clark street, which official act, probably growing out of some ambitious private interests of property-holders in the early days, has made Clark, instead of Dearborn street, a great thoroughfare filled with stores for miles in extent. In 1847 Wells street bridge was built by private subscription, Walter L. Newbury being the principal contributor. The Randolph and Madison street bridges were built the same year, whether by private subscription or with the city funds is not known, as those early records of the city were destroyed in the great fire. The three last were floating bridges, swinging from a pivot on one shore by means of a leverage attached to a capstan, round which coiled the rope that drew the bridge open for vessels to pass and closed after them. These clumsy contrivances, however, were only to remain a few years. First the Clark street and next the Randolph street floats gave way to the late pivoted style of bridges, whirling from a pier in the centre of the river, and in 1857 the Madison street float also was substituted for an iron bridge on the late plan, the first of its kind built of this material introduced into Chicago.

These latter bridges were a great improvement on the old unwieldy structures, and only one more requirement was wanting to make them all that could be expected and that was to elevate them sufficiently above the water to admit the passage of canal boats and tugs, which requisition was in due time brought about as a pressing necessity, as will appear from the following:

HISTORY OF THE RIVER TUNNELS OF CHICAGO.

BY E. S. CHESBROUGH.

WASHINGTON STREET RIVER TUNNEL.

The first bridges across the Chicago River and its branches were floating structures, popularly known as "tub bridges," which, when closed, did not allow the passage of vessels of any size. The next kind were similar to the present, turning on their centers, but placed so low as scarcely to allow a canal-boat to pass under them, and had to be opened for every tug or larger vessel. As the commerce of the city increased, the crossing of the river was more and more frequently interrupted, but the rights of navigation being considered then paramount to all others on the river, vessels could not be detained at all by the bridges, no matter how great the inconvenience to land travel or transportation. At length, after a few bridges had been built more elevated above the water than the first, an ordinance was passed requiring the tugs to lower their chimneys in passing them when they had no vessel in tow. This ordinance met with great opposition from tug-masters at first, so that for a day or two they refused to tow any vessels in or out of the river. But soon this reasonable requirement was acquiesced in, and consequently much relief was afforded to the passage of vehicles across the river. Notwithstanding this relief, however, the views which then obtained with regard to the unlawfulness of detaining vessels at all at the bridges, and the constantly increasing demands of commerce—both on the water and the land—seemed to make it imperative that one or more tunnels, for the passage of vehicles, should be constructed under the river.

Among the earliest efforts for tunneling under the river was that of a company formed in 1853, at the head of which was Hon. Wm. B. Ogden. Messrs. Wm. Gooding, Ed. F. Tracy and Thos. C. Clarke proposed plans for the work; Mr. Clarke's was, for a structure principally of wrought iron, which it was understood the company thought most favorably of, but no decided steps toward the carrying out of any plan were taken at first. Afterwards the elevation of the bridges, and the ordinance with regard to the tugs, having afforded so much relief to land travel, it was seriously doubted if any company could obtain a sufficient revenue to justify the construction of a tunnel under the river. Between the spring of 1864 and that of 1866, various

projects were presented to the City Council, and most of them were referred to the Board of Public Works. A member of this Board, himself an engineer—Mr. J. J. Gindele—submitted a plan, which was referred to the City Engineer, with instructions to confer with other engineers on the subject, and report to the Board his views with regard to the best plan to be adopted. The City Engineer, after careful investigation of various projects, recommended a plan which was substantially Mr. Gindele's, adding to it a stronger roof and the sub-tunnel for safer drainage. The Board adopted this plan and proceeded to let the work, all necessary ordinances having been previously passed by the City Council, which had, after much discussion, fixed upon Washington Street for the site.

The plan of this structure includes open approaches at each end, two driveways and one footway under the river, and between the driveways and each open approach a large single archway or covered approach, which, together with the open approaches, are only for driveways. The footway out has entirely separate entrances, by means of a steep incline and stairway, near to and on each side of the river. The double arches under the river were adopted for safety, economy, and ease of grade. They are each 11 feet wide and 15 feet high,* with perpendicular sides. The upper arches have three centres, and the inverts are segments of 10 feet radius. The covered approach on each side of the river is contracted in the first, 40 feet from the double-arched driveway, from a width of 23½ feet, and height of 20½ feet, to 19½ feet width and 18 feet 10 inches in height, and continues so to the open approach. The footway is elevated under the middle of the river 5 feet above the driveway. It is 10 feet wide and 10 feet 10 inches high,† and otherwise shaped like the driveways. The thickness of the perpendicular wall or pier between the driveways is 2 feet; also that between the south driveway and the footway. The river section is 222 feet long. The upper arches, inverts, piers and facings of abutments are all of brick-work laid in cement. The backs of the abutments are of rubble, laid in cement. The foundations are all of concrete. The abutments under the river are 7 feet thick. The arches and inverts there are 22 inches thick. The spandrels of the upper arches are formed of rubble masonry, which is brought to a smooth upper surface, then coated with common lime mortar, and then covered with a coating of asphalt mastic, made according to rules observed by the United States engineers in covering casements. Over the mastic another layer of lime mortar, and

* Above invert, or 13 feet above pavement.
† Above invert, or 8 feet above plank walk.

then a flagging course of limestone 10 inches thick, was laid to prevent the dragging of anchors from injuring the masonry of the upper arches. This work was intended to be so strong that if a vessel loaded with iron should sink upon the tunnel, the structure would not give way.

The arches of the covered approaches each side of the river are 30 inches thick on the sides and 22 inches on top. The abutments of these arches are 7 feet 2 inches thick at their bottoms, and diminished by steps upwards to 6 feet 7 inches. The invert is 18 inches thick ordinarily, 22 inches under the widest part. The upper portion of these arches was covered with a coating of mastic, less costly and less carefully laid on than that under the river. The east covered approach is 310 feet long, and the west covered approach is 402 feet long.

At the joining of the river portion of the tunnel on each side with the covered approaches, solid stone dock walls were run up to 8 feet above low water, and placed on lines that had been previously established for a comprehensive plan of widening and straightening the Chicago River and its branches. The estimated cost of this much-needed widening and the difficulty of determining who should pay for it, have been so great as to prevent it from being carried out thus far, and the general desire for it seems to have diminished very much.

The retaining walls, on each side of the open approaches, vary in thickness at the base from $8\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 feet, and are everywhere on top 2 feet thick. Their faces are perpendicular and their backs are stepped up. The tops of these walls, and of the cross walls connecting them at the entrance to the covered approach, are covered with neat coping, which is surmounted by a strong iron railing. These walls are of neat coursed rubble masonry, laid in cement. The east open approach is 272 feet long, and the west 320 feet, the total length of masonry in the tunnel being 1,526 feet.

The roadway has a grade of 1 in 16 between Franklin Street and the commencement of the double driveway; then 1 in 42.86 to the centre of the river, the same between that and the commencement of the west covered approach, then 1 in 18.63 to Clinton street, the entire length being 1,608 feet. This roadway, thus far, has always been paved with wooden blocks, except a small portion, recently, under the river, where the blocks have been worn out in the ruts very rapidly, never keeping in order over two years after being laid.

The footway has a grade of 1 in 11.31 on the east side of the centre of the river to near the entrance house, where there is a level platform, then two flights of steps up to the surface on the

east side of Market street. The grade west of the centre of the river is 1 in 12.08, with an entrance house and flights of steps on the east side of Canal street, similar to those at the other end on Market street.*

The work was first let to contractors, whose inexperience led to a failure and re-letting. It was commenced the second time July 25, 1867, by Messrs. J. K. Lake, Chas. B. Farwell, and J. Clark. Mr. Clark afterwards withdrew, and was succeeded by Mr. A. A. McDonnell. A formal opening of the tunnel by the Hon. J. B. Rice, then Mayor, took place Jan. 1, 1869. The entire cost of the work to the city, including all preliminary expenses, up to Oct. 31, 1869, was $512,707.57.

Notwithstanding the pains and expense taken to make this work tight, it leaked considerably at first under the river, and in very cold weather became so blocked with ice as to be dangerous unless frequently cleared out. That leakage has very much diminished, and is not one-tenth as much now as at first. The leakage and frost affected the piers between the river arches so much as to make it necessary to renew portions of them about three years ago.

Actual experience in the use of this tunnel by the public shows that the passage of heavily loaded teams through it is very small. This is not surprising when it is remembered that the total ascent from under the river to Franklin or Clinton street is 40 feet, while the total ascent, with no steeper grades, to either the Randolph or Madison street bridge, is only 8 feet. While it is possible for horses drawing heavy loads to pass over the short ascent by making strong efforts, it is impossible for them to overcome the long ones without frequent stops; hence they prefer to wait a few, and generally but a very few, minutes for a bridge to close. For the passage of light vehicles, this tunnel is considerably used, but not nearly so much as was originally expected, except when repairs became necessary to the bridges, or stoppages of vessels occur. With regard to foot passengers, many use the tunnel, but compared with those who cross at the bridges, the number is very small. While navigation is closed

* There is, from the centre of the river section and under the north driveway, a sump or drainage tunnel 5 feet in diameter, leading to a pumping well on the east side of the river, where there is a steam engine and pump.

The pier between the driveways under the river has eleven openings, 3 feet wide, for the passage of policemen and workmen. Similar passageways were made through the pier between the south driveway and the footway, supposing they might sometimes be of great service to the police, in case of attempts at robbery or violence, which were apprehended by some, but these last mentioned passageways proved greater nuisances than benefits, and are practically closed. Robbery and violence, in the tunnel, occur no oftener, it is believed, than elsewhere.

in the winter, very little use is made of the tunnel, except by those who drive rapidly in light vehicles, and do not wish to be hindered by horse-cars at the bridges. The footway is sometimes preferred to the bridges in summer on account of its cool shade, and in winter because of its protection from freezing winds. The footway has to be lighted by day as well as by night. The driveways require much less artificial light by day than by night.

LASALLE STREET RIVER TUNNEL.

This structure is in most respects so similar to the one on Washington street, that only the differences will be mentioned. The total length from the beginning of the south open approach, a short distance north of Randolph street, to Michigan street, is 1,854 feet; the south open approach is 320 feet long, the south covered approach 510 feet, the river section 276 feet, the north covered approach 530 feet, and the north open approach 218 feet. The footway is 2 feet higher than that of the Washington street tunnel, which is a decided improvement. It is east of the driveways and has been utilized for the laying of the 36-inch water main, from the north pumping works, under the river. This main has been placed under the plank floor of the footway. This tunnel, as well as that on Washington street, has a great number of telegraph wires laid through it. The steepest grade in the driveways is 1 in 20, and in the footway 1 in 14⅔. In order to avoid a steeper grade than 1 in 20 on the north open approach, and yet not make this approach extend north of Michigan street, and at the same time not interfere with the grade of Kinzie street, it was necessary to construct under this street girder-work with flat brick arches.

The greatest difference between this and the Washington street tunnel is in the much freer use of asphalt, the two upper shells or courses of brick in the arches under the river being laid in it instead of in cement, with a most satisfactory result. On the faces of the abutments, under the river, where no asphalt was used, there is considerable moisture, but no dripping.

The entire original cost of this tunnel, including damages, was $566,276.48. The city was sued for damages to property by the south open approach, but the courts decided the city was not liable.*

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* The contractors were Messrs. Robert E. Moss, George Chambers and Archibald I. McBean.

Mr. Wm. Bryson, assistant of the City Engineer, had the immediate charge of this and the Washington Street river tunnel, and afterwards of the new lake tunnel and its extension westward.

HISTORY OF RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE.

Prominent among the early medical men of Chicago stands the name of Dr. Daniel Brainard. Closely associated with his name is that of the institution of which he was the founder—Rush Medical College. As early as the year 1836 he had conceived the idea of establishing in Chicago a medical college. He called to his assistance the late Dr. G. C. Goodhue, of Rockford, Ill., then a resident of Chicago. They succeeded in securing the passage of an Act of Incorporation by the Legislature at Vandalia, in 1836, which was approved by the Governor the 2nd of March, 1837. This was the first instrument of the kind issued to any educational institution in the State of Illinois, and Rush College was the first medical college established in the northwest.

Although the charter was obtained in 1837, on account of the years of speculation and bankruptcy following, no lectures were given until the year 1843. Two small rooms having been fitted up on Clark street, on December 4, 1843, a course of lectures was commenced by the faculty which had been organized that fall, consisting of four Professors—Drs. Brainard, Blaney, McLean and Knapp. The session continued sixteen weeks, and was attended by twenty-two students. At its close, William Butterfield, afterwards a resident of Chicago, received the only degree which was conferred.

During the summer of 1844 several liberal citizens of the North Side donated a lot, upon which was erected a building costing $3,500, which served as the house of the college until 1855, when the building was entirely remodeled and enlarged, at a cost of $15,000, so as to accommodate 250 students. At the same time that they had secured their new building in 1844 they also had made additions to the faculty, which were as follows: Daniel Brainard, M. D., Professor of Surgery; Austin Flint, M. D., Professor of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine; G. N. Fitch, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; J. V. Z. Blaney, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy; Jno. McLean, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; and W. B. Herrick, M. D., Professor of Anatomy. Of this faculty none are now identified with the college work. Drs. Brainard, Herrick, Blaney and McLean are deceased. Dr. Austin Flint is well known as an author and being connected with the Bellevue Hospital Medical College

of New York City. Dr. Fitch was afterwards U. S. Senator from Indiana. Dr. John Evans, who filled the chair of Professor of Obstetrics, left vacant by Dr. Fitch, was afterwards Governor of Colorado and is still a prominent citizen of that State.

As the years rolled by, they brought their changes, but with their changes were evidences of prosperity. As stated before, it was necessary to rebuild in order to accommodate the demands for more room and better facilities for teaching. The faculty had been enlarged. But in 1859 the question as to the advisability of establishing a graded course was raised. It had its advocates and opposers who zealously defended their views on the subject of medical education. The result was, several members of the then faculty seceded from the college, and organized what is now known as the Chicago Medical College. To fill the vacancies thus occurring, J. Adams Allen was elected to the chair of Principles and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; DeLaskie Miller to the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women; Ephraim Ingals, Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; Robert L. Rea, Professor of Anatomy, and A. S. Hudson, Professor of Physiology and Pathology, which chair was soon afterwards filled by Dr. J. W. Freer, in consequence of the resignation of Dr. Hudson.

Soon after the opening of the session of 1866-7, the Asiatic Cholera claimed as its victim Dr. Brainard, the founder of Rush. This saddening event caused several changes: Dr. J. V. Z. Blaney became President; Dr. Moses Gunn, an eminent Professor of Surgery and Clinical Surgery in the University of Michigan, was called to fill that vacant chair in Rush. Dr. Edwin Powell was appointed Professor of Military Surgery and Surgical Anatomy. Soon after, two new chairs were created, those of Clinical Medicine and Diseases of the Chest, filled by the appointment of Jos. P. Ross, A. M., M. D., and Diseases of the Eye and Ear, to which E. L. Holmes, A. M., M. D., an eminent Oculist of this city, was appointed.

In 1867 the continued and increasing prosperity of the college necessitated the erection of a new building on the vacant lot of the college. The new building was erected, containing two lecture rooms, each with a seating capacity of over seven hundred, spacious laboratory, chemical rooms, etc., constituting it, probably, the best arranged, if not the largest institution of the kind in this country. The old building was remodeled and used as an annex. The improvements cost $70,000, and with the apparatus, museum, (which had by this time become quite extensive,) library, cabinets, furniture and fixtures, could be scarcely estimated in money. But it all disappeared in a single night, October 9, 1871, the time of the great fire.

In 1871, Drs. H. M. Lyman and Jas. H. Etheridge were assigned respectively to the chairs of Chemistry and Pharmacy, Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence, made vacant by the resignation of Drs. Blainey and Ingals.

In 1872, the Spring course faculty was organized by competition examinations, or *concours*, which plan has succeeded admirably in filling the respective chairs with gentlemen of recognized skill and ability. The Spring course has become one of the most efficient means of teaching and is a feature which is attracting considerable attention and patronage, at the present writing there being 241 students attending the Spring lectures.

Immediately after the great fire, lectures were continued in the amphitheatre of the old County Hospital. At the close of the session in 1871, seventy-seven were graduated. A temporary structure was erected on the hospital grounds, afterwards known as the "Eighteenth Street Tabernacle," and here the instruction was given until the session of 1876–77. In 1875, the present college building, on the corner of Harrison and Wood streets, was commenced. The work was rapidly pushed forward, and on the 4th of October, 1876, the opening lecture of the 34th annual session was delivered in the new edifice.

This building stands nearly opposite the new Cook County Hospital and is second to no Medical College building in the country for massiveness, convenience and beauty of design. There are two lecture rooms with a seating capacity of over five hundred each. The chemical, anatomical and physiological laboratories are complete in all their details. At the time of the completion of this building, the faculty, as it stood, was the result of various changes. A vacancy occurred in the chair of Anatomy in the autumn of 1875, which was filled by the appointment of Chas. T. Parkes, M. D., an eminent anatomist. Prof. H. M. Lyman was assigned the chair of Diseases of the Brain and Nervous System, with Physiology. This left the chair of Chemistry and Pharmacy vacant. It was given to Walter S. Haines, M. D., who had attained the highest degree of success as a teacher in this department in a neighboring institution. Wm. H. Byford, A. M., M. D., who had once been a member of the Rush faculty, but for several years had lectured in a rival institution, in 1879 was tendered the chair of Professor of Gynæcology, which he accepted. Dr. Byford has attained a world-wide reputation. He is well known as an author, having the honor of being the first writer of modern times on the subjects pertinent to his department. The chairs of Orthopædic Surgery, and Dermatology and Venereal Diseases have, also, been established, John E.

Owens, M. D., being appointed to the former, J. Nevins Hyde, A. M., M. D., to the latter. The faculty is now as follows: J. Adams Allen, M. D., LL. D., President, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; DeLaskie Miller, Ph. D., M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Children; Moses Gunn, M. D., LL. D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Joseph P. Ross, A. M., M. D., Professor of Clinical Medicine and Diseases of the Chest; W. H. Byford, A. M., M. D., Professor of Gynæcology; Edward L. Holmes, A. M., M. D., Professor of Diseases of the Eye and Ear; Henry M. Lyman, A. M., M. D., Professor of Physiology and of Diseases of the Nervous System; James H. Etheridge, A. M., M. D., Secretary, Professor of Materia Medica and of Medical Jurisprudence; Charles T. Parkes, M. D., Professor of Anatomy; Walter S. Haines, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; J. Nevins Hyde, A. M., M. D., Professor of Skin and Venereal Diseases; John E. Owens, M. D., Professor of Orthopædic Surgery.

The old saw, "tall oaks from little acorns grow," is well exemplified in the history of Rush College. From her humble beginning she has grown to be one of the foremost medical schools in the country. The session of 1880–81 will be the thirty-eighth annual session, up to which time there have been about thirteen thousand matriculates, and the alumni list contains the names of two thousand one hundred and thirty-six medical men, who rank high in the profession, many having become eminent. During the session of 1877–8 there were in attendance 383 students and a class of 101 graduates; in 1878–9 there were 364 students and 122 graduates; in 1879–80, 471 students and 144 graduates. The clinical advantages are surpassed by few colleges in this or any other country. The new Cook County Hospital is nearly opposite the college building. It was erected at a cost of nearly half a million of dollars, and is one of the most perfectly arranged hospitals in the country. Over 2,000 patients are treated here yearly. A large number of important surgical operations are here performed, while in the rear of the hospital is the Mortuary, where the post-mortem examinations are held, affording a good field forpathological study. The Central Free Dispensary is located in the college building and affords abundant material for clinical study. Nearly ten thousand patients are treated here yearly. Besides these there are other clinical advantages which afford excellent opportunities for general, or special, study, but we have not space to speak of them all. Joseph P. Ross.

THE CHICAGO HOMŒOPATHIC COLLEGE.

BY J. S. MITCHELL, M. D.

When a movement to raise the grade of medical education in the United States was successfully inaugurated by eastern colleges, there was a strong feeling that the West should not be behind in this much needed reform. The Eastern homœopathic colleges occupied a proud position as leaders in this matter.

Certain Chicago physicians of our school were strongly of the opinion that in this city a college could be maintained which would afford to students a higher medical education. At this juncture, ten members of the faculty of the Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago, firmly persuaded that while connected with that college their views could not be carried out, resigned their positions on its faculty. After a thorough canvass of the subject, these gentlemen decided to found a new institution. They were J. S. Mitchell, M. D.; Charles Adams, M. D.; E. M. Hale, M. D.; W. Danforth, M. D.; E. H. Pratt, M. D.; L. Pratt, M. D.; J. R. Kippax, M. D.; Rodney Welsh, M. D.; Albert Beebe, M. D.; W. H. Woodyatt, M. D., who were joined by Professors George E. Shipman, A. M., M. D.; H. P. Gatchell, A. M., M. D.; R. N. Foster, A. M., M. D.; S. P. Hedges, A. M., M. D., ex-professors in Hahnemann Medical College; also by R. N. Tooker, M. D.; John W. Streeter, M. D.; and A. W. Woodward, M. D.

These gentlemen elected as a Board of Counsellors:—Amos T. Hall, Esq.; J. D. Harvey, Esq.; Judge Henry Booth, L.L. D.; O. W. Potter, Esq.; Henry Strong, Esq.; Hon. W. C. Goudy; Edson Keith, Esq.; Hon. J. Russell Jones; Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows, D. D.; Marvin Hughitt, Esq.; C. C. Bonney, L.L. D.; Hon. S. Corning Judd.

A series of preliminary meetings were held at the office of Drs. Woodyat and Beebe, 90 Washington street, which resulted in sending to Springfield an application for organization under an act of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, relating to universities, colleges, academies, and other institutions of learning.

The Chicago Homœopathic College was chartered June 23, 1876, as a result of this application.

The trustees selected for the first year of its existence were: Rodney Welch, A.M., M. D., J. S. Mitchell, M. D., A. G. Beebe, M. D., W. H. Woodyatt, M. D., Willis Danforth, M. D., R. N.

Foster, M. D., S. P. Hedges, M. D., R. N. Tooker, M. D., E. H. Pratt, M. D., Charles Adams, M. D., E. M. Hale, M. D., J. R. Kippax, M. D. They were given power to furnish instruction in the science and art of medicine, surgery, and all collateral branches, and to found hospitals and dispensaries. After being thus incorporated, the college was organized by the selection of the following faculty, who were medical teachers of ripe experience, most of them having occupied, as above stated, for years, similar positions in the Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago. The active members of the faculty were: J. S. Mitchell, A. M., M. D., Professor of Clinical Medicine and Diseases of the Throat and Chest; S. P. Hedges, M. D., Professor of Institutes and Practice of Medicine; Albert G. Beebe, A. M., M. D., Charles Adams, M. D., Professors of Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Willis Danforth, M. D., Professor of Gynecological Surgery; John W. Streeter, M. D., Professor of Diseases of Women and Children; R. N. Foster, A. M., M. D., Professor of Obstetrics; W. H. Woodyatt, M. D., Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology; E. M. Hale, M. D., A. W. Woodward, M. D., Professors of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; E. H. Pratt, A. M., M. D., Professor of Anatomy: John R. Kippax, LL. B., M. D., Professor of Dermatology and Medical Jurisprudence; R. N. Tooker, M. D., Professor of Physiology; Romyn Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; N. B. Delamater, M. D., Special Lecturer on Electro-Therapeutics and Provings.

George E. Shipman, A. M., M. D., an author and lecturer of wide repute, was made Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica; H. P. Gatchell, A. M., M. D., well known throughout the United States for his scientific labors, was made Emeritus Professor of Physiology and Hygiene; Rodney Welch, A. M., M. D., long a Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology, was made Emeritus Professor of these branches; and Leonard Pratt, M. D., an experienced lecturer on Special Pathology and Diagnosis, was made Emeritus Professor in that department.

The officers elected the first year were as follows:—President, J. S. Mitchell, A. M., M. D.; Secretary and Treasurer, Charles Adams, M. D.; Business Manager, Albert G. Beebe, A. M., M. D.

A commodious and centrally located building, formerly occupied by the Chicago Academy of Design, was secured for a long term of years.

The first session opened October 4, 1876, and terminated March 7, 1877. The introductory address was delivered by Pres. J. S. Mitchell. The main lecture room of the college was adorned with paintings and floral decorations, and presented an

attractive appearance. It was crowded with a brilliant audience. Forty-five students matriculated.

Realizing the paramount value of clinical instruction, the faculty organized, simultaneously with the college, the Central Homœopathic Free Dispensary. It was conducted with such spirit that by the opening of the first session it afforded the largest general clinics in the west, in our school.

By division into sub-classes, by lengthening the course of instruction, by special methods of quizzing and recitation—in fine, by substituting for the old plan of simply lecturing before the students, a systematic method of teaching, the aim of its faculty to establish a higher grade of education was met.

At the close of the first session, sixteen candidates received the degree of Dr. of Medicine and Surgery.

The second session opened under still more favorable auspices, there being 107 matriculants and 28 graduates. Prof. Hitchcock, having accepted the editorship of a scientific journal in the East, resigned his position, which was filled by Dr. A. L. Marcy of Evanston, Ill. Dr. L. C. Grosvenor was elected Adjunct Professor of Theory and Practice.

The marked success of the second session induced the faculty in the third annual announcement to offer a scheme for an actual practical two and three years graded course. The students were divided into junior, middle and senior classes. Classes were divided into sub-classes for clinical instruction. There were this year 31 graduates and 111 matriculants.

During the third year, Dr. Clifford Mitchell, a graduate of Harvard University, was made lecturer upon Chemistry, and Mrs. Julia Holmes Smith, M. D., one of the first graduates of the institution, was elected lecturer upon the Diseases of Women and Children, thus removing all sex disability in teaching, as had before been done in attendance. Dr. N. B. Delamater was appointed clinical lecturer on Mental and Nervous Diseases and Dr. F. H. Newman lecturer on Pharmacology.

In the fourth year, a microscopical laboratory was founded with twelve first-class instruments and appurtenances. The college building was enlarged, remodeled and refitted to accommodate the growing classes and to furnish better facilities for instruction. A large, well lighted and ventilated dissecting room was built, which furnished ample opportunity for the study of Practical Anatomy.

Death has only once invaded the ranks of the faculty. W. H. Woodyatt, Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology, died January 31, 1880, during the regular session of the college.

He was one of the founders of the college, and a very earnest,

scientific worker. His loss was keenly felt by his co-laborers. The trustees were very fortunate in securing, to fill the vacant position, Dr. J. H. Buffum, late resident aural and ophthalmic surgeon of the New York Ophthalmic Hospital, who now occupies the position with marked ability.

The college is now entering upon the fifth year of its existence under most favorable auspices. The ability of its faculty, its high aims in matters of medical education, and its signal success conspire to place in honored rank among the educational institutions of Illinois, the Chicago Homœopathic College. The faculty and officers for 1880 are as follows:

Officers of the College:—President, J. S. Mitchell, A. M., M. D.; Secretary, Charles Adams, M. D.; Treasurer, J. H. Buffum, M. D.; Business Manager, N. B. Delamater, M. D.

Faculty and Trustees:—George E. Shipman, A. M., M. D., Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica; H. P. Gatchell, A. M., M. D., Emeritus Professor of Physiology and Hygiene; Leonard Pratt, M. D., Emeritus Professor of Special Pathology and Diagnosis; J. S. Mitchell, A. M., M. D., Professor of Institutes and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Albert G. Beebe, A. M., M. D., Charles Adams, M. D., Professors of Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Willis Danforth, M. D., Professor of Gynæcological Surgery; John W. Streeter, M. D., Clinical Professor of Diseases of Women; R. N. Foster, A. M., M. D., Professor of Obstetrics; J. H. Buffum, M. D., Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology; E. M. Hale, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; A. W. Woodward, M. D., Professor of Analytical and Comparative Materia Medica; E. H. Pratt, A. M., M. D., Professor of Anatomy; John R. Kippax, L. L. B., M. D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence; R. N. Tooker, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Diseases of Children; Clifford Mitchell, A. B., M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; N. B. Delamater, M. D., Clinical Lecturer on Mental and Nervous Diseases; Julia Holmes Smith, M. D., Lecturer on Diseases of Women; C. F. Bassett, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Physiology; F. H. Newman, M. D., Lecturer on Pharmacology; C. G. Fuller, Demonstrator of Histology and Microscopy.

HAHNEMANN MEDICAL COLLEGE AND HOSPITAL, OF CHICAGO.

BY A. E. SMALL, M. D.

This institution was chartered in January, 1855, by an act of incorporation from the legislature of Illinois, with ten Trustees, viz: D. S. Smith, M. D., George E. Shipman, M. D., Hon. Norman B. Judd, J. H. Dunham, Esq., Hon. Thomas Hoyne, Hon. Van H. Higgins, J. B. Doggett, Esq., Orrington Lunt, Esq., and George A. Gibbs, Esq. Dr. D. S. Smith was instrumental in securing the act of incorporation and the first to start the enterprise.

Early in the summer of 1859, a meeting was called of the physicians of the Homœopathic School in Chicago, to consider the propriety of organizing the college for active operation, by the appointment of a faculty and such other officers as were designated in the charter.

The following gentlemen were nominated for professors, and their names were submitted to the Board of Trustees for their approval:

For President of the Faculty, and ex-officio President of the Board of Trustees, D. S. Smith, M. D.; for Secretary and Treasurer, George E. Shipman, M. D.; A. E. Small, M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine; George E. Shipman, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; H. K. W. Boardman, M. D., Professor of Surgery; J. L. Kellogg, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics; Reuben Ludlam, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Pathology; N. F. Cook, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; G. D. Beebe, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

Upon receiving notice of their appointment by the trustees, the members of the faculty met and organized by choosing A. E. Small, M. D., Dean, and Reuben Ludlam, M. D., Registrar. It was voted at this meeting to issue the first annual announcement for a fall and winter course of lectures, to be given in suitable lecture rooms, 168 South Clark street, and that a dispensary connected with the college be opened immediately for dispensing medicine gratuitously to the poor. The first course embraced a period of twenty weeks; the class numbered twenty-five, eleven of whom, who had attended lectures previously in other institutions, received the doctorate at a public commencement, held Feb. 14, 1860.

The second annual announcement was issued for the second course of instruction which was given to thirty-five students, eleven of whom were candidates for the doctorate, having complied with the necessary conditions and requirements. There was an increase in the third annual term of six students, the class numbered forty matriculants, but owing to the disturbed condition of the country, and the demand for medical men from the faculty, the fourth annual course was given to thirty students; six of these received the doctorate. From this time, each annual course of lectures was attended by a gradual increase of numbers in the class, until 1869, when the faculty was reorganized. A new college edifice was erected on Cottage Grove avenue in 1870, and suitable hospital buildings were erected the same year; since that time, with the exception of a thorough reorganization of the faculty in 1876, rendered necessary by the demand for a higher standard of medical education, there has been an uninterrupted peace and harmony in the faculty, and a prosperity before unknown. The class of 1868–69 numbered 197 matriculants; that of 1879–80, 205 matriculants.

The present faculty consists of the following members: A. E. Small, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine; R. Ludlam, M. D., Professor of Medical and Surgical Diseases of Women, Obstetrics and Clinical Midwifery; Temple S. Hoyne, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics and Clinical Lectures on Venereal Skin Diseases; George A. Hall, M. D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Harlan P. Cole, M. D., Professor of General and Surgical Anatomy and Minor Surgery; W. J. Hawkes, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Clinical Medicine; C. H. Vilas, M. D., Professor of Diseases of the Eye and Ear; C. Gilbert Wheeler, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology. With auxiliary corps of the following: S. Leavitt, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Obstetrics and Clinical Midwifery; H. B. Fellows, M. D., Professor of the Physiology and Pathology of the Nervous System; C. E. Laning, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Physiology and Demonstrator of Anatomy; E. S. Bailey, M. D., Microscopist of the Hahnemann Hospital. The present officers of the faculty are A. E. Small, M. D., President; R. Ludlam, M. D., Dean; C. H. Vilas, M. D., Business Manager; T. S. Hoyne, M. D., Registrar and Treasurer.

In conjunction with the college, and owned and controlled by the same corporation, though under separate management, is the Hahnemann Hospital, the only homœopathic hospital in the Northwest. It is a large stone and brick structure, with an amphitheatre for utilizing the attending free patients for the clinical in-

struction of medical students. Every day in the week, except Sunday, a free clinic for the treatment of the deserving poor is held, all forms of non-contagious medical and surgical diseases being treated before the medical class. Private rooms are furnished those who desire to enjoy the benefits of the hospital, but not gratuitously.

A dispensary for out-patients is also in daily operation; and the number availing themselves of this charity large and constantly increasing.

THE CHICAGO NURSERY AND HALF ORPHAN ASYLUM.

BY MRS. W. C. GOUDY.

In 1859, two or three benevolent ladies residing in the North Division of Chicago undertook to take care of the little children of destitute and widowed mothers, to enable them to earn something by daily labor. A room was obtained and an attendant employed, while supplies were furnished from the homes of the ladies. This was the origin of the Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum.

On the 15th of February, 1865, the legislature of Illinois passed a special act, by which a corporation was organized. The charter declares:

"The object of this corporation shall be the care and maintenance of the children of poor women, for the purpose of enabling the mothers to find employment; also, the care and maintenance of such children as are deprived, by death or otherwise, of the protection or support of either parent; also, the care and maintenance of such children as shall, by agreement of their parents or guardians, be placed in charge of this institution, together with the exclusive direction or education of all of the children aforesaid, whilst they shall remain in charge of this institution."

Officers, managers and matrons were appointed. The enterprise assumed larger proportions. From the temporary relief of the mothers during the day, a regular home was established. The management has relied entirely on voluntary contributions obtained by personal effort. The plan has been successful. In time, a building with a large yard at the corner of Wisconsin and Franklin streets was rented, which was occupied until the little ones were driven out by the great fire of 1871. A benevolent gentlemen donated the ground, and others money, so that the present building, No. 175 Burling street, was erected. It was

near completion at the time of the fire, and fortunately escaped destruction.

Since that time, the family has averaged over one hundred. Many have received a good education in the day and Sabbath schools of the asylum. The parents have been relieved and enabled to establish new homes for their children. The lady managers have secured places for many whose parents have abandoned them, or been unable to provide for them.

The asylum has no endowment, and only a small sum invested on interest. It still relies on the voluntary efforts of the management, and the support of the charitable, with the hope that God may move charitable hearts to provide a permanent fund to maintain the enterprise.

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Mrs. W. C. Goudy, President; Mrs. H. L. High, Recording Secretary; Mrs. C. G. Carleton, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. E. S. Chesbrough, Treasurer; Mrs. Samuel Howe, Vice-President; Mrs. J. P. Chapin, Vice-President.

Mrs. A. Keith, Mrs. C. W. Andrews, Mrs. C. H. Mulliken, Mrs. G. M. High, Mrs. L. J. McCormick, Mrs. W. G. Powers, Mrs. L. P. Halsey, Mrs. H. J. Berry, Mrs. J. S. Washburne, Mrs. M. C. Dean, Mrs. A. M. Colton, Mrs. L. Hallock, Mrs. L. G. Fairbank, Mrs. J. T. Noyes, Mrs. J. D. Webster, Mrs. Frank Douglas, Mrs. Odell, Mrs. Thayer, Mrs. Max Hjortsberg, Mrs. James G. Goodwillie, Mrs. Henry W. Raymond, Mrs. Charles Gregory, Mrs. V. C. Turner, Mrs. M. A. Williams, Mrs. M. McDowell, Mrs. Dr. Tooker, Mrs. C. B. Nelson, Mrs. L. Z. Leiter, Miss Nelly Warren, Miss Johnston, Mrs. S. B. Chase, Mrs. C. O. Waters, Mrs. Felix, Mrs. Frank Beckwith, Mrs. Frank Eastman, Mrs. C. S. Millard.

Mrs. M. J. Porter, Matron; Miss E. Blanche Freeman, Teacher.

Honorary Managers.—Mrs. C. Tillinghast, Mrs. O. H. Horton, Mrs. W. D. Houghtelling, Mrs. H. Reynolds.

LIST OF COMMITTEES, 1879.

Executive Committee.—Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Chapin, Mrs. Carleton, Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Mulliken, Mrs. Goudy, Mrs. Chesbrough, Mrs. H. High, Mrs. Leiter, Mrs. Nelson.

Supply Committee.—Mrs. Hjortsberg, Mrs. Waters, Mrs. Beckwith.

Purchasing and Sewing Committee.—Mrs. Chapin, Mrs. Mulliken, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Chase.

Bedding Committee.—Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Washburne, Mrs. Berry, Mrs. Hallock.

Fuel Committee.—Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Keith.

School Committee.—Mrs. Nelson, Mrs. Leiter, Mrs. Gregory, Mrs. G. High, Mrs. Colton.

Auditing Committee.—Mrs. Keith, Mrs. Eastman, Mrs. Dean, Mrs. Powers.

Repair Committee.—Mrs. Halsey, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Andrews.

Amusement Committee.—Mrs. Tooker, Mrs. Carleton, Mrs. Hjortsberg, Mrs. Gregory, Mrs. Fairbank, Mrs. Beckwith, Miss Johnston, Mrs. G. High, Mrs. Raymond, Mrs. Goodwillie, Mrs. Eastman, Mrs. Douglass, Miss Warren.

Committee on Delinquents.—Mrs. Hallock, Mrs. Chase. Mrs. Washburne.

West Side Investigating Committee.—Mrs. Douglass, Mrs. Dean, Mrs. Powers.

North Side Investigating Committee.—Mrs. Hjortsberg, Mrs. Colton, Mrs. Felix.

South Side Investigating Committee.—Mrs. Washburne, Mrs. Hallock.

Sanitary Committee.—Mrs. Chase, Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Tooker, Mrs. McDowell.

Nursery Committee.—Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Berry, Mrs. Andrews.

BENNETT MEDICAL COLLEGE.

BY A. L. CLARK, M. D.

During the spring and summer of 1868, arrangements were perfected for the establishment of an Eclectic Medical College in the city of Chicago, in accordance with which the first course of lectures of The Bennett College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery was inaugurated on the 2d day of November, 1868, rooms for that purpose having been secured in a building on the north side of Kinzie, between La Salle street and Fifth avenue.

The names of the faculty were: Robert A. Gunn, M. D., Professor of Surgery; H. K. Whitford, M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice; H. D. Garrison, M. D., Professor of Chemistry; A. L. Clark, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women; John Forman, M. D., Professor of Anatomy; Hayes C. French, M. D., Professor of Physiology, and J. F. Cook, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica.

Thirty students were enrolled and in attendance, of whom ten were at the close of the session honored with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. During the winter of 1868–69, the legislature

granted a charter to L. S. Major, W. D. Atchison, H. C. French, H. D. Garrison, Wm. M. Dale, H. K. Whitford, A. L. Brown, John Forman, M. R. Teegarden, R. A. Gunn, A. L. Clark and J. F. Cook, "and their successors, constituting them a body politic and corporate by the name of 'The Bennett College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery.'"

L. S. Major, M. D., was chosen president of the board of trustees, and more desirable rooms were obtained for the second course of lectures at No. 180 East Washington street, where the Winter course of 1871 had just been commenced when the great fire of that year laid the building and its contents in ruins. The lectures were interrupted but for one week, and soon after the building known as No. 461 South Clark street was purchased by the corporation, and occupied until the close of the winter session of 1874–5.

This building having been found too small for the increasing classes, it was decided in the fall of 1874 to sell it and purchase the lots upon which the present college edifice is located, at Nos. 511 and 513 State street. Work upon a building 40x70 feet, four stories with basement, was immediately commenced, and at its completion in the spring of 1875 the college at once took possession. Ample accommodations were thus afforded for 250 students.

In 1877, to facilitate the study of clinical medicine, it was decided to erect in the rear of the college a hospital building with facilities for the treatment of thirty to thirty-five patients. In this manner all the major and minor operations in surgery were made easily accessible to the students.

With the exception of one or two sessions, female and male students have been admitted upon equal terms, and of the 349 graduates, including the class of 1879, thirteen were ladies. In residence, the graduates represent twenty-five different states.

The daily course of instruction consists of five didactic lectures of one hour each, besides one hour and a half devoted to clinical instruction. The lecture term commences on or about the first day of October, and continues six calendar months; the number of teachers or professors is fourteen.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE.—MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILL.

This institution, located at the corner of Prairie avenue and Twenty-sixth street, in the city of Chicago, was organized in March, 1859, under the auspices of the trustees and charter of the Lind University of Chicago, and consequently took the name of the "Medical Department of the Lind University." It continued to be known by this title until the spring of 1864, when by mutual agreement between the faculty of the medical department and the trustees of the University, the former became a separate institution, incorporated under the general incorporation law of the State, and adopted the name of "Chicago Medical College." In 1869 it was adopted by the trustees of the Northwestern University as the medical department of that institution, since which time its proper name has been the "Chicago Medical College—Medical Department of the Northwestern University."

The real founders of the College were: Drs. H. A. Johnson, N. S. Davis, W. H. Byford, E. Andrews, R. N. Isham, and David Rutter; the trustees of the Lind University giving to these parties full authority not only to name the members of the first Faculty, but also to adopt such a curriculum of studies, plan of organization and method of teaching as they might deem best for the interests of the profession and of the public. It was the opportunity thus afforded to organize a medical college with a longer annual lecture term and a graded system of instruction, by which the education of the student should be made more systematic and complete, that induced Drs. Davis and Byford to resign two of the best chairs in the Rush Medical College, for the purpose of aiding in the establishment of the new school. In accordance with these views, the school was first organized with thirteen professorships, including one of clinical medicine and of clinical surgery, the whole divided into two series: one called junior, embracing the more elementary branches, and the other called senior, embracing the more practical, with a corresponding division of the class of students in attendance. Applicants for admission were required to have a thorough knowledge of the common English branches of education; they were required to study medicine three years; attend at least two courses of lectures of not less than five months each, and at least one term of hospital clinical instruction.

The first course of instruction in the college was commenced in October, 1859, to a class of thirty students, and from that time to the present the regular annual courses of instruction have been continued without interruption, and have been accompanied by a steadily increasing patronage and influence. In 1868 the faculty regarded the institution so securely established that, although standing entirely alone in this country in maintaining a graded system of medical instruction, they completed their original design by further dividing the curriculum of studies into three series corresponding to the three years of medical study required. All students attending the college during the first year of their medical study were required to attend the junior series, embracing Descriptive Anatomy, Physiology and Histology, Materia Medica, General Chemistry, with dissections and practical work in the microscopic and chemical laboratories, and to be examined on these branches at the end of the college term. Those attending during the second year of their studies were required to give the same attention to the second or middle series, embracing General Pathology and Pathological Anatomy, Organic Chemistry and Toxicology, General Therapeutics, Surgical Anatomy, Orthopœdic Surgery, Psycological Medicine, Medical Jurisprudence and Hygiene, with hospital attendance.

Those attending the third year gave their attention to the senior series, embracing the Principles and Practice of Medicine, Principles and Practice of Surgery, Obstetrics and Diseases of Children, Gynecology, Ophthalmology and Otology, with Hospital Clinical Instruction in all the practical departments. The college term made obligatory upon the student was extended to six months, with a supplementary optional term of three months in the spring and summer. Compliance with the graded system was made obligatory upon the student from the first organization of the school, and students making application for admission to advanced standing on account of having already completed one or two years of their medical studies, were required to sustain a satisfactory examination on the branches taught in the years they proposed to pass by. The addition of the third course in the series caused a falling off in the aggregate attendance of students from 113 in 1868, to 72 in 1870. This, however, was soon regained, and the school has since had a remarkably steady growth in its patronage, influence and general reputation. Its standard of preliminary education has been increased for admission; its appliances for practical instruction in the Chemical, Physiological and Microscopic laboratories have been increased; it has one of the best museums of comparative anatomy and pathological preparations, and means for class instruction, that can be found

in the country, while its close connection with the Mercy Hospital and the South Side Free Dispensary, afford it the most complete system of clinical instruction in all practical departments.

The present college building was erected in 1870, and is admirably arranged for affording all the accommodations required by such an institution. Although standing alone as the representative of a systematic and graded course of medical instruction in this country for more than a decade of years, yet its founders and their present colleagues have the gratification of knowing that its organization and system of instruction have been fully approved by the profession generally, and the same have been more recently adopted by several of the oldest and most influential medical colleges in this country. The present officers of the Faculty are: N. S. Davis, M. D., L. L. D., Dean, and J. H. Hollister, M. D., Corresponding Secretary and Registrar.

HISTORY OF THE WOMANS' MEDICAL COLLEGE FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO 1880.

BY PROF. EARLE.

In 1852, even before the Chicago Medical College was organized, and ten years prior to the first course of lectures in this institution, Emily Blackwell attended one course of lectures at Rush Medical College. She was denied entrance to a second course, and finally graduated at a Cleveland institution. The reasons for the change I am unable to state, and a letter which I addressed her in regard to the subject has not been answered. This much, however, is known: The Illinois State Medical Society, saturated with the then prevailing prejudices against female medical education, censured the College for admitting women to its instruction. How different the spectacle of to-day. This society, among the most prominent and influential of the State societies, not only admits women to its membership, but assigns her positions on its most important standing committees. A few years later, two female practitioners, educated at the East, located in this city for a short time, but, so far as I am aware, no students received instruction or asked for it in their office.

At about the same time, Dr. Mary H. Thompson came to practice among us, and shortly afterward, mainly indebted to the generous assistance of Dr. Dyas and his public spirited wife, established a hospital for women and children. This soon became

the rendezvous for the women of the West, who, being denied access to any regular college in their region, found in the clinical advantages of the hospital, their nearest approximation to an institution for medical instruction. Applications were continually made by women for the advantages of an education in some regular medical school. Of the applicants, some went to the East for benefits they could not find here, while many others, discouraged on the threshold of the profession, abandoned its study. In 1866, and again in 1868, women formally knocked at the doors of Rush College. After considerable delay, and some discussion on the inside of the house, the knock was answered, and the callers politely informed that for them the college "was not at home." The following year they rang the bell of the Chicago Medical College. Fortunately for them, Dr. Byford came to the door. He invited them to walk in and be seated. They remained through the session of 1869. They were four in number. Others who would have come with them, had they known of the kindly welcome given, had already gone to an Eastern college. But, although the relations of the gentlemen and ladies as students had always been dignified and respectful, the male members of the class at the close of the college year sent to the Faculty a formal protest against the admission of their fair visitors, claiming that certain clinical material was not as ready in coming forward, and that certain facts and observations of value were omitted from the lectures in the presence of a mixed class. The experiment of the co-education of the sexes in all the branches of medical and surgical science being deemed of doubtful utility under these circumstances, the protest was sustained, and the ladies who had caused it to be made were left without the opportunity to finish the education so well begun. Immediately a correspondence sprung up between Prof. Byford and Dr. Mary H. Thompson, in regard to the founding of a new college for the exclusive education of women. A Faculty composed largely of the physicians who had previously consented to act as consulting physicians to the hospital for women and children, was organized. A Board of Trustees, composed of ladies and gentlemen friendly to female education, embracing a large number of prominent citizens, especially among the clergy, were selected. The first regular course of lectures was delivered in the building occupied by the hospital referred to, at 402 North State street. The session was in every aspect a greater success than even the most sanguine friends of the movement had dared to hope. To provide suitable accommodations for a larger class at the commencement of the second term, rooms were fitted up at Nos. 1 and 3 North Clark street, and every arrangement perfected for

the comfort and convenience of students. On the 3rd of October, 1871, the session opened with the most flattering promises of success. In less than a week came the great Chicago fire; the Woman's Hospital Medical College and all its material possessions, like the prophet of old, went up in a chariot of fire. The class was scattered and the Hospital, which had provided the means of clinical instruction, existed only in name. Of the Faculty, more than three-fourths of their number had lost their offices, their libraries, their instruments and their homes. The patrons of all had been scattered to the four quarters of the city, if not of the globe. But they had founded the school, not to obtain money, not to gain a higher position or more extensive practice for themselves, and not to win fame, but in the love of their profession and to establish a principle. Moreover, they were citizens of that city whose undismayed energy and undaunted courage in the face of obstacles and disasters, has fairly won and received the admiration of the world, and while the smoke still floated in clouds over the city, and the ashes were hot in the cellars, on the 10th day of October, these men formally convened and decided that the enterprise should go on.

Notice of this decision was given to the scattered students, and the lectures were resumed at No. 341 West Adams street, but the Hospital had been re-established at 598 on the same street, and thither the college was soon moved. This session might indeed be appropriately called the transition period of this institution. Announced to commence at 402 North State Street, organized at Nos. 2 and 3 North Clark, marched, without elaborate preparation and with baggage burned to facilitate transportation, to 341 West Adams Street, it was finished at still another place. But the college had successfully survived each transplantation. Its life and growth were assured. Its roots had struck down deep until they had reached a nourishing soil.

In the winter of 1872, in consideration of certain medical and surgical services to be rendered from year to year, the Chicago Relief and Aid Society donated to the Hospital for Women and Children the sum of $25,000. With this money the Hospital, purchasing a large lot with a building well suited for the accommodation of its patients, established itself on the corner of West Adams and Paulina streets. On the rear of this lot, and well below the grade of the street, was a small barn, the use of which was kindly and gratuitously granted to the Faculty of the College. Three thousand dollars, judiciously expended, converted the building from an indifferent stable into a comfortable and moderately convenient Woman's Medical College, though we should be unwilling to admit that the richness of that soil would

fully account for its present beautiful accomplishment. On the first floor we had a good-sized lecture room, a Faculty room, a library, and museum (three rooms in one), while the second floor afforded moderate accommodation for dissections. Here five full courses of lectures were delivered. While we do not deny that during these seven years of wanderings our accommodations have been scant and our means of illustration inadequate, we claim that our classes have been intelligent and uniformly composed of good material; and that of our graduates many have already become settled in an honorable and lucrative practice, and others, attaining positions of special honor in the profession, have won reputation for themselves and brought credit upon our institution by their success as teachers and authors in the medical guild.

The new College Building, erected three years since, is admirably adapted to the wants of the institution. It is commodious, well lighted, and well ventilated, and is supplied with every convenience for teaching. It is two and one-half stories high, with a basement, containing two lecture rooms, capable of seating one hundred and fifty students; laboratory, museum, dissecting room, microscopical cabinet, parlor, etc., etc.

During the session of 1879 and '80 seventy students were in attendance and a class of ten was graduated.

THE PRESENT FACULTY.

Wm. H. Byford, A. M., M. D., President, Professor of Obstetrics; T. Davis Fitch, M. D., Professor of Gynæcology; Chas. Warrington Earle, M. D., Treas., Professor of Diseases of Children and Adjunct to Chair of Practice; Isaac N. Danforth, M. D., Professor of Pathology and Diseases of the Kidneys; John E. Owens, M. D., Professor of Surgery; Henry M. Lyman, A. M., M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine; Daniel R. Brower, M. D., Secretary, Professor of Mental and Nervous Diseases and Medical Jurisprudence; Sarah Hackett Stevenson, M. D., Corresponding Secretary, Adjunct Professor of Obstetrics; David W. Graham, A. M., M. D., Professor of Anatomy; Plym. S. Hayes, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; Wm. J. Maynard, A. M., M. D., Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics and Dermatology; Wm. T. Montgomery, M. D., Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology; E. Fletcher Ingals, A. M., M. D., Clinical Professor of Diseases of the Chest and Throat; F. L. Wadsworth, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Histology; John O. Hobbs, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy; Marie J. Mergler, M. D., Lecturer on Materia Medica.

CHICAGO HARBOR.

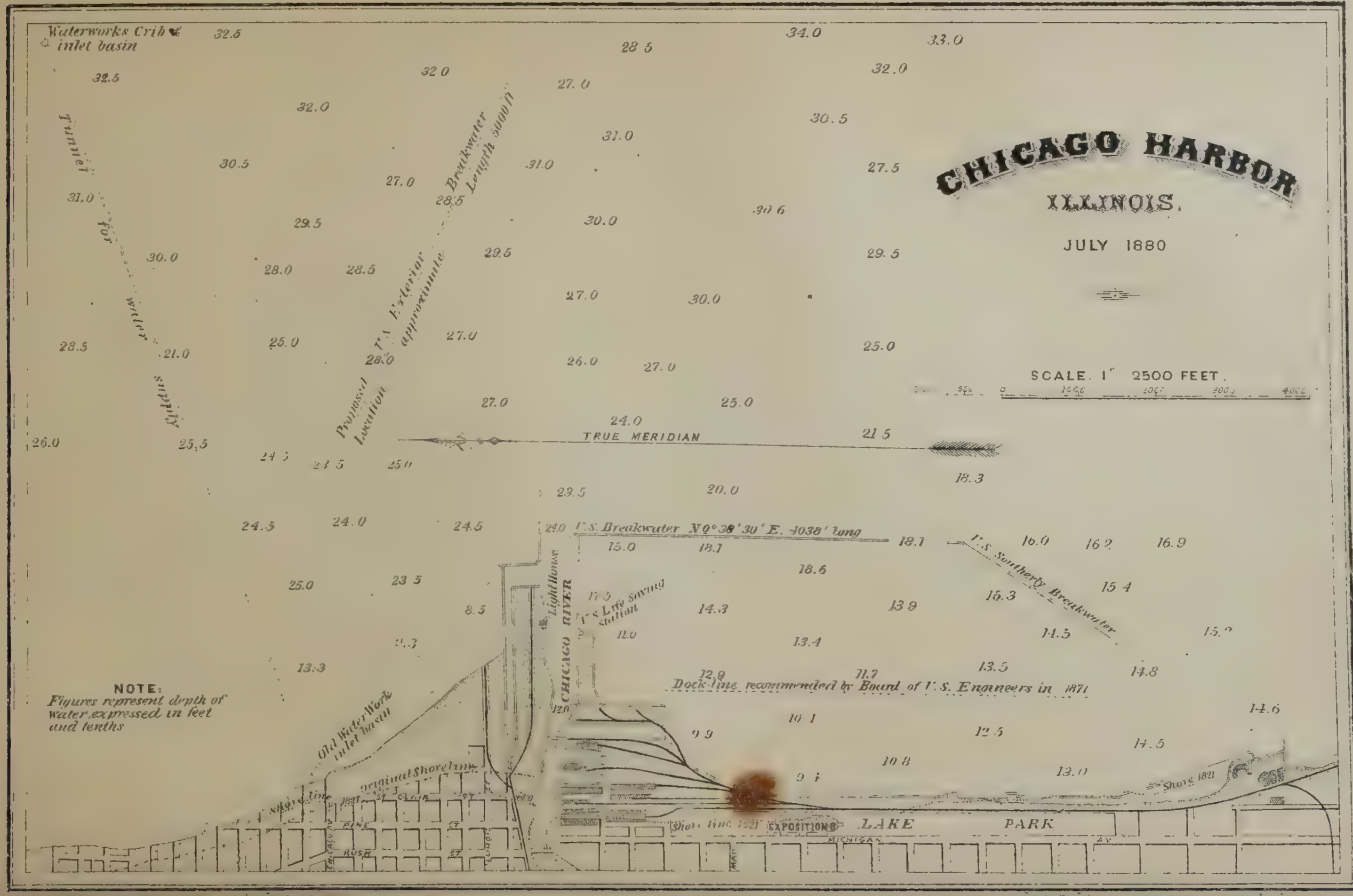
CHICAGO ILL., June 21, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD.
Wheaton, Ill.

Dear Sir: I take great pleasure in submitting, in accordance with your request, the following statement of work done by the U. S. Government for improving the harbor at Chicago; it would be more accurate to say for making a harbor, as none existed until the natural condition of affairs was modified. An idea of what this condition was may be derived from a glance at the plate fronting page 264, Part III of your book; there we see that the Chicago River, making an abrupt bend to the south, breaks through the sandspit some distance south of the site of the old fort. It must not be supposed that this was a permanent outlet, nor that it constituted a reliable channel of communication between the lake and river. It was simply a break through the sandspit, in which the depth of water seldom exceeded two feet, and which was frequently entirely blockaded with sand.

The act of Congress approved March 2nd, 1833, appropriated the sum of $25,000 for improving the "harbor at Chicago, on Lake Michigan;" and then was begun that series of works which has given to Chicago the fine harbor facilities indicated on the sketch transmitted herewith.

The first step was to make a direct cut from the bend in the river, to the lake; a revetment was placed on the north side of the cut, and the north pier was projected into the lake for a distance of about 1,000 feet; the object of this pier was to catch and hold back the sand, which, moving south along the lake shore under the influence of the littoral current, would soon have closed the outlet, and left matters as bad as before. While the construction of the north pier was in progress, the cut was widened to 200 feet, and riveted on the south side. In this way a reliable entrance to the river was secured at an early date. It would be neither interesting nor instructive to follow, step by step, the progress of this system of improvement, and I will simply state that the work consisted in a gradual extension of the piers, and some necessary dredging between them, until the year 1869, before any movement was made to obtain increased harbor facilities, beyond those furnished by the river. At this time the end


CHICAGO HARBOR
ILLINOIS.
JULY 1880
SCALE. 1" 2500 FEET.
TRUE MERIDIAN
Waterworks Crib & inlet basin
Tunnel
Breakwater Length 3000 ft
Proposed Ext. approximate
Proposed Location
Tides
U.S. Breakwater N 0° 38' 30" E. 4038' long
U.S. Southerly Breakwater
Light House
CHICAGO RIVER
U.S. Life Saving Station
Old Water Works inlet basin
Original Shore Line
Dock-line recommended by Board of U.S. Engineers in 1871
Shore line 1821
EXPOSITIONS
LAKE
PARK
MICHIGAN AV.
NOTE.
Figures represent depth of water expressed in feet and tenths

of the north pier was 1,100 feet lakeward of the shore line of 1869, —the shore line itself having advanced, by natural accretions due to the littoral current before referred to, through a distance of 2,000 feet; the area of these accretions was about 75 acres; the south pier was about 1,600 feet shorter than the north pier; the total extent of pier work and revetment made by the U. S. from 1833 to 1870 aggregated about 6,000 feet.

In the meantime, the commerce of Chicago had increased to such proportions, as to show clearly that something must be done to relieve the river from its crowded condition. Accordingly we find that Major J. B. Wheeler, the U. S. Engineer in charge of the works, reported to the Chief of Engineers, in a letter dated Nov. 30, 1869, "that the Chicago river is taxed to its utmost, to accommodate the present condition of affairs, and that it is utterly inadequate to meet the wants of commerce rapidly growing." To obtain the desired relief, he recommended that a portion of the lake be inclosed in such a manner as to form an outer harbor; to this end he proposed to construct a breakwater extending southerly, from the entrance between the piers, for a distance of 4,000 feet, and from the south end of this structure, a closing pier, 3,400 feet long to the shore at the foot of Van Buren St.; the enclosed area was then to be dredged to a sufficient depth for vessels to lie at anchor. This plan having been approved, work was commenced on the main breakwater in 1870, and completed in 1875. The depth of water in which it was built, varies from 20 to 22 feet; it is built of cribs 30 feet wide solidly filled with stone; its superstructure extends to 6 feet above the water surface. During the time that work on this structure was in progress, the south pier was extended 600 feet and a "return" 300 feet long, added to the north end of the breakwater; in 1876, the north pier was extended 600 feet Thus the total extent of crib-work for piers and breakwater, built from 1870 to 1876 inclusive, was 5,500 lineal feet.

There was no money available for doing much work in the year following, but when the appropriation for 1878 became available, it was applied, in part, to dredging a channel 500 feet wide to a depth of 16½ feet, through the outer harbor, the amount of excavation being about 100,000 cubic yards. In November, 1878, Captain G. J. Lydecker, the U. S. engineer in charge, submitted a project for modifying and extending the facilities furnished by Wheeler's plan; the principal features of this modified plan, which was approved, were the substitution of a detached breakwater for the southerly or closing pier, proposed by Major Wheeler, and the construction of an exterior breakwater, located to the northward and eastward of the north pier, to cover a good

anchorage ground in deep water, and provide in this way a harbor of refuge. The construction of the southerly breakwater was commenced in June, 1879, and completed to its full extent, 3,000 feet, early in the summer of 1880.

The total expenditure by the U. S. Government, for this harbor, from 1833 to July, 1880, is $1,108,005. The work has all been planned and executed under the direction of officers detailed from the Corps of Engineers U. S. Army; it includes the construction of about 14,500 lineal feet of piers and breakwater, and an indefinite amount of dredging. The benefits derived therefrom may be summarized as follows: In 1833 there was no reliable channel connecting the lake and river, whereas now there is a straight entrance between the piers, with a channel depth of 15 feet. The breakwaters already built shelter an area of 450 acres, which was formerly in the open lake, and will permit the construction of wharves along the lake front as far as 12th Street, which, supposing one at the foot of each street, would provide an aggregate length of dock line of at least 32,000 feet, and these docks will be in direct communication with the railway system of the city.

When the work already authorized is completed, the outer harbor will have a uniform depth of 16½ feet, and the exterior breakwater will provide an excellent harbor of refuge, which vessels can reach with ease during the severest storms, and from which the outer harbor and river will be readily accessible. For carrying on this work, Congress has this year appropriated the sum of $145,000.

In addition to the works described above for the improvement of the harbor, the Government has also built and maintained at Chicago one lighthouse, three beacons, and one life-saving station.

Very respectfully,

G. J. Lydecker,
Major of Engineers U. S. A.

THE CHICAGO RELIEF AND AID SOCIETY

By E. B. McCagg.

The Chicago Relief and Aid Society was incorporated February 16, 1857, its objects, as declared in its charter, being to provide a permanent, efficient and practical mode of administering and distributing the private charities of the city of Chicago; to examine and establish the necessary means for obtaining full and

reliable information of the condition and needs of the poor of the city; and to put into practical and efficient operation the best system of relieving and preventing want and pauperism therein. It is required by its charter to make a report once a year to the City Council of its doings, with a statement of its receipts and expenses, verified under oath, and also to report such information as it may have acquired concerning the condition and wants of the poor of the city. It is managed by a Board of Directors, selected from prominent business and professional men of the city, who give it personal attention, and attempt, in a philosophical manner, to so administer charity as not to injure, or to do the least injury possible, to the recipient and to society. Understanding well that pauperism is dangerous to touch and cannot be left alone, they are endeavoring to deal with it in a prudent, rational and discerning manner and to discourage all indiscriminate giving without investigation.

It has been their effort, not to take the place of that kindly sympathy which leads us to help our suffering neighbor whose wants are assuredly known, nor the considerate and delicate solicitude of religious or other benevolent fraternities for those immediately within their own jurisdiction and charge, but outside of these to aid the general public in this branch of its duties with system, and by an organization so complete that if the whole community would work through it, that portion of the charitable work of the city within its province would be done with method, and none duplicated. The Society is supported wholly by voluntary contributions, and administers its charity in the way which in each case seems most advisable.

It owns the building in which its offices and rooms are established, and has been in successful operation for over twenty years.

The whole theory of its management is that charity is not a matter of feeling, but judgment; as was tersely stated by a writer in one of our magazines not long since, that "each case must be examined, put on trial, and disposed of on its merits;" that general information must be had, from time to time, of the number of unemployed persons in the city, and of the demand for labor, and particular information of the character and antecedents of each applicant, and of the reasons why aid is needed; that a discrimination must be made between those who are helpless from misfortune and those whose misery arises from their own default, and that to aid the willingly idle man or woman, or any one who can help himself, is in the highest degree hurtful to the person aided and to society at large. Its more immediate duty has been to extend aid to that class of worthy and industrious

poor who, by reason of sickness, accident, loss of employment or of property have fallen temporarily behind, and to rescue them from the danger of permanent pauperism by timely assistance; to extend a helping hand to widows with dependent children, to aged and infirm people partly able to help themselves and to single women when work suddenly ceases, and above all, to so do its work that the public may at all times have at its door an efficient agent to distribute its charities, and, as far as may be, to prevent the injurious and wasteful results of indiscriminate giving.

It employs paid and experienced visitors, under the immediate direction of a qualified and able superintendent; it makes careful inquiry into and keeps a record of each case, discriminating in favor of those in whom habits of temperance and industry give promise of benefit from the aid furnished, not embracing in the sphere of its operations such as are the proper subjects for the poor-house or the action of the county officers; and so accurate is this record, and so methodical the manner in which it is kept, that actual experience proves that, for some years past, out of every hundred applications the Superintendent has been able to give the antecedents of at least seventy-five of the applicants. It is a record of the meritorious poor of the city, and of a very large number of those whose applications should be denied. It has now on this record the names of over fifty thousand persons, and the special facts affecting each case.

Its value as an organization was tested by the wide-spread destitution and want caused by the great fire of 1871. Possessing the confidence of the public, the city authorities turned over to it, for management and distribution, the contributions of money and property so freely sent at that time to aid the suffering people of this city, and it speedily brought order, method and direct and perfect supervision to the enormous burthen thus thrown upon it. Economy was sought in every way. After the first few days, in which relief was necessarily indiscriminate, systematic and reasonably assured efforts were made to defeat imposition ; to search out and aid needy sufferers ; to withhold encouragement to idleness, and to guard against extravagant or injudicious distribution. Beside the distribution of the articles of property that came under its control, it has disbursed of this fund over $5,000,000 in money and the magnitude of its operations is evidenced by a summary of its work, or part of it, for the first eighteen months after the fire. In this period it aided 39,242 families, numbering 156,968 persons, and it distributed during the same period 50,000 tons of coal, 16,449 bedsteads, 28,961 mattresses, 77,645 blankets, 10,855 comfortables, 15,429

stoves., 77,000 pairs of shoes, 137,994 pieces of men's clothing, 165,000 pieces of women's clothing, and 107,000 pieces of children's clothing, and fuel, food and furniture in proportion. Carpenters, masons, tinners, book-binders, locksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and workmen in almost every branch of mechanical industry were supplied with tools; machinery of various kinds was furnished; surgeons, dentists and engineers were provided with instruments of their respective callings; sewing women were aided in obtaining sewing machines, 2,353 of these being paid for in full, and 2,065 in part, by the society; 9,000 houses were built and furnished, and over $600,000 was distributed among the various charitable institutions, that had been either burned or seriously crippled—the resources of their patrons having been cut off; and money was granted in various amounts to aid applicants in the re-establishment of such business or mechanical employment as seemed to afford a sufficiently assured prospect of yielding a support to them and their families. Some waste was, in the beginning, inevitable. The task was immense—not only the aged, the sick, the infirm, children and women, but men, weary, hungry, houseless, cold and in despair, were suddenly thrown upon the hands of the Society. The city was speedily districted, registration was resorted to at the outset, a complete staff was organized, visitors were employed, inspectors were appointed, relief stations were established, a full report was required daily from each district, and the several Superintendents met the Executive Committee daily to make or hear suggestions, to answer criticisms, to report progress, and suggest improvements, if possible, in the working machinery. A general inspector made frequent examinations, and a committee of complaints was always ready to hear complaints, and, if well founded, to apply the remedy. The endeavor was to reduce to the smallest possible percentage injudicious or unnecessary relief, and to extend aid to all who were justly entitled to it.

For the fiscal year of 1878 it expended $45,620, and aided a small fraction over 1,600 families, containing in the aggregate over 13,700 men, women and children. Of these families 1,045, or about two-thirds, received aid only once; 310 twice; 150 three times, so that but a few over one hundred were aided more than three times; and for the fiscal year of 1879 it expended $35,193.48, and aided a somewhat larger number of families, containing 18,584 persons. Of these families 1,003 received aid but once, 365 twice, and 160 three times.

This, however, shows but a small part of its work. It cares for the sick, buries the dead, aids needy persons seeking employment to obtain it, and carefully and fully investigates, in the course

of each year, hundreds of applications for aid which it refuses, because examination proves them unworthy.

It grew out of the belief on the part of a number of gentlemen of the city, who had given time, thought, and active aid to out door relief, through voluntary and only *quasi* definite organizations, that the means adopted were inefficient and for many reasons unsatisfactory; and an experience of twenty and more years has fully justified the conclusion they reached that this kind of charity should be administered as a merchant does his business, with system, under proper checks and balances, and by keeping a record of each application for aid and of the facts developed by the examination made into the condition, character and circumstance of the applicants.

THE CHICAGO FIRE DEPARTMENT.

PREPARED BY THE EDITOR OF "*The Western Fireman.*"

The first authentic record of any organization in Chicago for protection from fire is a notice, the original of which is still in existence from the secretary (J. J. Gillupy) of the "Washington Volunteer Fire Company" to one of its members for a called meeting, and dated Jan. 8, 1833.

In August of that year Chicago was incorporated as a *Town*, and in November, Benj. Jones appointed "Fire Warden." In September, 1834, an ordinance was adopted by the town board of trustees by which the town was divided into four wards, and fire wardens for each appointed as follows: 1st Ward, Wm. Worthington; 2d Ward, Ed. E. Hunter; 3d Ward, Samuel Resique; 4th Ward, James Kinzie. These wardens were charged with the duty of enforcing the fire ordinance previously passed, and of directing in their respective wards the operations of the men who responded to the alarm of fire. On Oct. 7, 1835, an appropriation for the purchase of some primitive fire apparatus was made, at which time Hiram Hugunin, the president of the town board of trustees was elected chief of the embryotic fire department. On the same date (Oct. 7, 1835), the "Pioneer Hook & Ladder Co." was organized by the principal citizens.

On the 4th of November following, the town board adopted a lengthy ordinance creating a fire department, with chief engineer, two assistants, four fire wardens (in addition to the town trustees, who were *ex officio* fire wardens) and "such fire engine men, hose men, hook and ladder men, and axe and saw men as may from time to time be appointed by the board of trustees." Stringent rules governing the companies which were organized,

or might organize, were adopted, and the refusal of any citizen to obey the orders of the chief or his assistants or any of the fire wardens in case of fire was punishable with a fine of five dollars.

On Dec. 12, 1835, the first engine company, called "The Fire King," was organized. The first officers were S. G. Trowbridge, foreman; Alvin Calhoun, assistant foreman; A. D. Hamilton, secretary; H. G. Loomis, treasurer, and Ira Kimberly, steward. About this time Chicago's first fire engine was purchased, $894.38 having previously been appropriated for the purpose, payable in two annual installments. Soon after an engine house was built, located in the public square on LaSalle street. In Feb. 1836, Hiram Hugunin who had acted as chief engineer for about six months, resigned, and Geo. W. Snow was appointed to the position, which he held for one year, and was succeeded by John M. Turner, foreman of Hook and Ladder Co., No. 1. On the 11th of December, 1837, the second engine company was organized as the "Tradesman's," but soon afterwards changed to "Metamora," No. 2. For convenience, we append, in tabular form, the record of the organization of the various companies composing the fire department until the present paid system displaced the old volunteer organization:

ENGINE COMPANIES.

Name.	*When Organized.*	*First Foreman.*
Fire King	Dec. 12, 1835	S. G. Trowbridge.
Metamora	Dec. 11, 1837	———
Niagara	Nov., 1844	Geo. F. Foster.
Red Jacket	Nov., 1846	F. T. Sherman.
Excelsior	" "	A. S. Sherman.
Garden City	Aug., 1849	Chas. Morton.
Lawrence	Sept., 1850	Matthew Conley.
Waubansia	Dec., 1851	Frank Hathaway.
New England	Feb., 1854	W. B. Bateham.
Washington	Jan., 1855	John Shanks.
Wide Awake	Jan., 1856	Geo. Ross.
Neptune	Feb., 1856	H. Beebe.
Red Rover	Jan , 1857	T. E. Courtney.
Torrent	March, 1857	John M. Lambin.
Northern Liberty	Dec., 1858	Conrad Folz.

HOSE COMPANIES.

Philadelphia	Jan., 1845	J. B. Johnson.
Hope	Oct., 1850	S. O. Eames.
Lone Star	Dec., 1851	L. Meyer.
La Fayette	Sept., 1855	M. W. Powell.
Liberty	Dec., 1856	Jno. B. Dickey.
Lady Washington	Jan., 1857	John R. Clark.

HOOK AND LADDER COMPANIES.

Pioneer	Oct. 7, 1835	———
Rescue	Nov., 1855	L. Warwick.
Empire	March, 1857	A. Reary.

The following is a correct list of the various chiefs of the volunteer fire department, together with their terms of service: Hiram Hugunin, 1835, six months; Geo. W. Snow, 1836, one year; Jno. M. Turner, 1837, one year; Alexander Lloyd, 1838, one year; Calvin Calhoun, 1839, one year; Luther Nichols, 1840, one year; A. S. Sherman, 1841–2, two years; Stephen F. Gale, 1843–6, three years; C. E. Peck, 1847–8, two years; Ashley Gilbert, 1849, one year; C. P. Bradley, 1850–1, two years; U. P. Harris, 1852–3, two years; Jas. M. Donnelly, 1854, one year; Silas McBride, 1855–6, two years; Dennis J. Swenie, 1858–9, two years.

Very soon after the great Water and Lake street fires in October, 1857, the question of having steam fire engines and a paid department began to be agitated, and in February, 1858, the first steamer was purchased and named "The Long John." In December of the same year a full company was commissioned by the city authorities, to be regularly paid for their services. Gradually additions were made under the paid system, several of the old companies reorganizing under the new order of things, but not until the latter part of 1859 were the last of the volunteer organizations disbanded, and the change made complete.

Various improvements were introduced into the department, new companies organized and equipped, the Fire Alarm Telegraph introduced (in 1865), and the department rendered very efficient under the successive management of Chief Engineers D. J. Swenie, U. P. Harris and Robert A. Williams, down to 1870–1, at which time the department consisted of seventeen engine companies of nine men each, three hook-and-ladder companies, six hose companies and one hose elevator, the available working force being upwards of 200 men. Of the great fire of 1871, we need not speak here, as it is treated elsewhere in these pages. Among the results of the fire, however, as affecting the Fire department, were a more careful organization and stricter discipline of the force, an increased water supply and the extension of the fire limits in 1872, within which the erection of frame buildings was forbidden. This ordinance was amended in 1874, making the fire limits, with the above restrictions as to character of buildings, co-extensive with the limits of the city proper.

The chiefs of the paid department have been—D. J. Swenie, 1859; U. P. Harris, 1859—1868; R. A. Williams, 1868—1873; M. Benner, 1873—1879, succeeded by the present incumbent, D. J. Swenie (1880). In 1875, the Board of Fire Commissioners was abolished and the fire department placed under the direct control of a fire marshal, responsible to the Mayor and Common Council of the city.

The statistics of the Chicago fire department on the 1st of January, 1880, were as follows: Engines, twenty-nine; chemical engines, four; hook-and-ladder companies, eight; with a total, including officers, of 356 men. The value of all the property owned by the department was $965,822.92, of which $477,817.92 was for apparatus, $281,800 for buildings, and $206,205 for real estate.

THE GERMAN SOCIETY OF CHICAGO.

BY MAX EBERHARDT.

Nihil est naturae hominis accommodatius quam beneficentia.

The German Society of Chicago (Deutsche Gesellschaft von Chicago, Illinois) was established in the month of May, 1854, under the name of Society for the Protection and Aid of German Immigrants (Huelfs-Verein fuer Deutsche Einwanderer), and owed its origin to the fact that both the vast increase and the growing importance of German immigration to this country called for some means of protection to those immigrants who were ignorant of our language and the peculiar conditions of this country, and who, on that account, might easily be taken advantage of by the dishonest and unscrupulous in our community. Its first president was George Bormann, and its secretary, George Hillgaertner, who was then and afterwards so favorably known as being, among the editorial representatives of the German press of this country, one of the most earnest advocates of republican institutions. The society numbered 250 members during the first year of its existence, and was soon recognized by all the leading German citizens of Chicago as one of the most efficient benevolent institutions in the West.

The author of the little work, "A History of Chicago," which was published in the same year, points with pride to the establishment of the German Society of Chicago, and, in defining its noble object, says: "This society has, as its name indicates, undertaken to assist immigrants in all cases where they need advice and support; especially, through its agent, to give them information as to proper opportunities to embark in business or agricultural pursuits; to assist them in obtaining employment, and in case they seek the protection of the courts against loss of property or injury to person caused by railway, steamboat, or express companies; to furnish the sick and invalid with proper care and medical treatment; and, in general, to exercise, for the benefit of im-

migrants, a certain control over all means of transportation whereby the rights and interests of immigrants are so largely affected."

In 1868 the society was re-incorporated, and its name changed to the present one.

The great fire which affected the prosperity of nearly every German in the city, and the commercial panics which followed, were agencies which could not but seriously interfere with the benevolent work of the German Society, but which were powerless in deadening its inherent vitality, and thwarting its native tendency to be a real benefactor to those in need and distress. At that most distressing time when our great but then panic-stricken city lay a helpless prey to one of the most destructive elements of nature, the German Society, through its officers, exercised a most praiseworthy influence on the management of the general relief work which lightened the sufferings of those thousands of our people who had lost their homes, and the greater part, if not all, of their wealth and prosperity.

Under careful and judicious management the German Society extended, during the years subsequent to the great fire, its benevolent work by giving aid and assistance, not only to immigrants, but to all resident Germans who were either poor or in temporary distress. Encouraged by the noble example set by Mr. George Schneider, for a number of years known as the efficient President of the National Bank of Illinois, to whose untiring efforts and disinterested zeal a great deal of the good work is due which has been accomplished by the German Society, a large number of our German citizens have enlisted in that work.

The annual reports of the Society, always replete with interesting facts and just observations bearing on the subject of immigration and general relief work, have been the means whereby the Society has become known, not only in our own country, but also in Germany, as one of the leading institutions of its kind; and it is but just to observe here that the fact that there are various bills now pending in Congress for the protection of immigrants by the General Government, is due to the action the German Society took in first calling the attention of leading Congressmen to this important matter.

The presiding officers of the German Society since its establishment—a period now extending over twenty-five years—were the following: George Bormann, Albert Borcherdt, G. H. Claussenius, Charles Rietz, George Schneider, Adolph Schoeninger, and latterly, again, for five successive terms, Mr. George Schneider, whose name we have already mentioned in giving a brief account of our society in these pages.

ERRING WOMAN'S REFUGE.

BY MRS. J. W. MILLS.

This institution has for its object, according to its charter, "the relief and protection, care and reformation of such erring women as may voluntarily place themselves under its care, or may be so placed by their parents or guardians, or by any municipal corporation, or otherwise according to law."

Until the year 1863, no special provision had been made by Protestants, for these outcasts from society and human sympathy. Then, as now, "palaces of sin," and "dens of infamy" stood on every hand with open doors to lure the weak, the depraved, the ignorant, the innocent. But for a repentant wanderer from the paths of virtue there was in all the wide city no home where she could claim of right, protection and aid by which she might struggle back to a life of purity. This state of things so pressed upon the hearts of a few Christian women that in February, 1863, they resolved, in the face of every discouragement, to begin the too long neglected work. Perchance it was not too late, even then, to follow the example of Him who came to "seek and save the lost." In October of the same year a permanent society was organized, constitution adopted and officers elected. Mrs. W. W. Everts, President; Mrs. E. S. Wadsworth, Vice-President; Mrs. J. W. Dean, Secretary; Mrs. W. H. Clarke, Treasurer. Also a Board of Managers, consisting of ladies from each Protestant denomination of the city. (But one of the original forty Managers remains on the Board—Mrs. S. F. Norcross, who has been President since the death of Mrs. Everts, in October, 1866.)

Let no one imagine it was an easy task these women had undertaken; public opinion was against them; even the few who wished them God-speed had little faith in the work, but they had counted the cost and knew no such word as failure. The question of ways and means, financially, was a serious one under such circumstances; meet it they must, at the very outset, for shelter and food and fuel and clothing, even for outcasts, are not "without money and without price." Surely they needed a faith akin to that which could remove mountains! The first home the Managers were able to provide for those who claimed their care was a little cottage in the North Division. A few months later they removed to a somewhat larger house in the South Division.

Two years from the beginning of the enterprise—May 1, 1865—the family, consisting of Matron and ten or more inmates, took possession of a commodious building situated on the corner of Indiana Ave. and 31st St.; lot, 150 by 135 feet; house, 50 feet square; valuation, $10,500. This property the managers, after due deliberation, had decided to purchase. Their appeals for aid met a generous response, $7,000 being raised in a short time. By legislative act the same year, they became a corporate body under their present name. Tuthill King, Esq., made the first donation for the endowment of the institution in 1864—land one hundred feet square on the corner of Lake and Peoria Sts. Soon after Wm. B. Ogden gave $5,000 in railroad bonds for the same purpose. Tuthill King, Esq., James K. Burtis and Richard S. Thomas were then elected Trustees by the board. The necessity of solicitation for current expenses was obviated, in 1869, by an act of the General Assembly, dividing certain city fines between the "House of the Good Shepherd" and the Refuge (these fines have been only partially paid to the Refuge for some years).

From the time of removal to the new home the managers felt that this charity rested on a solid foundation, and prosecuted their work with renewed zeal. For ten years it steadily increased until it outgrew the capacity of the house. The demand for more room and greater conveniences, especially in the way of work rooms, hospital and nursery, became imperative. Wise counsel was taken resulting in a decision to build on the south half of the same lot. The winter of 1876 saw the completion of the present spacious and admirably constructed building. The will of the late Johnathan Burr bequeathed property amounting to twenty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-one dollars ($21,261) to the Refuge as an endowment fund. By this bequest the beginning and consummation of this enterprise was made possible. The finances were so skillfully and faithfully managed by the Trustees, that this result was obtained without infringing on the wishes of the testator in regard to the fund. From the founding of this charity to the present time, the aim of the Managers has been to make it a *Christian Home.* Recognizing the necessity of a changed heart to bring about a changed life, they have striven to throw around the inmates every influence that can renovate, purify, and exalt. Knowing, too, that it is worse than folly to send them out into the world again without established habits of industry, they have used every means in their power to have them become proficient in some pursuit by which they can honorably maintain themselves.

The industries of the house, under the supervision of the matrons, keep all hands busy during the day, and, it is hoped,

will in time make the institution largely self-supporting. The evenings are devoted to school, recreation, and religious services. On Sabbath there is a sermon or Bible reading in the chapel by minister or layman, and Bible-class in the evening. It is impossible, and perhaps unnecessary, to enter into details in such an article as this. The work accomplished through the instrumentality of the Refuge, is not to be told in *words* or measured in *time*. Only a brief statement of facts is here attempted. Since the small beginning in 1863, nearly eleven hundred girls and women, the majority under twenty years of age, have been under its care. Of these many are to-day living useful and happy lives; some have died in full assurance of a blessed immortality; some are still fighting the battle between their evil natures and an awakened conscience. Of many others it must be said: Alas! there seems to be no hope.

Thus for seventeen years have the managers toiled on, often finding themselves weary and faint-hearted, for the inherent difficulties of the work are great. The outside world—even the Christian world, in this year of grace, 1880—has too little sympathy and too little faith in their endeavors to give them much cheer. Meantime, the evil with which they are contending keeps pace with the marvelous growth of this fair city. They *dare* not take one step backward; they *must* press onward, for the words of the Master are ever ringing in their ears: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

WATER SUPPLY FOR CHICAGO.

TAKEN FROM COLBERT'S HISTORY OF CHICAGO.

To supply the people of this fast growing city with water of sufficient purity and in ample quantity, was a long vexed problem. In the days of the village and town the needed supply was drawn directly from the river, then unpoluted by the sewerage of a city, or taken from the lake. The latter was the principal source of supply after the township organization, when one of the citizens, whose name is not preserved, found it profitable to peddle water round the streets at so much per bucket full. In 1836, the year before the incorporation of the city, the State Legislature passed a law incorporating the "Chicago Hydraulic Company." The incorporators named in the bill were James H. Campbell, Gholsen Kercheval, R. A. Kinzie, R. J. Hamilton, H. G. Hubbard, David Hunter, Peter Cohen, E. W. Casey, G. S. Hubbard, G. W. Dole, J. H. Kinzie, William Forsythe, and Solomon Wells. The capital stock was limited to

$250,000. The water carts had it all their own way, however, for four years longer. Owing to the financial difficulties following the panic of 1837 the company was not formed till 1839. It commenced operations in 1840. The company built a reservoir at the corner of Lake street and Michigan avenue, on the ground now occupied by the Adams House, about twenty-five feet square and eight feet deep, elevated about eighty feet above the surface of the ground, and erected a pump, connecting it by an iron pipe with the Lake, laid on a crib work pier, running into the lake about one hundred and fifty feet. This pump was worked by a steam engine of *twenty-five horse power.* The water was distributed to the citizens through logs bored at the "works," five inches for the main lines and three inches for the subordinate ones. In 1842 James Long entered into arrangements with the Hydraulic Company to do all the pumping for the supply of the city with water for ten years, without cost to the company, for and in consideration of the free use of the surplus power of their twenty-five horse engine. In a letter read at the formal opening of the lake tunnel, Mr. Long thus refers to the difficulties of the primitive situation: "In winter the pipes on the pier would be disarranged by the heaving of the frost, and I had frequently to spend hours at a time to caulk up the joints by throwing on water and thus freezing up the cracks before we could make the pump available. When the end of this pipe from the pier was first put down it was three or four feet below the surface of the lake, but in 1842–3 the lake had receded so far as frequently to leave the end out of water, particularly when the wind blew from the south." But it was soon found that a large extension was needed. Long before the above named contract had expired the twenty-five horse power engine had become too small even without doing the extra work expected of it.

On the 15th day of February, 1851, an act passed by the Legislature was approved by the executive of the State, giving existence to the Chicago City Hydraulic Company, and John B. Turner, A. S. Sherman, and H. G. Loomis, were appointed to constitute the first Board of Water Commissioners. They entered on the duties of their office on the 16th day of June following. Ten days later the Board employed William J. McAlpine, an engineer of considerable reputation in those days, to make the necessary surveys for the works, and to report, with plans, for the purpose of enabling the Commissioners to carry the act into execution. On the 24th day of October he submitted a plan which was subsequently adopted. It was based on the estimate that at the expiration of fifteen years the popula-

tion of the city would be one hundred thousand souls. This calculation was thought, by very many, to be an extravagant one; but at the end of the time mentioned, October, 1866, the population was more than double that amount. The estimated cost of the works was about $335,500. The annual expense of running them was estimated at $18,000.

In April and August, 1852, two loans were effected with Messrs. Duncan, Sherman & Co., of New York, bonds being issued to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and having twenty-five years to run. The net amount realized from the sale of the bonds was $361,280. The work was almost immediately commenced, but the Board were very much impeded in their movements by an injunction issued at the instance of the Hydraulic Company. A committee of the Common Council had, during the preceding March, recommended that the city pay to the company thirty thousand dollars for its property and franchises, or fifteen thousand dollars for the franchise alone, but the company never intimated its willingness to accept the offer, and stood out resolutely to withstand any encroachments upon what had been heretofore an exclusive privilege. The difficulty was subsequently arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. The work was then proceeded with as rapidly as the limited facilities of that period allowed.

The following is a brief sketch of the works as originally built:

The works were located on the lake shore near Chicago avenue. A timber crib, twenty by forty feet, was sunk six hundred feet from the shore, and from this crib a wooden inlet pipe of thirty inches interior diameter, laid in a trench on the bottom of the lake, conveyed the water to the pumping well, which was placed under the engine house, and was twenty-five feet deep. The end of the inlet pipe was of iron, and made to bend down to the bottom of the well, acting like a syphon. The water flowed into the well by its own gravity, and thence was forced by the engines into the mains, and thence into the reservoir in the South Division—the first built. It was conveyed thence to the distributing pipes in the various parts of the city.

The engine house was built of brick in the modern Italian style. The main building was fifty-four feet front and thirty-four feet deep, with two wings, each forty-four by thirty-four feet. The main building was carried up two stories high, the wing one story. In the centre of the main building a tower was constructed, 14 feet square at the base, and 140 feet high, serving as a chimney for both boilers and a chamber for the standing column. This column was of cast iron pipe, twenty-four inches in diameter, connected with the pumps and main pipes, and

serving as a regulator in keeping up a uniform head of water in the reservoir. The engine was about two hundred horse power. There was also a smaller one kept for use in case of accident to the principal engine.

In December, 1853, water was first pumped into the pipes to test them, and the first hydrant was opened on North Clark street, near the bridge. In February, 1854, water was first introduced into the houses.

The reservoir building was completed in November, 1854, and was located near the corner of Adams and Clark streets, two stories high, with a tank capable of holding 500,000 gallons of water; the tank was designed to hold a night supply for 50,000 inhabitants; the surface of the water was eighty-three feet above the level of the lake. Two other reservoirs were afterwards constructed for the other divisions of the city, viz: on Sangamon street, near Monroe, and on Chicago avenue, near Franklin street, and the distribution pipes were gradually thrown all over the city till at the close of the year 1862 there were nearly 105 miles of pipes laid, including mains. Since then about 90 additional miles have been put down, making a total of 195 lineal miles in the city to the end of 1868.

Another decade had passed, and the growing necessities of the people became more and more pressing, and early in 1863 the matter became one of absorbing interest. The progress of the war was the national excitement; the raising of troops was the State concern, and the quality of water which was, and the quantity which, in the future, could be delivered, was a local civic consideration which exercised the private citizen, public coporations, and municipal bodies.

Many suggestions were made, and many plans submitted for the remedy of the evil. Pipes along the lake shore; pipes out into the lake; filtering pipes along its margin; deep cuts from river to lake; fanning mills and Archimedean screws; pipes at Bridgeport, and many other devices were all thought of. Some of them were tried, and all, in succession, were rejected as impracticable. All of these plans sought to cleanse the Chicago river from its accumulation of filth, and to provide an ample supply of pure drinking water. The sanitary condition of the city, good as it was, might be bettered by action, and the enterprise of the citizens would brook little delay which could be overcome by treasure and by invention. Public opinion at length compelled the Common Council to take action, and it joined with the Board of Public Works in completing a contract with Mr. Preston, Superintendent of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, by which a portion of the water of the Calumet river should be diverted

through the feeder and pumped into the river, thus creating an artificial current, which should carry off the impurities of the stream. This was but a partial relief, and it could not be otherwise, for it availed us nothing when the canal was in disuse. Several schemes were next proposed, as follows: To divert the water of the Calumet and the Desplaines Rivers into the Chicago River by means of the feeder and the use of pumps. To this it was objected that the supply of water would be inadequate, while the adoption of the plan would involve the city in interminable and expensive chancery suits, the diversion of the current of the streams and of the canal seeming necessarily to encroach upon rights which had vested in the canal company, and in the owners of mill property and water privileges on the canal and on the running streams.

A second plan suggested was to build a series of intercepting sewers, similar in their nature to those which have lately been erected in the city of London, for the purification of the river Thames. These, it was thought by some, could be constructed along the margin of the river, as reservoirs for the filth passing within its borders, and from the sewers, the contents thus received being emptied into the lake, or distributed over the country for purposes of agriculture. This suggestion had a theoretical value. The largest city of the world adopted it, at an enormous expense, but to the time of its consideration here, no results had been deduced which promised a certain or probable success. The expenditure of money would be very great, and the loss of time would be considerable, and on so great an experiment, which had not in itself a fair prospect of success, our people were unwilling to enter.

The proposed ship canal had the appearance of being something feasible, but there was a barrier to its success. It needed congressional legislation, and to procure the necessary number of votes, the assent of Western Congressmen was asked to have four distinct lines of railroad communication to be built at the expense of the nation. Less than a canal could not be thought of, because citizens of towns upon the line and upon the river bank would be ill content to receive the surfeit of our surplus nastiness.

A covered aqueduct was also proposed. This it was thought should be of the diameter of ten feet, to extend from the lake to the river, which it should enter at some point on the South Side, a point at about Sixteenth street being designated. To this plan it was objected that the obnoxious matter being emptied into the lake so near the point whence the lake water would be drawn, it would be corrupted and increase rather than diminish the evil complained of.

Hesitation followed the promulgation of so many plans, to each of which so many objections were made. An impulse to further investigation and thought was, however, furnished by the

discovery and publication of the fact that there was a constant precipitation of decaying organic matter draining on to the lake shore, and rendering the shore water impure. At about the same time the controversy over the disposition of the City Cemetery was at its height. Investigation showed that notwithstanding the ordinances of the city forbidding it, some six hundred rebel corpses had been buried in that ground, which is interesected north and south by a slough, draining the whole cemetery into the lake but little north of the City Water Works.

Circumstances required action, and all the energies of our prominent men were put into the fulfillment of some scheme. That water should be taken from the lake was resolved upon this year (1863), and on the 13th day of February the amended city charter of that year was approved, in which power was given to the city "to construct such aqueducts along the shore of Lake Michigan, or in the highways, or elsewhere in the said Cook county, and to construct such pumping works, breakwaters, subsiding basins, filter beds and reservoirs, and to lay such water mains, and to make all other constructions in said county as shall be necessary in obtaining from Lake Michigan a sufficient supply of pure water for said city;" "to extend aqueducts, or inlet pipes, into Lake Michigan, so far as may be deemed necessary to insure a supply of pure water, and to erect a pier or piers in the navigable waters of said lake, for the making, preserving and working of said pipes or aqueducts."

This action of the State Legislature was sanctioned by Congress, January 16th, of the following year, and being sanctioned, the tunnel was the accepted means of procuring water.

Previous to this sanction being given, but subsequent to the action of the State Legislature, the bed of the lake was examined, with a view to test the feasibility of excavating the tunnel. In the month of June, 1863, the City Engineer, with some scientific aid, commenced boring to ascertain the nature of the bottom. The experiments were made first at some twenty feet from the shore. At about two hundred feet from the shore, the water being a little over twenty feet deep, there was blue clay underlying a sandy covering. These experiments led to others. Two scows were towed into the lake and secured by anchors. From between these a two-inch gas pipe was lowered until it rested on the surface of the earth, the top being two or three feet above the surface of the water. Down this tube an augur was passed, both being capable of being lengthened by screwing additional parts to each. At three-quarters of a mile from the shore, the water being twenty feet deep, there was found a four-inch covering of sand and thirty feet of blue clay. One and three-quarter

miles out, the water being thirty-one feet deep, the same substratum was discovered. Two miles and a quarter due east of the Water Works, near the site of the crib as at present located, the water, being thirty feet deep, was clear and cool. The earth was penetrated to the depth of thirty feet. Here was found a covering of sand and soft, mashy clay, with a clay becoming more hard and compact as it was more deeply penetrated. On June 16th, of the same year, the temperature of the water began to be tested. Its clearness was apparent, a small object being visible at a distance of eighteen feet, the water being thirty-six feet deep. On the surface the thermometer showed, at three o'clock of the 16th day of June, sixty degrees, and at the bottom fifty-one and a half degrees. These experiments continued to be carried on with the like result of exhibiting a clay substratum, the approach to the shore, however, showing a deeper alluvial deposit, composed mainly of sand.

After a careful discussion of the various methods which had been submitted, of securing to the city a supply of pure water, the Board of Public Works decided, early in 1863, to adopt the plan of carrying a tunnel out under the lake. The necessary drawings and specifications were at once made, and advertisements were issued inviting proposals for the doing of the work. Bids were opened on the 9th of September, 1863, most of the parties submitting proposals being present at the opening. The bids, seven in number, ranged from $239,548 to $1,056,000, as follows: James Andrews, Pittsburgh, Pa., $239,548; Dull & Gowan, Harrisburgh, Pa., $315,139; Walker, Wood & Robinson, New York, $315,000; Williams, McBean, Brown & Neilson, Chicago, $490,000; Hervey Nash, $40 per lineal foot; D. L. DeGolyer, Chicago, $620,000; William Baldwin, New York, $1,056,000.

The great disparity in the bids arose from the difference of opinion which existed as to the character of the soil, some of the contractors thinking they would meet with sand and gravel in the course of the excavations, while others, expecting that the soil would be uniformly of clay, made reservations, throwing the responsibility of meeting with another kind of soil upon the city. Messrs. Dull & Gowan were the only contractors who made an unqualified bid, taking upon themselves all risks, and the contract was awarded to them. The Common Council granted authority for that purpose on the 5th of October, and ordered the issue of the necessary bonds. The time originally fixed for the completion of the work was November, 1865.

The point selected by the Board of Public Works for the commencement of the work was the lot occupied by the Pumping Works, at the east end of Chicago avenue, on the lake shore. It

was originally proposed to sink one land and two to four lake shafts at intermediate points between the east and west end of the tunnel, the lake shafts to consist of cast iron cylinders protected by hollow, pentagonal cribs. This proposal was based on the supposition that that number might be required to complete the tunnel in two years. It was subsequently found that the lake shafts could be omitted, and this part of the plan was abandoned.

The first ground was broken on St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, 1864, being two months after the time originally set, on account of the delay of the cylinders for the shore shaft, which were cast at Pittsburgh. The inauguration ceremonies were of an interesting character, and were witnessed by about a hundred gentlemen, among whom were Mayor Sherman, Messrs. Letz and Rose, of the Board of Public Works; Mr. S. S. Hayes, the City Comptroller; Mr. E. S. Chesbrough, U. P. Harris, and a majority of the members of the Common Council. The Mayor made a few remarks appropriate to the occasion, and they took then pick and broke the ground amid the cheers of the company. Each of the gentlemen then took a shovelful of earth and placed it in a wheelbarrow, which was taken outside by Mr. Gowan.

After breaking ground the shore shaft was sunk on the site of the present pumping works. It was originally intended to construct the shaft wholly of brick, running it down from the surface of the ground to a depth of fifteen feet below the level of the lake, but the fact that a shifting quicksand had to be passed through compelled them to abandon that plan of operation. The contract was deviated from, and the contractors were authorized to run down an iron cylinder of the same dimensions as the center of the crib, as far as the bottom of the sand bed, about twenty-six feet. This inlet cylinder is nine feet in diameter, inside, and two and a quarter inches thick. It was put down in four sections of about nine feet in length.

From the shore shaft the tunnel extends two miles out in a straight line at right angles with the shore, pointing about two points to the north of east. The clear width of the tunnel is five feet, and the clear height, five feet and two inches, the top and bottom arches being semi-circles. It is lined with brick masonry eight inches thick, in two rings or shells, the brick being laid lengthwise of the tunnel, with toothing joints. The bottom of the inside surface of the bore a the east end is sixty-six feet below water level, or sixty-four feet below city datum, and has a gradual slope towards the shore of two feet per mile, falling four feet in the whole distance, to admit of it being thoroughly emptied in case of repairs, the water being shut off at the crib by means of a gate. The work has been laid in brick eight

inches thick all round, well set in cement. The lower half of the bore is constructed in such a manner that the bricks lie against the clay, while in the upper half the bricks are wedged in between the brick and the clay, thus preventing any danger which might result from the tremendous pressure which it was feared might burst in the tunnel.

The tunnel as now constructed will deliver, under a head of two feet, 19,000,000 gallons of water daily; under a head of eight feet, 38,000,000 gallons daily, and under a head of eighteen feet, 57,000,000 gallons daily. The velocities for the above quantities will be one and four-tenths mile per hour, head being two feet; head being eight feet, the velocity will be two and three-tenths miles per hour, and the head being eighteen feet the velocity will be four and two-tenths miles per hour. By these means it will be competent to supply one million people with fifty seven gallons each per day, with a head of eighteen feet.

The excavations were commenced immediately after the ground was broken. With regard to the character of the work, the material met with in the process of excavation was stiff blue clay throughout, so that the anticipation of the contractors in this respect was fulfilled. The soil was found to be so uniform that only one leakage of water through the tunnel ever occurred, and that only distilling through a crevice at the rate of a bucket full in five minutes. This occurred in September, 1865. The workmen left in dismay, but soon returned and repaired the crevice. From that time no accident of any importance occurred to hinder the progress of the work, with the exception of one or two slight escapes of gas, which resulted in nothing more serious than the singeing of a workman's whiskers. Several stones, varying from the size of an egg upwards, were met with, but very few in comparison with the great mass of clay. The only fault to be found with the clay was, that it contained too much calcareous matter to make good bricks.

The contractors claimed to have lost money on the work. They had calculated on being able to make their own bricks on the ground, but for the reason above stated, they were obliged to procure bricks elsewhere. They pleaded, too, for increase of renumeration on the ground that they took the work when gold was at 125. The really signed the contract, however, when gold was 160. The matter was ultimately referred to the Committee on Finance, and upon their report being presented a lengthy argument was held on the legality of the appropriation, and the propriety of making it, the contract having been entered into by the city in good faith and the contractors being advised as to the price of gold. The bill for an extra appropriation passed, but

was vetoed by the Mayor at the next council meeting, and was subsequently reconsidered by the council and laid on the table. The contractors were, however, at one time authorized to draw a larger percentage upon their estimates than was provided for in the contract, amounting perhaps to about $25,000, and some $40,000 was allowed them in the shape of extras for work not specified in the contract, while no deductions were made from the price originally agreed upon, for the omission of the intermediate cribs which were found to be unnecessary.

On the 25th of July, 1865, the giant crib for the east end of the tunnel was launched, in the presence of Governor Oglesby and a large concourse of citizens, and after being towed out, in safety, two miles from the shore, was there sunk.

It is forty feet and a half high, and built in pentagonal form, in a circumscribing circle of ninety-eight and a half feet in diameter. It is built of logs one foot square, and consists of three walls, at a distance of eleven feet from each other, leaving a central pentagonal space having an inscribed circle of twenty-five feet, within which is fixed the iron cylinder, nine feet in diameter, running from the water line to the tunnel, sixty-four feet below the surface and thirty-one feet below the bed of the lake at that point. The crib is thoroughly braced in every direction. It contains 750,000 feet of lumber, board measure, and 150 tons iron bolts. It is filled with 4,500 tons of stone and weighs 5,700 tons. The crib stands twelve feet above the water line, giving a maximum area of 1,200 feet which can be exposed at one sweep to the action of the waves, reckoning the resistance as perpendicular. The outside was thoroughly caulked, equal to a first-class vessel, with three threads in each seam, the first and last being what is called "horsed." Over all these there is a layer of lagging to keep the caulking in place and protect the crib proper from the action of the waves. A covered platform or house was built over the crib, enabling the workmen to prosecute the work uninterrupted by rain or wind, and affording a protection for the earth brought up from the excavation, and permitting it to be carried away by scows, whose return cargoes were bricks for the lining of the tunnel. The top of the cylinder was subsequently covered with a grating to keep out floating logs, fish, etc. A sluice made in the side of the crib was opened to let in the water, and a lighthouse is intended to be built over all, serving the double purpose of guarding the crib from injury by vessels and of showing the way to the harbor of Chicago.

The first brick was laid at the crib end on the 22d of December, 1865, and on the last day of the year the workmen began to excavate from that end, at which time they had already 4,825 feet done from the shore. From that time the work progressed

steadily and with few interruptions of any consequence. In the early part of November, 1866, when within a few feet of meeting, the workmen met for the first time with sand pockets, which caused leakage, and delayed the final blow till December 6th, when the last brick (which was a stone), was laid by Mayor J. B. Rice, in the presence of the Aldermen, city officials, and as many other prominent citizens as could be packed into the tunnel within hearing distance.

Still another delay was experienced in the construction of the conduits to the new pumping works, and it was not until Monday, March 25th, 1867, that the water was let into the tunnel to flow through the water pipes and hydrants of the city. On that day the new water works were formally inaugurated by the laying of the corner stone of a new tower, situated about half a block west of the old tower, and since completed to a total height of 130 feet, standing on a base of twenty-four feet square.

The total cost of this the first lake tunnel to the city, including extras, preliminary examination, supervision, etc., was $457,845. The total water debt of the city was $2,483,000 in April, 1868.

The following table shows the number of miles of water-pipe laid down, and the average daily number of gallons supplied in each year since 1854:

YEAR.	MILES PIPE.	GALL. DAILY.
1854	30½	800,000
1855	11	2,250,000
1856	9	3,000,000
1857	4½	3,500,000
1858	13¾	2,991,413
1859	12¾	3,877,119
1860	6	4,703,525
1861	13 1-7	4,841,520
1862	9 2-3	6,074,739
1863	13⅛	6,400,298
1864	15	6,913,259
1865	13½	7,610,459
1866	15	8,681,536
1867	23	11,562,273
1868	25	14,724,999
1869	31 3-10	18,633,278
1870	32½	21,766,260
1871	15 3-10	23,464,877
1872	23 1-10	27,536,819
1873	40 6-10	32,117,312
1874	35	38,090,952
1875	23 6-10	39 844,556
1876	6 4-10	41,931,481
1877	8 2-10	52,183,892
1878	5 3-10	53,600.789
1879	13 2-10	56,322,441

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW LAKE TUNNEL.

BY E. S. CHESBROUGH.

In consequence of the unprecedented growth of the city, and the more than corresponding increase in the consumption and waste of water, and the dread that existed even then of extensive conflagrations, the city council directed the Board of Public Works, in 1869, to take immediate action in reference to the further wants of the city. The Board reported the result of their investigations under date of October 15, the same year; and recommended the construction of an additional tunnel to start from the same crib as the old one, to run parallel with it to the old pumping works; thence under the city in a straight line to some point on the South Branch, not further east than Halsted St., nor further west than Ashland Ave.; the diameter of the tunnel to be seven feet, and its estimated capacity 100,000,000 U. S. gallons in twenty-four hours. Owing to protracted discussions in the city council, and vetoes of the mayor, and a subsequent injunction upon the proceedings of the Board of Public Works in relation to the letting of this work, its commencement was delayed until July 12th, 1872. The western end was fixed on the west side of Ashland Ave., just south of Blue Island Ave., where the pumping works could be supplied with coal either by rail or by vessel.

In the construction of the new tunnel no serious difficulties were encountered except at two points—one at the crib and the other near Polk St. Each of these took several months to overcome, the one at the crib at an entire cost of about $10,000 to the city, and the one at Polk St. at a cost of about as much more, including damages to property caused by the settling of ground above the tunnel.

The masonry in the tunnel was made about eleven inches thick. Its total length is six miles, and it is connected by a short cross or branch tunnel with the North Side pumping works, which immediately upon the completion of the new lake tunnel, received great relief, the water in the wells rising six or seven feet higher than it usually stood before.

The estimated combined capacity of the old and the new lake tunnels is 150,000,000 U. S. gallons daily. The actual consumption of water has increased very greatly with the increased facilities for furnishing it, so that more pumping power is already demanded, and a new tunnel is considered a necessity in the not very distant future.

The following is a statement of the

CONSUMPTION OF WATER IN YEARS PAST, AND WATER REVENUE.

YEAR.	Average Consumption daily in U. S. gallons.	Average per inhabitant, U. S. gallons.	Total revenue.	Av. gals. daily for one dollar a year.	Miles of pipe.	REMARKS.
1854	800,000					
5						
6						
7						
8	2,991,413	32.8	$102,179	28.29	72.4	
9	3,877,119		122,948	31.53	85.1	
1860	4,703,525	43.0	131,162	35.86	91.0	
1	4,841,520		150,290	32.31	95.3	
2	6,074,739	43.9	150,920	40.25	104.9	
3	6,400,298		190,886	33.53	115.4	
4	6,913,259	40.8	224,246	30.87	127.3	
5	7,610,459		252,441	30.14	141.2	
6	8,681,536	43.3	301,124	28.83	152.2	
7	11,562,273		337,468	34.24	174.8	
8	14,624,999	58.4	420,656	34.76	208.6	
9	16,635,278		476,968	34.09	239.9	
1870	21,766,260	72.8	539,318	40.35	272.4	
1	23,464,877	72.2	446,265	53.58	287.7	
2	27,536,819	74.5	543,914	50.62	310.8	
3	32,117,352		708,834	45.31	351.4	
4	38,090,952	96.3	705,926	53.94	386.4	
5	39,844,556				410.0	
6	41,931,481	103.0	831,555	50 42	416.4	
7	52,183,892	119.0	902,476	54.77	424.6	6 U. S. gallons
8	53,600,789	122.7	944,190	61.77	429.9	equal 5 Imperial
9	56,322,441	120.0	922,847	5 6.03	441.1	(English)gallons.

FLOOD OF 1849.

The last thing one might expect in Chicago, situated as it is, on almost a dead-level, is a flood in one of the branches of its river. But this actually took place one fine morning in March, 1849. After a two or three days heavy rain, which had been preceded by hard snow storms during the latter part of the winter, the citizens of the town were aroused from their slumbers by reports that the ice in the Desplaines river had broken up; that its channel had become gorged with it; that this had so dammed up its waters as to turn them into Mud Lake; that in turn, they were flowing thence into the natural estuary, which then connected the sources of the South branch of the Chicago river with the Desplaines. These reports proved to be correct. Further, it was also rumored that the pressure of the waters was now breaking up the ice in the South branch and branches; that the branch was becoming gorged in the main channel at various points, and that if something were not done, the shipping, which had been tied up for the winter along the wharves, would be seriously damaged.

Of course each owner, or person in charge, at once sought the safety of his vessel, added additional moorings to those already in use, while all waited with anxiety and trepidation the result of the totally unexpected catastrophe. It was not long in coming. The river soon began to swell, the waters lifting the ice to within two or three feet of the surface of the wharves; between nine and ten A. M. loud reports as of distant artillery were heard towards the southern extremity of the town, indicating that the ice was breaking up. Soon, to these were added the sounds proceeding from crashing timbers, from hawsers tearing away the piles around which they were vainly fastened, or snapping like so much pack-thread, on account of the strain upon them. To these in turn were succeeded the cries of people calling to the parties in charge of the vessels and canal boats to escape ere it would be too late; while nearly all the males, and hundreds of the female population, hurried from their homes to the banks of the river to witness what was by this time considered to be inevitable, namely, a catastrophe such as the city never before sustained. It was not long before every vessel and canal-boat in the south branch, except a few which had been secured in one or two little creeks, which then connected with the main channel, was swept with resistless force toward the lakes. As fast as the channel at one spot became crowded with ice and vessels intermingled, the whole mass would dam up the water, which, rising in the rear of the obstruction, would propel vessels and ice forward with the force of an enormous catapult. Every lightly constructed vessel would at once be crushed as if it were an egg-shell; canal-boats disappeared from sight under the gorge of ships and ice, and came into view below it in small pieces, strewing the surface of the boiling water.

At length a number of vessels were violently precipitated against Randolph street bridge, then a comparatively frail structure, and which was torn from its place in a few seconds, forcing its way into the main channel of the river. The gorge of natural and artificial materials—of ice and wood and iron—kept on its resistless way to the principal and last remaining bridge in the city, on Clark St. This structure had been constructed on piles, and it was supposed would prevent the vessels already caught up by the ice from being swept out into the lake.

But the momentum already attained by the great mass of ice, which had even lifted some of the vessels bodily out of the water, was too great for any ordinary structure of wood, or even stone or iron to resist, and the moment this accumulated material struck the bridge, it was swept to utter destruction, and with a crash, the noise of which could be heard all over the then city,

while the ice below it broke up with reports as if from a whole park of artillery. The scene just below the bridge after the material composing the gorge had swept by the place just occupied by the structure, was something that bordered on the terrific.

The cries and shouts of the people, the crash of timbers, the toppling over of tall masts, which were in many cases broken short off on a level with the decks of the vessels, and the appearance of the crowds fleeing terror-stricken from the scene through Clark and Dearborn streets, were sounds and sights never to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. At State street, where the river bends, the mass of material was again brought to a stand, the ice below resisting the accumulated pressure, and the large number of vessels in the ruck, most of which were of the best class, the poorer ones having previously been utterly destroyed, helping to hold the whole together. In the meantime several canal boats, and in one instance a schooner with rigging all standing, were swept under this instantaneously constructed bridge, coming out on the eastern side thereof in shapeless masses of wreck, in the instance of the schooner, and of matchwood in the instances of the canal boats. Presently the ice below this last gorge began to give way, clear water appearing, while a view out into the lake showed that there was no ice to be seen. It was then that some bold fellows armed with axes, sprang upon the vessels thus jammed together, and in danger of destruction.

Among the foremost and most fearless were: R. C. Bristol, of the forwarding house of Bristol & Porter; Alvin Calhoun, a builder, brother to John Calhoun, founder of the Chicago Democrat newspaper, and father of Mrs. Joseph K. C. Forrest, Cyrus P. Bradley, subsequently Sheriff, and Chief of Police, and Darius Knights, still an employe of the city. These gentlemen, at the risk of their lives succeeded in detaching the vessels at the Eastern end of the gorge, one by one, from the ruck, until finally some ten or twelve large ships, relieved from their dangerous positions, floated out into the lake, their preservers proudly standing on their decks, and returning with salutes, the cheers of the crowd on shore. Once in the lake, the vessels were secured, in some cases by dropping the anchors, and in others by being brought up at the piers by the aid of hawsers.

The *Democrat* of the 14th, in its record of the event, says (speaking of the upper jam): "Below all this lies another more solid dam, composed of larger vessels, and consequently stronger material, wedged in so firmly as to defy extraction. * * * * Thus is formed one of the most costly bridges ever constructed in the West, and the only one Chicago now boasts of. Crowds

of persons were at the wrecks yesterday, and crowded the decks of the various vessels. Many ladies were not afraid to venture over this novel causeway, beneath which the water roared, falling in cascades from one obstruction to another, the whole forming perhaps the most exciting scene ever witnessed here."

The *Journal* of the same date gives the following: "The Randolph street bridge and the schooner Mahala sunk at the mouth of the river yesterday together. * * The schooner Diamond, which was carried down the river yesterday, upon reaching the vessels wedged in near the lighthouse, was forced by the current completely under them, and came up on the other side. She was not badly broken, and now lies bottom up between the piers. There were a number of persons on the canal boats which were swept into the lake. One poor fellow waved his handkechief as a signal of distress, about ten miles out, during the afternoon, but there was no boat which could be sent to his assistance. * * * No mails left the city last night. All egress is prevented by high water and impassible state of the roads. We do not hear of a bridge that has escaped."

HORSE-RAILROADS OF CHICAGO.

BY AUGUSTINE W. WRIGHT.

August 16, 1858, an ordinance passed the Common Council of Chicago, granting permission to Henry Fuller, Franklin Parmlee and Liberty Bigelow, with such other persons as might thereafter become associated with them, to lay a single or double track with turnouts, side-tracks and switches, to be operated by horse-power, along the following streets, provided said tracks should not be laid within twelve feet of the sidewalk, except on curves. On State street, from Lake to the then city limits; Ringgold place, State to Cottage Grove avenue; on the latter to the then city limits; Archer road from State to then city limits; Madison from State to then city limits. These privileges were to be forfeited unless the construction of one of said railroads should be commenced before November 1, 1858. This company was incorporated under the title of the Chicago City Railway, and the act approved Feb. 4, 1859. Work was begun within the time specified on State street, and ground broken by Henry Fuller, in front of Garrett Block, near Randolph, with appropriate ceremonies. The first spike was driven by Gov. Bross, thus inaugurating our horse railway system.

By May 1, 1859, a single track was completed from Madison to Twenty-second street, on State, and two horse-cars were run every twelve minutes. In the summer of 1859, the track was extended on Twenty-second and Cottage Grove avenue to Thirty-first, and just before the United States Fair opened in the fall of 1859, cars were run every six minutes, as far as Twenty-second street.

During this time the track on Madison street was laid to "Bull's Head"—Ogden avenue.

At the same time like privileges were granted W. B. Ogden, John B. Turner, Charles V. Dyer, James H. Rees and Volentine C. Turner, by the name of the North Chicago City Railway for the North Division. The company was authorized to lay a single or double track, commencing at the intersection of Clark and North Water, thence north on Clark to Green Bay Road, along latter to present or future city limits; on Division from Clark to Clybourn avenue, on latter to Racine road, thence on the same line to northern city limits; on Michigan from Clark to Rush, on Rush to Chicago avenue, thence on Green Bay road to Wolcott, thence to Elm, west on Elm to Clark; also on Wells from from North Water to Division, on latter to Sedgwick, north on Sedgwick to Green Bay road; also on Chicago avenue from Rush to River. This company commenced running its cars in August, 1859, on Clark between North Water and Fullerton avenue, and on Chicago avenue between Clark and North Branch of the river. At that time Clark street was planked, and the first track was laid by spiking a "center bearing" rail directly upon the street planks, and putting an additional thickness of plank in the horse path.

The track was laid double to Division street and a single track of "T" rail extended from the latter point to Fullerton avenue. The first car was purchased from Eaton, Gilbert & Co., of Troy, N. Y.

May 23, 1859, the Common Council passed an ordinance authorizing the Chicago City Railway Company to extend its tracks as follows: On Lake from Market to western city limits; on Randolph from State to Lake, at Union Park; on Desplaines from Lake to Milwaukee avenue, and along latter to present or future city limits; on Canal from Lake to Polk; on Harrison from Canal to Southwestern plank road; on Market from Lake to Madison; on Wells from Randolph to Polk, and on Polk to Canal, south on Canal to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; on Clark from Randolph to Polk, west on Polk to Wells; on Van Buren from State to Southwestern Plank Road; on Harrison street from Canal to Blue Island avenue, and along lat-

ter to Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; on Twelfth, State to Wabash avenue, thence south to Old, on Old to Indiana avenue, along latter to intersection with Cottage Grove. Randolph street track had to be completed within three months from State to Union Park, Lake street same time, South Wells to Polk, and Van Buren street line in eighteen months, Canal and Blue Island within one year. Others as soon as practicable, unless ordered to be done sooner by the Common Council. February 21, 1861, E. P. Ward, William K. McAllister, Samuel B. Walker, James L. Wilson, Charles B. Brown, Nathaniel P. Wilder, and their successors, were incorporated as the Chicago West Division Railway Company, and authorized "to acquire, unite and exercise any of the powers, franchises, privileges or immunities conferred upon the Chicago City Railway Company upon such terms and conditions as might by contract between the said railway corporations be prescribed."

The aforementioned grants covered 70 miles, 1,960 feet of horse railroad tracks, for a city of less than 90,000 inhabitants, and evidenced a "far-sightedness" and faith in the ultimate growth of the city, which is proverbially one of the characteristics of Chicago's wide-awake citizens, and they have never yet had cause for complaint, for day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year our city continues a growth that is the wonder of all nations.

The charters require the company operating the road to keep eight feet in width when there is a single track, and sixteen feet in width when the track is double, in as good repair and condition as the balance of the street, and limits the fare to five cents for any distance.

The level surface of the ground upon which this city is built, in conjunction with wide streets, is favorable to street railways, but the bridges over the river present great and growing impediments to communication. A recent count at Clark street bridge, showed that between the hours of 7 a. m. and 7 p. m., 32,467 vehicles crossed, while the bridge was swung 84 times.

WEST DIVISION RAILWAY.

J. RUSSELL JONES, President; JAS. K. LAKE, Superintendent.

Number of miles run, 1879	4,524,009
Number of trips, 1879	645,466
Number of men now on pay-roll	1,200
Number of horses now owned	2,103
Number of miles of single track	67
Amount expended in repairs of streets and track, 1878	$93,896
Number of cars starting every hour	150

CHICAGO CITY RAILWAY.

S. B. COBB, President; C. B. HOLMES, Superintendent.

Number of miles run, 1879	3,029,500
Number of horses now owned	1,396
Number of miles of single track	44
Number of regular cars starting every hour	73

NORTH CHICAGO CITY RAILWAY.

V. C TURNER, President; M. W. SQUIRES, Superintendent.

Number of miles run, 1879	1,720,031
" " " " 1860	167,561
Number of trips, 1879	273,031
" " " 1860	41,890
Number of men on pay-roll	400
Number of horses now owned	910
Number of miles of single track	27
Number of regular cars starting every hour	60

Total number of horses now owned by the three divisions	4,409
Total number of miles of single track operated by the three divisions	138
Total number of cars starting every hour by the three divisions	283

CONVENTION OF 1860.

Two opposing forces grew into antagonism in the United States within the memory of middle-aged men now living.

This antagonism, that had been gathering force during a generation in its progress, had gradually obliterated party lines, and substituted an issue on a real principle in political economy for the old one which had existed between the Whigs and the Democrats.

The old issue grew out of an honest difference of opinion on financial questions, such as tariff, banking and public improvements; the Whigs being the ambitious and progressive element, and the Democrats claiming to be the cautious regulators to apply the brakes upon hasty and ill-digested legislation. But at the time when the new issue came into existence the old one had lost its national character and become effete. The new issue was on the subject of slavery, and dispite all efforts on the part of statesmen, as well as divines, to bury it beneath some plastic subterfuge, it came up in 1856 in its naked proportions, at the Philadelphia convention which nominated Fremont as candidate for President of the United States to represent the principles of the new party. The issue that now divided the country practically involved the existence of slavery. Financial questions were lost sight of, and had little or no part in it.

It was the first time in the history of the country that an issue had grown up in the popular heart exempt from any other but conscientious principles as to what policy should best promote justice, as well as national honor. The situation in the United States at that time resembled that of England when the commonwealth displaced the reigning dynasty on a religious question. It was the higher law in both cases that the new party was contending for, and in both it was the first time that either country, by the force of public opinion only, succeeded in establishing a moral tribunal by which to overturn the majesty of legal forms.

No one will deny that this was the case in England in the days of Cromwell, and the proof that such was the case in the United States in the political campaign of 1860, is found in the fact that after the war which followed it, the Constitution had to be changed to comply with the changes it had wrought. The attempt to compass the desired end, brought to light in 1856 at the Philadelphia Republican Convention, the first of its kind, proved a failure.

The moral sense of its advocates was deeply wounded, but they bore the humiliation in silence, with no letting down of their purposes; on the contrary, they gathered strength as the time drew near for another trial in 1860. And now no prestige, no favoritism, no conventional forms or local rights must stand in the way of the fulfilment of the great popular voice that transcended everything. In vain may history be searched for such a sublime episode when so complete a submission was made to a principle as the Chicago Convention of 1860 personified. It is doubtful if Chicago is ever again destined to such honors as fell upon her when she was selected as the most appropriate place for this convention. It was a compliment paid to the moral sense of her rising mind, to the magnanimity of her national policy, to her immunity from local prejudice, to her bold and original conceptions, and to her youthful and impulsive force, so essential to the success of the work which the convention were about to undertake. More than all this, it was a proof that her interests were locally interwoven with every part of the United States, not only by the physical forces of nature, but by the fraternizing influences that grow out of them through the channels of commerce.

As soon as the selection was made, prompt action was taken by Chicago's leading citizens to make preparation for the occasion, commensurate with its importance. The first thing to be done was to provide a place for its sessions, and to this end a new and original plan was proposed. It was to erect a building on purpose. The proposal was received with favor so universal, that by voluntary subscriptions, the bulk of which was not over ten dollars from each giver, the building was erected. It consisted of an immense audience room arranged like an amphitheatre, whose roof was supported by numerous upright posts. It was christened The Wigwam.

The convention was unlike any that had ever preceded it. Beneath the noisy demonstrations that always accompany such gatherings, like the froth that floats upon the surface of deep waters, was a silent force, the offspring of that kind of philosophy which might be called Antinomian in its character; a philosophy that accepts things for what they are worth, and not for what they appear to be; a philosophy that sees the sublimest truths in simple formula, and beholds a direct road to national grandeur, unobstructed by the vagaries of partisans; a philosophy that could be charitable without complicity, discreet without being exclusive, prudent without being intolerant, conservative without a *letting down of principle*, and more tenacious for substance than for theory. Who could fill such a measure? Who could step

into the arena impervious to the shots of envy, hatred and malice destined to be hurled against him from an old party whose long lease of power had confirmed it in its defensive measures of extreme constitutional rights?

Horace Greeley was then a potent force in the new party. All eyes were turned to him for support, and no doubt exists that, had he given Mr. Seward his hearty support from the first, he would have been elected as the nominee at the first balloting of the convention. Every influence that the ingenuity of Mr. Seward's friends could suggest was early brought to bear upon Mr. Greeley in his behalf, but the venerable printer was impervious to any pressure that could be brought upon him. He did not oppose Mr. Seward, but the fact that he had not advocated his cause, added to the fact that the Press and Tribune, the Journal and the Democrat, of Chicago, had from the first been earnest supporters of Abraham Lincoln as the nominee, prevented hasty action in the convention and held back the party leaders in abeyance to public sentiment. In the hands of the latter, Mr. Lincoln's nomination was assured, for the convention dared not disobey its mandates. Besides this, the very atmosphere of Chicago was charged in his favor by a subtle and irresistible force, before which all other pretensions vanished, and when the day set for the opening of the convention arrived an impressive circumspection reigned throughout the hall, and even extended its influence into the broad open air of the streets outside; for among the many thousands gathered there, were a goodly number whose maturity of intellect rose above the average mind, and leavened the whole lump with a full measure of gravity appropriate to the occasion. The convention commenced its sittings on the 16th of May, 1860, and continued till the 19th. It was composed of 466 delegates, 234 of whom were necessary for a choice. On the third ballot Lincoln received 354 votes, which result was announced to the audience, and loud and long continued cheers from them sufficiently vouched the action of the delegates by unmistakable signs of enthusiasm. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated on the next ballot for vice-president by 367 votes. The news flew to every part of the country, and the presidential campaign opened with an enthusiasm on the part of the new party, and firmness on the part of the old, never before witnessed.

The results of the Republican victory which followed are sublime beyond description, and sad beyond measure, and will never be forgotten in the history of the world.

A careful study of them, while it reveals the frailties of overreaching ambition on the part of those who raised their arm

against the government, also reveals the unwelcome truth that posterity's teeth will be set on edge by the public debt, incurred in the inevitable war which followed. Mr. Lincoln's untarnished record in it has turned all his political enemies into friends of his measures and his memory, and convinced the world that greatness is less the result of notoriety than natural good sense. The creatures of vain ambition stood appalled before his unpretentious power, that with a simple helm overturned the work of the forum, and demolished whatever stood in the way of the sense of the nation, of which he was the faithful representative.

His life and his death were an ever-living proof that justice is the only thing that can save a nation in times of peril, and his exemplary administration of public affairs has made it possible for historians to write his eulogy without being accused of partisanship.

No President of the United States should come short of this high standard of statesmanship which, if universally practiced, would be a safeguard against the disgraces of partisan strategy and the dangers of disunion, as well as the moody discontents of Socialism. Simple justice is all the people want, in default of which revolution, sooner or later, will bring it with fearful retribution.

That Mr. Lincoln's administration was statesman-like and not partisan, is demonstrated by the fact that at his untimely death, one of the best representatives of the Southern Confederacy, Alexander H. Stephens, said: "That is the heaviest blow the South has yet received."

Had his life been spared, it is fair to assume that the problem of reconstruction would have received a magnanimous solution more consistent with political economy than was possible without his counsels. He who knew how to improvise useful material to build up his own cause out of those opposed to him, might have turned the popular tide of the South after the war in favor of the Union by those modifying arts that melted away opposition to the forms of law and order which he had reduced to simple elements. As an example of his easy way of overcoming opposition, the following circumstance, which has never before been made public, is here related. When Mr. Lincoln was in a quandary as to whom he should give the chief command of the union forces, he consulted an old friend on the important matter, and while conferring together, Mr. Lincoln proposed to give the chief command of the Union forces to Douglas, on the ground that his indomitable energy and superior capacity would insure success against the foe, and convert enemies in the north into

friends. This measure was opposed by the adviser of Mr. Lincoln, on the ground that if successful, Mr. Douglas might use his prestige in a spirit of rivalry against the administration. This consideration had no weight with Mr. Lincoln, who still favored the promotion of Mr. Douglas to the position.

Seeing he could not turn his purposes, his adviser admonished him of the fact, that inasmuch as Mr. Douglas was then dangerously sick at Chicago, it would be prudent to wait till he had recovered before appointing him to the position, lest in the event of his death, the friends of Mr. Douglas would say that an empty honor had been conferred upon him, which it was certain, he never could live to enjoy. This consideration had its desired effect, and Mr. Lincoln concluded to let the appointment rest, to await the result of Mr. Douglas' sickness. Within two weeks from that time he died.*

There may be some at this time who honestly deprecate the war, and aver that the national debt will entail more evils upon the white race that can be compensated by the liberation of the colored race; but even these do not censure Mr. Lincoln, or hold him responsible for any national griefs, for by his own record he is shown to have been willing to save the union, either with or without slavery, and his tardy issue of the emancipation proclamation till it became a *sine qua non*, as to public confidence in the ability of the North to conquer the rebellion, sufficiently demonstrated his broad national conservatism, as well as his fidelity to the union. Such a happy combination of all the statesman-like qualities so necessary to guide the ship of State through the tangled mazes of our Civil War, could not have grown into being under New England culture; not but what she had men superior to Mr Lincoln in any one gift, but in vain may we look there for those matchless virtues which Western pioneer training, Western broad-gauge statesmanship, and universal good fellowship, has added to their already munificent inheritances from the East, and for which an everlasting debt of obligation is due her.

The West is the child of the East, and as the parent in the maturity of age takes pride in the transcendent genius of a son, so the East beholds the zenith of imperial power graduating westward as new fields for national grandeur are unfolded in that direction, quickening into activity generous purposes, in proportion to her accumulating resources.

*The authority for this is a statesman now living, whose advanced years are his apology for not allowing his name to appear, lest it might subject him to inquisitive interviewing. He says, however, that if necessary to sustain the veracity of the writer, he will waive the objections and give his name to the public as voucher for the statement.

Mr. Lincoln was the incarnate type and model of the combined virtues of the Western citizen; and where on the face of the great world of progress can his equal be found, in his full rounded up character, deficient in nothing which could bring strength to the nation by securing the services of the working bees, and not the drones, in its great hive.

Both of the Napoleons have made their mistakes, plain to be seen by all, for which they have paid the penalty. Cromwell's rule with all its grandeur, if blended with Lincoln's charity, would have secured the full endorsement of the Massachusetts colony (which it never received), and would have warded off the recoil, which, at his death, replaced the old dynasty. Bismarck, for want of Lincoln's charity, has of late entangled Germany in a threatening religious issue, besides having challenged a hostile antagonism in France, that costs the nation millions annually to defend themselves against.

The policy by which even wise England conquered Napoleon at the expense of their national debt, has long since been acknowledged by her best statesmen to have been a mistake,* and it is not too much to say, would never have had place, if the conservatism of Abraham Lincoln had prevailed in the English parliament at the time. By comparing notes with the world, while we as frontierers can make but a pitiful show in science or art, yet in that kind of natural good sense which our conditions have introduced into political economy, we have claims worthy of consideration; and it is not too much to say that the genius of Lincoln, as the representative of them, has crowned the West with imperishable laurels. It has also proven the elastic tenacity of the West, a bond essential to the preservation of the Union in times of peril, and Chicago to be the pivot on which the hinge turns. Under this responsibility the city of the lakes rests in her majesty of strength, not to be challenged, but to be utilized

*As a proof of this the following extract from a letter from Rt. Hon. John Bright, member of parliament from Birmingham, to the author, is quoted. It is dated One Ash, Rochdale, April 8th, 1880:

"*As to the wisdom of Parliament at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, I suspect there was no such thing as wisdom in those times in the British Parliament, or in the councils of the King. And now the time is past, and little good can come from the discussion of the good or bad of what Parliament then did.*"

The author agrees with the distinguished British statesman that no good can come from discussing the above question. But an allusion is here made to it by way of comparing notes between the policy of England and America, in the contracting of their respective national debts, and the author takes this occasion to thank his honorable correspondent for the frank expression of his opinion as above, though it censures the past policy of his government. Not every American statesmen would be equally ingenuous.

in the great fraternity of States, to which Chicago extends her right hand in that broad-gauge spirit of good fellowship, for which she has a high reputation.

Reckless partisan leaders have no hand in this fellowship. The general interests of the country are the last things they care for, for they live on the offal of venality, and in proportion as political vices accumulate, their services are in demand to carry them, like mill-stones about their necks, till corruption has reached the limit which the good sense of the nation will bear. Then comes the recoil. New men and new measures are brought to the front in the more forcible but less noisy strength of justice. Strong vices stimulate into life equally strong virtues, to repair spoilation, and in no place in the country can these virtues find an equally available field for action, as in the great center whose relations and associations are divided and shared from every direction, and whose charities are broadened into a national conservatism too flexible to be severed, and too tenacious to be conquered. Such is the proud position of the great Northwest in 1881. And let it never be forgotten, that she is the cradle of the new National Policy, which every American citizen now endorses, and that this policy was the fruitage of the broad fields for agriculture that nature so invitingly spread for free labour in the West, out-rivaling the time-serving policy of slave labour, and changing petty partisan disputes in our national councils into grander issues, more worthy the minds of American citizens.

Twenty years have passed since the assembling of this convention, and more material for history has grown up with them, than during the seventy-seven years preceding it, which would date back to the peace of Paris, succeeding the Revolution.

With truth, it may be said, that the issues that divided the country into two nearly equal parts before this convention, divide it no longer. What, at least, one political party then considered only a side-issue, every political party now looks upon as a national issue, involving vital principles of public policy, now settled on the only permanent basis which "manifest destiny" pointed out. Viewed as such, it becomes a legitimate theme for the historian, and if left out of history, the treatment of all or any other points on political history would be in vain.

Next to the question of slavery, the question whether we are a solid nation, or a confederacy of states, whose integrity is subject to the caprices of any single one, has been settled

CONVENTION OF 1864, AT CHICAGO.

This was called at Chicago, on the 30th of August, by the Democrats to nominate a candidate for President of the United States, to run against Abraham Lincoln, who had already been nominated at Baltimore as the Republican candidate. The war was then at its height; the rebels had shown but small signs of weakness, and it cannot be denied, that there were even some prominent Republicans who looked to a compromise with them as a possible necessity to stop the war. But whether this was the case in the Republican ranks or not, many leading Democrats openly advocated such a measure, although the more prudential ones had not yet declared such a policy. But if they had not the Republicans believed they would adopt it, should they get the power into their hands. Here was a chasm between the two parties too wide to be bridged over, and too deep to see the bottom or ultimatum of.

Had only moderate counsels prevailed in this convention, it certainly would have received better support, but unfortunately for the Democrats, they had an irrepressible constituency, ignorant, audacious and indiscrete, that neutralized all public confidence in their more temperate councils from such men as McClellan and Seymour. From hotel balconies in the open air these gushing orators ventilated their maledictions against "Old Abe" in a storm of abuse, and with the airs and attitude of a maddened gladiator, clamored for peace at any price. As might be expected, such distempered zeal disgusted the better men of the party, whose honor they had tarnished, and produced a reaction that strengthened the hands of the Union men.

These men may with propriety be called The Jacobins of the American War, and had they been sufficiently numerous to have carried out their purposes, the North would have fared better under the protection of Robert E. Lee and Alexander H. Stevens, than under their fiat. They have now sunk into deserved obscurity, to the credit of our country, be it said.

On the second day after the calling of the convention it was fully organized, with Horatio Seymour as chairman; and on the third day, which was the 1st of September, General George B. McClellan was nominated as Democratic candidate for President, by an almost unanimous ballot. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, was nominated as candidate for Vice-President the same day, when, after the usual platform and resolutions, which could not mean much under such an incongruous pressure, the convention adjourned.

CONVENTION OF 1868, AT CHICAGO.

During the last year of our war it was a foregone conclusion that it would make a President out of somebody, and it required no prophet's eye to tell who it was to be after General Robert E. Lee had surrendered to General Grant.

> "Now I dost play the touch
> To see if thou are current gold indeed."

Richard III said this to Buckingham, and in like manner "the touch" was played to General Grant, to see if he would accept the Republican nomination as candidate for President of the United States.* He consented. This was all the Republicans could ask, and every body seemed pleased, except the Democrats, whose hopes of making him their victorious political standard bearer, were dashed to the ground.

The Republican National Convention, in the "plentitude of their power," assembled at Chicago, May 20th, 1868, for the purpose of nominating their candidate, for President. The track was clear; senators, soldiers and statesmen bowed obsequiously, and stepped aside, as General Grant stepped into the open arena, and received the votes of the entire delegation as candidate for president. Schuyler Colfax was nominated for vice president, and the convention adjourned with great unanimity.

CONVENTION OF 1880, AT CHICAGO.

The Republican party was now twenty-four years old, dating its birth from the convention of 1856, at Philadelphia, that nominated Fremont as its standard-bearer.

Not an issue that had brought the party into existence, or that was a vital one in 1856–60 or '64, was now before this convention. All had been swept away by the war, and by the settlement of the questions it had raised. Neither was there any issue as to tariff, banking or financial policy, between the Republicans and Democrats, the Greenback party, being the only opposers to the financial policy endorsed by both, and yet the old lines which had ever existed between these two parties, had not been obliterated by time, for there yet exists a subtle underlying distinction between them, which could better be described in

*Before the war Mr. Grant was a Democrat.

drama, poetry or fiction than by positive statements from a tangible basis. "Shall I ride this horse to buy or to sell?" asks the young equestrian (aside) of the proprietor, as the steed is led from the stable for exhibition. So it is in partisan political practice. Friendly or unfriendly legislation, under some plastic shield, may give direction to administrative policy; sometimes with predjudicial effect upon the country, the best remedy for which may be found in the universal study of politicial economy, instead of partisan politics, in order that the fountain from which legislators draw their authority may be not less intelligent than it certainly is patriotic.

If the ends to which the people aim could always be fulfilled, the Government of the United States would present a model before the world that would make the expression, "The best Government on earth," when applied to ours, no empty name.

In no other country in the world is the voice of the people so transcendent as in the United States, as has been abundantly verified when the dernier resort comes on great issues, and the sheet anchor is thrown into the great sea of public opinion. Then partisan politics are below par, and principles rise in grand proportions, as was the case in 1860 and '64; and here it may be meet to say that the question before the people then was not a partisan but a National one.

Thus far in the history of our country, secret plans, not based on an open investigation before the people have come to naught. There is an unwritten law here, that human greatness is a spontaneous growth, like the wild flowers of the prairie and forest, exquisite in form, and beautiful in their variegated harmony as they adorn the landscape with more grace than the cultivated garden, precise with rows, squares and curves.

Our greatest heroes and noblest patriots were not trained to the forum, but were schooled in that discipline that taught them by experience the real wants of the people, and there is an unwritten law among the people that pretension sometimes more than keeps pace with merit.

As the time drew near for the assembling of the Convention of 1880, the Republicans found themselves divided in opinion as to the policy or impolicy of nominating General Grant as their candidate for President of the United States a third time. The opposers to this policy were called Anti-third Termers, but their objections to General Grant were not confined to the "impolicy" of the third term. They averred that, whatever might be his accomplishments as a soldier, he was deficient in wisdom as a statesman, and was liable to become the instrument of an unscrupulous oligarchy, intent on a centralization of wealth and polit-

ical power, inconsistent with the welfare of the country. They also charged the Grant adherents with sinister motives, on the ground that more of them held lucrative positions under the Government than of themselves (his opposers), and as a consequence their zeal was due more to private interest than to patriotism.

On the other hand, the Grant men called the Anti's Quasi Republicans, who had not the ring of the true metal; possibly "sore heads," captious and erratic, unfaithful to partisan bonds, and invited all true men of the party to rally around their own standard. They also charged them with insincerity and dogmatism in objecting to a third term.

The convention met on the 2nd of June, and after much discussion as to credentials of delegates and other parliamentary tactics, proceeded to business. It was composed of 768 delegates; 389 were necessary to a choice. On the fifth day the balloting began, and the first cast showed a Grant strength of 304. Mr. Blaine, the next strongest candidate, had 284 supporters. Several other candidates were represented by the remainder of the delegates. The balloting continued in this way with no apparent signs of yielding on either hand till the 8th of June, when the immense audience in the convention were suddenly surprised by a union of the anti-Grant forces in favor of James A. Garfield, of Ohio, who was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot, by 399 votes; immediately after which the Grant men, who up to that time had stood by their candidate with tenacious fidelity, joined with their opponents and made the vote unanimous.

Chester A. Arthur was chosen as candidate for vice president, and the convention adjourned.

THE CHICAGO ACADEMY OF SCIENCES—HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY E. B. M'CAGG.

In the early part of 1857, a society for the promotion of science, was formed in Chicago, taking the name of "The Chicago Academy of Sciences."

About $1500 was subscribed, a room was taken in the Saloon Building, corner of Clark and Lake streets, a few cases were made, and a museum was begun. The financial crisis of that year left but few of these subscriptions collectible, and the society unable to pay a curator, to build new cases, or to publish transactions. A few of the members worked at leisure hours upon the cabinet, and held monthly meetings.

In 1859, this society was incorporated under the provisions of a general law, by the name of "The Chicago Academy of Sciences."

In 1862, Mr. Robert Kennicott, always one of its most active members, and a large contributor to its collections, returned from a three years' exploration of Arctic America, richly laden with specimens in all departments of Natural History. The actual expenses of this expedition were paid by the Smithsonian Istitution, aided by various persons, and were materially lessened by the unprecedented liberality of the Hudson's Bay Company and its officers. The collections went to the Smithsonian Institution, with the understanding that any society which Mr. Kennicott might name, and which would suitably provide or their reception and care, should have a full series of the specimens. Mr. Kennicott desired that this series should find a home in Chicago.

In the winter of 1863-4, led by the great value of the collections thus made, and by the readiness of the Smithsonian Institution to fulfill its agreement as to duplicates, several prominent citizens of Chicago resolved to found here a Scientific Museum. An informal meeting of a few gentlemen was held, which Prof. Agassiz attended. His testimony as to the value of Mr. Kennicott's labors confirmed the determination of those present that funds should be provided for the proper reception of the material at their hands. A considerable sum of money was subscribed at this meeting, and by the efforts of a few individuals, additional subscriptions were made, a further act of incorporation was obtained and suitable rooms rented.

The Trustees appointed Mr. Kennicott the first Director of the Museum. The specimens which were rapidly forwarded by

the Smithsonian Institution were arranged under his direction in rooms in the Metropolitan Building, corner of Randolph and La Salle streets. Constant additions were made by members of the Academy, by friends in the vicinity, and by exchanges from American and foreign societies.

In March, 1865, Mr. Kennicott, with a party of young naturalists, went to Alaska to survey a route for a telegraph line then proposed to connect North America with Russia. The expedition was sent by the Western Union Telegraph Company, which generously offered every facility for doing scientific work outside the line of its special object. The outfit for scientific purposes was furnished by the Trustees from the funds of the Academy. From this expedition, auspiciously begun and for a time successfully conducted, Mr. Kennicott never returned. He died suddenly on the banks of the Yukon River, in the depths of that remote and desolate region. Notwithstanding his loss, the Academy reaped substantial results from this enterprise.

After the departure of Mr. Kennicott, the museum was entrusted to Dr. William Stimpson, the Secretary of the Academy. Dr. Stimpson had been for many years in charge of the Invertebrate department of the Smithsonian Institution. He had a large collection of invertebrates, and had acquired such proficiency in this branch of natural history, as to become a recognized authority in the United States. A full series of his collections was deposited by the Smithsonian Institution with the Academy. At the death of Mr. Kennicott, Dr. Stimpson became the Director of the Museum.

June 7, 1866, the building in which the collection was placed, was partially destroyed by fire, and the collection itself was in part damaged and in part destroyed. Before this fire, the question of a change of location had been seriously discussed, and immediately thereafter action was taken which resulted in the purchase of a lot on Wabash avenue, north of Van Buren street, and the erection of a building upon its rear.

The first meeting of the Academy in the new building was held on the 28th day of January, 1868. The house was of brick, 55 feet by 50 in area, and 50 feet high; the floors were of brick and iron, the stairways and principal doors of iron, and the windows were protected by iron shutters. The basement was used for laboratory and storerooms; the first floor for library and offices, while the whole upper part, 28 feet high, a large room surrounded by two wide galleries, was occupied by the museum. All available space was filled with cases of the most approved design.

Having found a permanent home in its own well-built house, reasonably deemed fire-proof, the progress of the Academy under

the skillful administration of Dr. Stimpson was rapid, and its success seemed assured. The choicest material steadily flowed to its care from exchange, from collection, and from the Smithsonian. Its supposed security made it a favorite place for the deposit of special collections, and for the same reason several private libraries, rich in special departments of science, found storage on its shelves, and added to the facilities it offered for prosecuting scientific investigation.

On the 1st of October, 1871, beside a very large collection, too miscellaneous to be enumerated, there were in the museum the following special collections, each possessing some peculiar merit:

The Audubon Club's collection of birds; the Walsh collection of insects; the Cooper collection of marine shells; the collections of two expensive and successful expeditions to the Florida coast; the Hughes collection of minerals; the collections of the Western Union Telegraph Company's expedition to Alaska; the Smithsonian collection of crustacea, the finest in the world, occupying over 10,000 glass jars, and containing many new types, described in unpublished MSS.; the collecton of invertebrates of the North Pacific expedition, taken in Japanese waters by Dr. Stimpson; Mr. George Walker's collection of marine shells; and about 8,000 specimens taken from Maine to Texas; a large collection taken in the Gulf stream by Count Pourtales, and sent here for identification; and the Scammon Herbarium, in six large cases.

On the 9th of October, 1871, this building, in spite of the fire-proof qualities it was confidently supposed to possess, with all its contents of inestimable value, specimens, library, manuscripts and apparatus, was destroyed by the fire that in a few hours devoured the fairest and costliest portion of Chicago. Of all the wealth of natural science which the Academy had held, only a few unidentified potsherds remained.

Within twelve days after the fire, a meeting was held and steps were taken towards the restoration of the Academy. A circular was issued inviting the sympathy and help of corresponding societies, which elicited many immediate and liberal responses. Dr. Stimpson, already in feeble health and prostrated by the calamity, which had destroyed at once the voluminous manuscripts of his life-work, and the sources whence they had been drawn, went to Florida, hoping that a milder climate would extend his waning lease of life. The hope was vain. He died on the 26th of May, 1872, at the home of his wife, in Ilchester, Md. His loss seemed to the friends of the Academy another stroke of a disaster which before had rendered them almost hopeless.

The Trustees, unwilling to let perish with all its wealth of repu-

tation, an institution which, at the time of the fire, was so prosperous, determined to rebuild upon the old site, making such changes in the original plan as experience suggested. Upon the front of the lot (the Academy building being on the rear), a business block was erected which, it was hoped would, besides paying the interest on the money borrowed to make these improvements, yield a regular income for the support of the Academy.

The new building was occupied in the fall of 1873, the first meeting being held October 14th of that year. The first floor is used for the necessary offices and a library room, which last also serves for the general meetings of the Society. This room is supplied with cases for books, and now contains, the property of the Society, not far from 800 bound and 1200 unbound volumes, besides several hundred pamphlets, the unbound volumes being chiefly the transactions of other societies.

The museum occupies the second and third floors; the upper being high enough for a gallery. The museum floor contains six large cases for mammals and birds, with an aggregate capacity of 1800 cubic feet; seven table cases, each containing 15 drawers, below a glazed top, with an aggregate of about 1500 square feet, and wall cases with about 250 feet of shelving. The tops of the cases, and the floor furnish places for the display of large specimens.

The Academy has now on exhibition specimens roughly enumerated, as follows :

Birds mounted, nests, eggs and skins	3,800
Mammals, reptiles and fishes, mounted	300
Insects	6,000
Shells	8,000
Minerals and Fossils	6,000
Miscellaneous	1,200
Aggregate specimens	25,300

Besides this, it has in store more than half as many more, which cannot be shown for the want of suitable cases and glassware, and a collection of casts, a reproduction of extinct animals, worth, at least, $2,500.

Large collections of great value are known to exist, which would naturally gravitate to it, if its perpetuity was reasonably assured, and it ready to receive and care for them.

The general depression which followed the panic of 1873, and continued for so many years, so lessened the receipts of the Academy from rent as to leave it unable to pay full interest on its mortgage debt, and withdrew from it the liberal aid which it had

theretofore received from its Chicago friends, and the mortgagee, unwilling to wait longer, has lately instituted proceedings to foreclose. The trustees, who have for years maintained it almost wholly at their individual cost, are unable to bear the increased burthen thus imposed on them, and will have to appeal to the liberality of the citizens of Chicago not to let it go down. They have been in the closest degree careful and economical in its management, giving it time, care and money—the last with no stinted hand—and it has a grand future before it in the rapidly increasing value of its property and its good standing with all kinds of societies, if it can be relieved from its present difficulties. Funds are needed to free it from debt, to pay salaries and wages, to furnish cases and glassware, and to resume the publication of its transactions, that the Academy may retake its place among learned societies, and pay its debts for exchanges.

It appeals to a generous public to continue the sympathy with its undertakings which it has always enjoyed, and which it confidently believes it has done nothing to forfeit, and for material aid to relieve it from its present embarrassments, save its property and ensure its future.

FIRST RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER

The first religious newspaper issued in the North-West was published at Chicago by Walker & Worrel, A. D. 1840, Rev. J. B. Walker acting as editor, and B. F. Worrel, publisher. Mr. Walker published at the same time a paper for the Western Baptists, edited by the Rev. Mr. Stone. These papers circulated in the religious families scattered over the prairies, and were the first religious publications in the New West.

GRAMMAR OF AMERICAN NAMES.

When we look over the map of Asia, except in Asia Minor, the cradle of Christianity, we see few names of which the ordinary English scholar knows their derivation or their history, but on the map of Europe, especially in England, the case is different; for here grew up a civilization directly inherited from Grecian, Roman, Norman, Saxon, Magyar and Celtic sources, and its proper names have their origin from history and biography, familiar to all who are well read in our popular literature. Hence the eye rests with far more interest on the map of Europe than that of Asia, and the memory is less tasked to retain names on the former than the latter.

Turning from both of these to the Map of America, the mind of the American scholar is delighted with the sight of household nomenclature, comparatively speaking, as the versatile sources from which our geographical names have been drawn comprise the most familiar names of Grecian and Roman antiquity, as well as from ancient Britian, medieval and modern English sources; to which may be added names to perpetuate the memory of the Fathers of our Republic, and battle-fields of American pride. Besides all these, our numerous names of Indian origin, rich in native beauty, the chief value of which grows out of the fact that they give us a key to meanings attached to free and easy vocal utterances, or, in other words, to natural language. Schoolcraft, as well as others who have studied Indian language, state that it admits of a perfect grammatical analysis, and that it expresses social conditions and affections with much impressment, free from hyperbole or affectation. Of course it is destined soon to become extinct, but while this is true, let us cherish what remains of it in its application to our geography, and our history especially, as it has imparted to it a touch of vocal harmony not found in the grammatical geography of any other country, and it is not too much to say that in no part of America have so many Indian names been retained as in the North West; and, to make the most of these valuable relics, the following article from Mr. Haines, who has given this subject considerable attention, has been solicited:

INDIAN NAMES.

BY E. M. HAINES.

Whilst the red race of North America are fast disappearing before the march of civilization, they have left to us a perpetual reminder of their former presence in the land through the multitude of local names applied to rivers, lakes, towns, counties, states, and localities of various descriptions, the origin and meaning of which is becoming a subject of interesting inquiry.

In preparing an article on this subject, at the request of Mr. Blanchard, for his work concerning the discovery and conquests of the Northwest, I can only regret that other engagements have prevented me from pursuing the subject to that extent and as fully as its importance would seem to demand. I came to Chicago in early youth, while the country about was still in possession of the native inhabitants. The Indian language was heard in every direction, and was indeed the prevailing language. The principal trade was with the Indians, in conducting which their language was the medium of communication. This afforded me an opportunity of satisfying a boyish curiosity of learning something of this language as spoken by the Pottawattomies, then the prevailing tribe in the vicinity, which in after life led to a more full investigation into the various Indian languages of the country.

The popular idea is that these Indian names, or those which are taken to be such, are genuine names and possess some appropriate signification; but whoever will take the trouble to investigate in this regard, will find much in this notion that is erroneous. This not being a written language, there is wanting a permanent standard of pronunciation; hence, in transferring Indian names into our literature they have been liable to undergo material changes in their sounds, so much so in a large proportion of instances, that the original intention can scarcely be determined with any degree of certainty. As an example in this respect, an instance is afforded, among others, concerning the name of a locality on the southern border of Lake Superior, where a point of land extends into the lake for a distance beyond which the water is shoal, which the Indians call *Sha-ga-waum-ic-ong* from *Sha-ga-waum-ic*, a shoal point in the water. This word, passing through the French into our language, became *Chequamegon*, and the place is so called at this day, which is not an Indian word, and has no element whatever of an Indian word, except as

to the syllable *che*, which is a familiar prefix in the Algonquin language.

In like manner, as before remarked, a large proportion of our so-called Indian geographical names, have undergone such changes that they can scarcely be recognized as Indian words in their present form. In this connection, before proceeding further, it is proper to state that it is not intended in this brief article to pursue a general enquiry as to Indian names extending over the continent, but the field will be limited to our more immediate vicinity in the North-West.

In pursuing this subject intelligently, it is proper first to classify the various groups of native inhabitants as nearly as may be, so far as they are marked by a common or generic language. These were the Algonquin, Iroquois, Appalachian, Dakota and Shoshonee. Each of these were divided into tribes or families, speaking different dialects of the common language, by which the main group was distinguished. In this division of tribes they resembled the ancient Jews.

The *Algonquins* inhabited the country extending from Nova Scotia south to the James River, thence west to the mouth of the Ohio, and from thence northward to Hudsons Bay, excepting that portion on the south and east of Lake Ontario, since comprised within the State of New York, which was occupied by the *Iroquois*.

The *Appalachians* occupied that portion of the country south of the *Algonquins*, and east of the Mississippi. The *Dakotas*, called by the French *Sioux*, occupied a district of country west of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri and Platte Rivers. The country south and west of them was occupied by the *Shoshonees*.

Thus, in tracing the origin or in arriving at the meaning of Indian names, we have first to determine from which language of the several groups they are derived, and through what particular dialect they are produced.

Among the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, the Algonquin language as spoken by the Ojibway nation, was regarded as the court language, so that when a person fell among a strange tribe, whose language he did not understand, if he spoke this language, they were bound as a general rule, to furnish some one who who could communicate with him in that language. It was through this language, that Marquette spoke with all the tribes, on his route from Montreal to the Des Moines, and so it was with all these early French travellers, including LaHontan, who proceeded, as we may believe from his narrative, far up the Platte river. Thus the language of the Algonquins became in one sense the universal language of the continent; whereby it happens

that a large proportion of our Indian geographical names are derived from that source. Hence it may be proper to give in this connection some general suggestions in regard to this language.

According to the Ojibway standard only *seventeen* letters are required to write correctly and plainly all the words in this expressive language. These letters are divided into vowels and consonants. There are only four vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*. This language has properly no *u*. There are *thirteen* consonants, namely : b, c, d, g, h, j, k, m, n, p, s, t, w. The following consonants, f, l, q, r, v, x, z, never occur in the words of this language. So any word stated to be an Indian word, if it comprises any of the last mentioned letters, it can be set down for certain that it is not an *Algonquin* word, and the chances are that it is not a genuine Indian word, but a corruption of an Indian word. The French, as a general thing, in writing and speaking this language, substituted the letter *l* for that of *n*, as in the word *Milwaukie*, which should properly be *Minwaukie*. It is stated, however, that four tribes of the Algonquin group—the Lenni Lenapes, or Delawares, the Sacs, Foxes' and Shawnees—had in their dialect the sound of *l*.

In constructing words in this language, it is required that a consonant should precede or follow a vowel, except in dissyllables wherein two consonants are sounded in juxtaposition, as in *mukkuk*, a box, and *as-sin*, a stone; the utterances in these cases being confluent. But in longer compounds this juxtaposition is generally avoided by throwing in a vowel, for the sake of euphony, as in the term *Assinebwoin*, the *e* in which is a mere connective, and has no meaning by itself. Nor is it allowable, in general, for vowels to follow each other in syllabication. The plural of animate names is marked by adding the letter *g*. Thus, *manito*, a spirit; plural, *manitog*. The plural of inanimate names is marked by the letter *n* added; thus, *abwi*, a paddle; plural, *abwin*. This termination, however, is varied by vowels preceding the final letter forming the plural, according to circumstances.

In pursuing Indian geographical names, it is noticeable that in general the names are derived from the language of the tribes who inhabited that part of the country where such names are found. In many instances, however, these names have been carried by emigrants from their appropriate locality to other parts of the country. But as a general rule such names serve to mark the former locality of Indian tribes speaking the language from which they are derived; as in the State of New York, which abounds in Indian names, and reminds us that here once lived the Iroquois nation.

Not only are the people, who have succeeded the native tribes, in complete ignorance of the origin and meaning of the names

they have left us to designate, rivers, towns, and localities, but they are unaware of the fact that very many names we are now using, which we suppose to come from other sources, are also, Indian names, or derived therefrom. Of the *thirty-eight* States of the Union, *eighteen* have Indian names, as follows: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Alabama, Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, which in general, are derived from great rivers or other waters.

In pursuing this subject, there is one thing with which we have to deal wherein at this time we can obtain no satisfactory aid in case of doubt or uncertainty. We frequently find Indian words where the same sounds occur, from two or more different languages or dialects, with entirely different meanings; so, what may have been the original intention in giving the name, or from which language or dialect the word is derived, cannot be stated. In such cases, conjecture only can be given. The word *Chicago*, or that which is essentially the same, is found in several different languages, with entirely different meanings.

In the following list of Indian names, we will, for convenience, use abbreviations to some extent, thus: *Alg.*, for Algonquin, *Irq.*, for Iroquois, *Apl.*, for Appalachian, *Dak.*, for Dakota.

Arkansaw—A town in Wisconsin; given by the French as *Arkansas;* applied to a tribe of Indians in the vicinity of a river of that name flowing into the Mississippi from the west. Hennepin speaks of these Indians as the *Kansas*, the signification of which is not given. It is said that they made a superior kind of bows for shooting, the material being of a peculiar kind of wood growing in that country, hence they were called "Arckansas," pronounced *Arkansaw*. By some, called "the bow Indians."

Ashkum—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois; *more and more.* Thus *Ashkum-ahkoose*, he is getting worse (more sick.) *Ashkum Wabishkah*, it is getting whiter.

Athapee—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin, *when, when is it.*

Allamakee (*An-a-ma-kee*)—*Ag.*—A county in Iowa. *Thunder.*

Algonquin.—A town in Illinois. The name of one of the principal groups of North American Indians, given to them by the French. Its meaning is in some doubt. It is derived from the Algonquin language, and is said to mean, *people of the other side, or opposite shore.*

Algonac.—A town in Michigan. Pertaining to Algonquin. *Place of the Algonquins.*

Anoka—*Alg.*—A town in Minnesota. *He works*, or "a busy place."

ANAMOSA.—*Alg.*—A town in Iowa. *You walk from me*, or, perhaps, from *An-a-mosh*, "a dog."

APPANOOSE—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. Name of an Indian chief of the Fox tribe. *The grandchild.*

CAYUGA (*Gwe-u-gweh*)—*Irq.*—A town in Illinois, *Mucky-land;* from a tribe of Indians in New York of the Iroquois nation; they were called *Gwe-u-gweh-o-no*, "People of the Mucky land."

CHEBANSE—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois; *Little Duck*, from an Indian chief of that name.

CHEMUNG—*Irq.*—A town in Illinois; from a river of that name in New York, signifying *big horn*, so named by the Indians from finding in the bed of the river a fossil elephant's tusk.

CHICAGO—*Alg.*—A city in Illinois; said to derive its name from the river of that name. Some insist that it comes from *she-kagh*, or *she-gagh*—"skunk." The word *Choe-ca-go* occurs in the Pottawattamie dialect, which signifies "destitute." There is nothing in the history or tradition of this word which would lead to the conclusion that it was derived from the word *she-kagh*, except the mere coincidence of sounds. The word, or that which is essentially the same, first occurs in Hennepin's account of Fort *Creve Coeur*, built by LaSalle, January, 1680, on the Illinois river, near where Peoria now stands. He says this fort was called by the savages *Chicagou*, but does not give the meaning of the word. This reference thereto, occurs in the heading to that chapter of his book giving an account of the building of this fort, the words of which are as follows: "An account of the building of a new fort on the river of the Illinois, named by the savages *Checagou*, and by us Fort *Crevecoer*." Four years later the name appears on a French map, applied to a river represented as putting into the river *Desplein* from the east, near Mount Joliet. A few years later LaHonton designates the portage between the Illinois river and the great lake as the portage of *Chikakou*. Charlevoix, in 1720, refers to the point on the great lake at which the portage to the Illinois river commences as *Chicagou*. There are several words in the various dialects of the Algonquin group to which the origin of this word may be assigned with equal propriety as that of *she-kahg*. Certain it is, that there is no light afforded us in history by which we can determine the original intention as to the meaning of this word.*

ESCANABA—*Alg.*—Menominee dialect.—A town in Michigan. *Flatrock.*

* In the early part of this work the writer gave the signification of this word according to the meaning which the Indians gave it in the later day, and which has generally been accepted as good authority; but the investigations of Mr. Haines would go to show that a diversity of Indian meanings have been applied to it with so little affinity with each other, that one is lost in the attempt to settle on a consistent theory as to the true spirit of the term.—AUTHOR.

Geneseo (*Gen-nis-he-yo*) *Irq.*—A town in Illinois. *Beautiful Valley.* The name of a river in New York, so named by the Iriquois from the beautiful valley this river passes through.

Illinois—From the Algonquin word *inini*, "man," and French adjective termination *ois.* The French substituted *l* for *n.* From tradition, it was intended to mean or have reference to *a perfect man*, as distinguished from the Iroquois nation, who were considered by the Western tribes as beasts. Marquette, in descending the Mississippi, touched on the west bank of that river at a place near the mouth of the Des Moines, where he found marks of inhabitants, which he pursued westward a few miles, when he arrived at an Indian village, where he was received with demonstrations of great friendship. He communicated with the inhabitants, it would appear, in the Algonquin language, but as their dialect differed from that of any of the tribes he had before met with, he asked the chief who received him who they were. He answered in the Algonquin language, "We are *men*," as distinguished from the Iroquois, whom they looked upon as beasts in consequence of their cruel conduct in their invasions upon the Western tribes. Hence the term *Inini*, "man," or as the French rendered it, *Illini.* Thereafter the tribes of this vicinity became known among the French as *Illinese* or *Illinois.*

Ishpeming—*Alg.*—A town in Michigan. *High-above-Heaven.*

Kalamazoo—(*Ne-gik-an-a-ma-zoo*)—*Alg.*—A river in Michigan. The contraction of an Indian phrase descriptive of the stones seen through the water in its bed, which from a refractive power in the current, resembled an otter swimming under water.

Kenosha—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *A long fish—a pike.* From *Kenose*—"long."

Kewanee—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Prairie hen.*

Kewaskum—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Returning track.*

Kickapoo—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. The name of one of the Algonquin tribes of the West, jestingly applied by others of the same stock. From *Negik-abos—an otter's apparition—ghost of an otter.*

Kishwauke—*Alg.*—A river in Illinois. *Place of sycamore trees.*

Kokomo—*Alg.*—A town in Indiana.—*Wise, like an owl.* From which it would seem that the Indians, like the ancient Greeks, esteemed the owl as an emblem or symbol of wisdom.

Moccasin—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *A shoe.*

Manitoba—(*Man-i-to-bwa.*)—*Alg.*—Name of a lake in the British Possessions of the Northwest. *Spirit-voice.*

Manito—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Spirit.* By the early French travelers, *Manitou.*

Manitowoc—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Place of the*

Spirit. By some, *Man-i-to-auk*—"A tree where spirits abide."

Mascoutah—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. From *mascoda*, "prairie."

Mazo manie—*Dak.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Walker on iron.* Name of a Sioux chief.

Menominee—*Alg.*—A river and town in Wisconsin. *Eater of wild rice.* From a tribe of Indians called Menominees, from their subsisting on wild rice.*

Mequon, or *Maquon*—*Alg.*—A river in Wisconsin. *Feather or quill.*

Michigamme, or *Michigumme*—*Alg.*—A town in Michigan. *Great water.*

Michilimacinac—*Alg.*—An island in the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan. *Great Turtle.*

Michigan—*Alg.*—*The Great Lake.*

Minnehahah—(*Minne-rara*)—*Dak.*—Name of a noted waterfall in Minnesota. *Laughing water;* from *Minne*, "water" and *ra ra*, "laugh." This was the name originally given by the *Dakotahs* to St. Anthonys Falls. Hennepin visited these Falls in 1680, and gave to them the present name of St. Anthony. In later years the name *Minnehaha*, intended for *Min-ne-ra-ra*, became applied to that small but interesting waterfall near Ft. Snelling.

Milwaukee—(*Min-wau-kee*).—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin, *Good earth.—Good country.*

Minnetonka—*Dak.*—Name of a noted lake in Minnesota; a great pleasure resort. The word is *Minne Tonga*, or more properly spoken, *Tonga Minne*, signifying "a lake" *or body of water.*

Minnesota—*Dak.*—Name of a river and state. From *Minne* "water," and "sota," which is understood to mean mixed or mottled, signifying the condition or appearance of the water of this river, when affected by the flood of the Mississippi; some say that *sota*, refers to the hazy or smoky appearance of the atmosphere, over the valley of this river at some seasons of the year.

Mississippi—*Alg.*—Name of a river and state.—*Great River.*

Misha Moqua—(*Mish-a-muk-wa.*)—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin—*Great bear.* From *misha*, "great," and *mukwa*, "a bear."

Mokena—(Mok-e-*na*)—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Turtle.*

Moawequa—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Weeping woman; she that weeps.*

Muscoda—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Prairie.*

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* The marshy lands along Fox River and adjacent lakes, in the country of the Menominees, abounded in wild rice, and was their principal article of subsistence; hence the appellation, Menominees, from *me-no-min*, "wild rice."

Muskegon—(*Muskeg-ong*) *Alg.*—A town in Michigan. *At the swamp.*

Muskego—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Swamp.*

Musquaka—*Alg.*—Sac dialect.—A town in Iowa. *Red earth.*

Neoga—*Irq.*—A town in Illinois. *Place of the Great Spirit.*

Neshotah—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Twin.*

Nokomis—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Grandmother.*

Nunda—*Irq.*—A town in Illinois. *Hills.*

Ogema—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Chief—head man.*

Ohio (*O-hee-o*)—*Irq.*—Name of a river. *Beautiful—how beautiful.*

Ontonagon—*Alg.*—A town on Lake Superior. From *Nontonagon*, "My dish."

Osage—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. Miami dialect. *The Neutral.* The name of a tribe of Indians.

Oscoda—*Alg.*—A town in Michigan. From *Iscoda*, "Fire."

Oshkosh—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Brave.* Name of a Menominee chief.

Oquaka—*Alg.*—Sac dialect.—A town in Illinois. *Yellow earth.*

Ossineke (*Os-sin-e-ka*)—*Alg.*—A town in Michigan. *He that gathers or works in stones.*

Oswego (*O-Sweh-go*)—*Irq.*—A town in Illinois. *Flowing out.* This name was given by the Iroquois to the place at the mouth of the river, since called by that name, in the state of New York.

Ottawa—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Trader.* Name of a tribe of Indians whom the French designated as the *traders.*

Ozaukee—*Alg.*—A county in Wisconsin. *Yellow earth.*

Pembina—*Alg.*—A town in Minnesota. *High bush cranberries.* The name of a river, being so named by the Indians from these bushes growing along its banks.

Peotone (*Pe-tone*)—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Bring—bring here.*

Poweshiek—*Alg.*—A county in Iowa. From an Indian chief of the Fox tribe. *The roused bear.*

Poygan—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Pipe.*

Sebewa—(*Se-be-wan*)—*Alg.*—A town in Michigan. *Running water.*

Shawano—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Southern.*

Somonauk (*Es-sem-in-auk*)—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Paw Paw tree.*

Tonica—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *A place inhabited.*

Tuscola—*Apl.*—A town in Illinois. *A level plain.*

Wabashaw—*Dak.*—A town in Minnesota. From an Indian chief of the Sioux nation. *Redleaf* or *the leaf.*

WAPELLA—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. From an Indian chief of the Fox Tribe. *He who is painted white.*

WAUSAU—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Far off.*

WAUKESHA (*Wau-koosh-ong*)—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *At the Fox, on Fox River.* This is another of those numerous instances of an attempt to adopt an Indian name, which has not been successful. The word given in parenthesis is believed to be the word intended. The place bearing this name was originally called Prairieville. As the town grew in importance, the inhabitants, foremost among whom was the late Gov. Randall, desired to adopt some more appropriate name. It being situated on Fox river, they wished to adopt some Indian name, suggestive of its locality. This would be properly expressed by the word *Wau-koosh-ong*, which would seem to be the word intended. But *Waukesha* would not be recognized by the Indians as an Indian word.

WAUKEGAN (*Wau-ki-e-gan*)—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *A house, or fort.* The place where this town is situated was originally called *Little Fort.* It seems to have been a French trading post of minor importance—probably established about the year 1720, or at some time in the early part of that century. The occasion of selecting this point as a post seems to have been two-fold. It was in the vicinity of excellent hunting and trapping grounds, especially the latter, and was found to be the nearest point of any for reaching the Desplaines river from Lake Michigan, where in a good stage of water a short, easy portage could be made on the route to the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, saving about forty miles of lake coast, necessary in going by way of Chicago. It was continued as a French post until probably about 1760. After the English succeeded to the country the point became known as *The Little Fort*, and the town subsequently built up here took that name. Judge Blodgett, now of the United States Court, becoming a resident of the place, and having a fancy for Indian names, suggested that the name of Little Fort be changed by substituting an Indian name signifying the same thing. The diminutive of nouns in the Algonquin language is formed by adding the syllable *anse*, so that Little Fort in that language would be *Wau-ki-e-ganse;* but for the purposes of euphony the name adopted was *Waukegan*, which would signify simply *Fort* or *House.* Although the pronunciation is not precisely the same as the Indian word intended, but yet is nearer to that intended than the so called Indian names generally are. The Indians designated a fort or dwelling of the white man by the same name. The original dwellings of the whites among them were buildings for trading posts, built in a style for protection, and were called *forts* by the French.

Wauconda—*Dak.*—A town in Illinois. *The Good Spirit.*

Wanatah—*Dak.*—A town in Indiana. *He that charges on his enemies.* Name of an Indian chief.

Waupun (*Wau-bun*)—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. *Early—frontier.*

Weyauwega—*Alg.*—A town in Wisconsin. This is one of the words passing for an Indian name, which in its present form is not an Indian word. The word, according to the late Gov. Doty, is *Wey-au-we-ya*, as given by him to the postoffice department at Washington when the postoffice at that place was established. The department mistook the *y* for *g*, rendering the name as it now is. The word intended is an Algonquin word, of the Menominee dialect, and signifies *whirling wind.* It was the name of a faithful Menominee Indian guide long in the service of Gov. Doty, whose name he sought after his death to perpetuate through applying it to this town.

Winetka—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *A beautiful place.*

Winnebago (*Win-ne-be-gog*)—*Ag.*—Name of a county in Illinois. *Dirty waters.* The name of a tribe of Indians found by the French at Green Bay, which they called Stinking Bay for some cause, whereby these Indians became known as *Winnebagogs*, or people of the dirty waters

Wisconsin.—Name of a river and state. Marquette calls this river the *Mishkonsing*, which is supposed to have been intended as an Indian word, signifying *strong current*, a feature which marks this stream in high water.

Wyanet.—*Alg.*—A town in Illinois. *Beautiful.*

Yankton.—*Dak.*—A town in Dakota Territory. From *Eyank-ton-wah*, "People of the Sacred, or Spirit Lakes."

FIRST THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

To Rufus Blanchard,

Wheaton, Ills.

The first proclamation of any Thanksgiving day in this State was issued by Hon. Francis C. Sherman, as Mayor of Chicago, in 1841, attested by Thomas Hoyne, as City Clerk. It is well known that an annual Thanksgiving day is of New England origin, and is, in peculiar respects, a New England institution. From the organization of our State Government, and the admission of the State into the Union, the Governors and principal officers of Illinois were of Southern extraction, and up to 1841,—much the largest portion of our population that had come into this State, was made up of families who had imigrated from the states south, bringing with them the customs, and so far as they could, introducing the institutions of their Fathers.

Chicago in common with the northern portion of the State, was colonized by a majority of persons who emigrated from New York, the Eastern and Middle States. In 1841 the Common Council of Chicago consisted of twelve (12) alderman and a mayor. Mr. Sherman, the Mayor, was from Connecticut, as was also Julius Wadsworth, a member of the Board. The others were from Eastern States, and Thomas Hoyne, the third City Clerk ever chosen, was serving his second year in office, that officer being elected then annually.

Alderman Wadsworth suggested, that if he (Hoyne) would draft a *resolution*, and then draw a *proclamation* in due form, so that it should go out signed by the Mayor and Clerk as authoritative, fixing a special day at the usual time in this city as a day for thanksgiving, requesting the churches to observe, and the people of the city to close their places of business; the people of this city could have a holiday, the turkey would be eaten, and our 4,000 people would be happy.

All was carried out as proposed. It is not for the author of the proclamation to praise that instrument. But it was a document of tremendous sound and unusual length.

The day appointed was kept, the churches were all opened, the ministers in their places, and the sermons were of the orthodox size and style.

A copy of the proclamation was published in the *two* newspapers of that day, one of which, the Chicago *Democrat*, was

in the hands of the writer up to the time of the great fire of 1871.

It will appear that in the early infancy of our city, we were easily led to adopt one of the most *pious customs* of the Pilgrim Fathers, while the example was adopted and has since been followed by the State.

THOS. HOYNE.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN SOCIETY.

BY MRS. ANNIE E. WALBERT.

This society was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois, November 28, 1874. The object of the society is to provide a place for destitute women and girls believed to be worthy, where they can earn an honest and respectable living. For this purpose a Home is provided at No. 151 Lincoln avenue, where, when necessary, they can be cared for temporarily, and as soon as a suitable place can be found, they are sent to it. An employment bureau is connected with the business office of this association, 173 E. Randolph street. The institution is supported in part by the revenue derived from its Industrial Department, and in part from voluntary contributions.

The Rev. Robert Collyer was one of its earliest active supporters, and until his removal to New York one of its Directors. In 1877 its Directors were :

Rev. Robert Collyer, Hon. Leonard Swett, Hon. Thomas Hoyne, Hon. W. F. Coolbaugh, Gen. A. L. Chetlain, Rev. H. W. Thomas, Robert Hervey, Hon. Wm. Vocke.

The affairs of the society are managed by the undersigned, acting as its officers and Directors :

President—Mrs. Annie E. Walbert; Vice President—Mrs. F. J. Bluthardt; Secretary—George S. Redfield; Treasurer—Lyman J. Gage.

Directors—Hon. E. B. Washburne, Hon. Thomas Hoyne, Hon. Leonard Swett, Gen. A. L. Chetlain, Rev. H. W. Thomas, Geo. S. Redfield, Lyman J. Gage, N. K. Fairbanks, Hon. Wm. Vocke.

THE UNIVERSALIST DENOMINATION IN CHICAGO.

BY WILLIAM H. RYDER.

The first organized effort for the establishment of a Universalist parish in Chicago, was made in the winter of the years 1841–2. The meetings were held in City Saloon Building, southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets.

The congregations were small, but among the members were several persons who afterward became prominent as public spirited and leading citizens. Abram Gale, now residing at Galewood, at the ripe age of 84, was among the active and useful workers of that period. The first church edifice built by the society was located on Washington Street, next to the M. E. Church, and was dedicated in the winter of 1843–4, Rev. W. E. Manley preaching the sermon. Rev. Dr. Wm. E. Manley was the first pastor. The building was constructed of wood, and still survives the changes which have been made in the city. After having been several times removed, it is now located on the southeast corner of Wabash Avenue and Sixteenth Street, and is creditably employed as a market.

In 1856, having outgrown the wooden structure, the Society erected a remarkably attractive edifice on the corner of Wabash avenue and Van Buren street; Rev. Samuel P. Skinner, whose memory is still precious in the affections of his many friends, was pastor of the congregation in its more primitive days, and to his zeal in the cause was largely due the success of the undertaking. This second church building was entirely destroyed in the GREAT FIRE, and the present spacious and imposing edifice was built in 1874–5, at a cost—including land, organ and furnishing—of $185,000. The present pastor, Rev. William H. Ryder, A. M., D. D., assumed the pastoral care of the society the first Sunday in January, 1860. He has consequently held his present charge for nearly twenty-one years. During this long period this society, like every other in the city, has been greatly changed. But few of the original workers are now alive, or if alive, they are unable by the infirmities of years, to bear any considerable portion of the responsibility, which, in early life, it was there joy to assume.

The legal title of the parish is the First Universalist Society of Chicago; but the organization is generally known as St. Paul's Universalist Church. It is the recognized leading Universalist

parish in the North-West. The congregation is large, and contains many leading citizens. The church membership is 410. The Sunday School is under the efficient care of Jas. H. Swan; the Ladies' Aid Society, of Mrs. George C. Morton; the Industrial School in aid of colored girls, of Mrs. H. W. Wetherell, and the Young People's Association has the presidency of Frank E. Johnson.

In the year 1858 some of the members of the First Society, residing in the West Division, organized a new parish in that portion of the city, under the title of the Second Universalist Society, generally known as the Church of the Redeemer. The church building is located at the corner of West Washington and Sangamon streets, and is a neat and commodious structure. The parish is large and prosperous. Rev. Dr. A. C. Barry was the first pastor. Rev. James H. Tuttle came at the close of the year 1859, and during his pastorate the society was greatly strengthened. His successors were Rev. T. E. St. John, Rev. Dr. G. T. Flanders, Rev. Dr. J. E. Forrester, and Rev. Dr. Sumner Ellis. Dr. Ellis has just closed a successful ministry of five years, and the parish is now seeking a pastor.

The third church, known as the Murray Chapel, was formed—mostly from the membership of St. Paul's—in 18 . They erected a convenient edifice on Indiana avenue, near Twenty-ninth street, but the parish was so weakened by the Great Fire, losses by death, as to compel a discontinuance of the organization.

The Universalists have a flourishing college in Galesburg known as Lombard University. They have also prosperous schools in Iowa and Wisconsin, a college at Akron, Ohio, one at Logansport, Indiana, called Smithson College, and two colleges and two theological schools in the Eastern States. Measures are in progress for the establishment of a theological school in connection with Lombard University.

In addition to these leading facts in the history of the Universalist denomination in this city, much might be said of the useful work done by these churches in promoting the moral and religious welfare of the city, and the Northwest. For, in some respects, their position has been peculiar. Assailed as they were, at the first, by a violent prejudice amounting almost to persecution, it has been, in an especial degree, the work of the Universalists to enforce the doctrine of religious toleration. Happily, the old time intolerance is now almost wholly unknown, and the differing sects find much to do and to enjoy in common. The Universalists are now fairly entrenched as one of the recognized religious organizations of the city, and perhaps no parish in the Northwest has done more effective service in defending Christianity against the assaults of rationalism than St. Paul's of Chicago.

THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION IN CHICAGO.

THE CHURCHES.

The Baptists were among the first to begin Christian work in Chicago. Indeed, when in the year 1833, Dr. John F. Temple, one of the earliest settlers at this point, wrote to Dr. Jonathan Going, Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, for a missionary to be sent here, he said: "We have no servant of the Lord Jesus Christ to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation." Dr. Going immediately began correspondence with a young man, Allen B. Freeman, who was about finishing his course of study at the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution at Hamilton, N. Y., and in August, 1833, Mr. Freeman, the first Baptist minister in Chicago, was upon the ground. His term of service, and of life, was, however, sadly brief. In December, 1834, after only a little more than one year of faithful labor, having preached and administered the rite of baptism at Bristol, as he was returning homeward his horse gave out, and he was obliged to make most of the journey on foot, with much exposure to inclement weather. The consequence was a fever, of which he died, Dec. 15, 1834. His last words were: "Tell my revered father that I die at my post, and in my Master's work."

What is now the First Baptist Church had, in the meantime, been formed. It was organized with fifteen members, Oct. 19, 1833, the first Baptist Church in the State north of Peoria. A place of worship had been prepared—an humble edifice, designed both as a school-house and for worship, and costing only nine hundred dollars.

The history of the church, since the date of these beginnings, has been one of steady progress, with the exception of such breaks in the course of its prosperity as were caused by the disastrous fires of 1871 and 1874; which, by cutting off resources and necessitating change of location have interposed obstacles to growth, and temporarily crippled its power. In 1843 a larger house was built, under the pastorate of Rev. E. H. Hamlin. This was burned in 1852, but was immediately rebuilt in larger proportions and with much more of architectural finish, under the pastorate of Rev. J. C. Burroughs. In 1864, as will be related elsewhere, the ground, at the corner of LaSalle and Washington streets, where this house stood, was sold to the Chamber of Commerce, and the house presented to an organization on the

West Side, which took the name of the Second Baptist Church. The First Church found a new location at the corner of Wabash avenue and Hubbard Court, and here a spacious and elegant house was built, Dr. W. W. Everts, the pastor, leading in the enterprise. The fire of 1874 destroyed the house, and the church then removed some three miles south, to the corner of Thirty-first street and South Park avenue. The house there erected, under the pastorate of Dr. Everts, surpasses in beauty and commodiousness even the former one, and the church itself is rapidly recovering the ground lost through fire and the changes so made necessary. Its present membership (1880) is not far from one thousand.

The successive pastors of the church have been Rev. A. B. Freeman, 1833–44; Rev. J. T. Hinton, 1835–42; Rev. C. B. Smith, 1842–43; Rev. E. H. Hamlin, 1843–45; Rev. Miles Sanford, 1845–47; Rev. Elisha Tucker, D. D., 1848–51; Rev. J. C. Burroughs, D. D., 1852–56; Rev. W. G. Howard, D. D., 1856–59; Rev. W. W. Everts, D. D., 1859–79, and Rev. G. C. Lorimer, D. D., the present pastor.

The field of the Second Baptist Church, in this city, in order of date, has been chiefly upon the west side of the river. This church was organized in 1842, being composed of persons who left the First Church, with that view, under the leadership of Rev. C. B. Smith. Its original place of worship was upon LaSalle street, near the First Church. This being burned, not long after, the church moved to the West Side, locating between Washington and Madison streets, on Desplaines. Its successive pastors, up to the year 1864, were: Rev. C. B. Smith, Rev. H. M. Rice, Rev. Lewis Raymond, Rev. A. Kenyon, Rev. H. K. Greene, Rev. I. E. Kenney, and Rev. Nathaniel Colvern, D. D. The church, during this period of its history, enjoyed much prosperity; under the pastorate of Mr. Raymond alone, some two or three hundred being added to it. In the year 1864, the property of the First Church, at the corner of LaSalle and Washington streets, was sold, as mentioned above. The house, an excellent brick structure, was presented by the church to such of its members living on the West Side as should unite with the Tabernacle Church, at a location more favorable than the one occupied by that body, the resulting organization to be called the Second Baptist Church of Chicago. The house was accordingly taken down, removed and re-erected, at the corner of Morgan and Monroe streets. Rev. E. J. Goodspeed, of Janesville, Wis., was called to the pastorate, and a career of remarkable prosperity at once began. The church grew to be one of the largest, most enterprising and useful in the city. In the later years of his pastorate, Dr. Goodspeed's health becoming infirm, and the care of so large a church being necessarily

arduous, his brother, Rev. T. W. Goodspeed, was associated with him. Dr. Goodspeed's health continuing to fail, their joint pastorate terminated in 1873, and Rev. Galusha Anderson, D. D., pastor of the Strong Place Church, Brooklyn, accepted the call of the church as their successor. He was followed by Dr. John Peddie, of Philadelphia. Dr. Peddie, after a pastorate of less than two years, accepting a call to the First Baptist Church, New York City, Rev. W. M. Lawrence, of Philadelphia, became his successor, and is now (1880) the pastor.

The Edina Place Baptist Church (now Michigan Avenue), third in order of time, was organized in 1856 by members the First Church, dismissed for that purpose. A house of worship was built at the corner of Edina Place and Harrison street, Rev. Robert Boyd, of Waukesha, Wis., being called as pastor. During a succession of years, the church, under his ministry, enjoyed remarkable prosperity. In due time a better location was found at the corner of Wabash Avenue and Eighteenth street. Subsequently the church removed to the corner of Michigan Avenue and Twenty-third street, where a large and handsome edifice was erected, the church taking the name of Michigan Avenue Baptist Church. The pastors have been: Rev. Robert Boyd, D. D.; Rev. E. G. Taylor, D. D.; Rev. Samuel Baker, D. D.; Rev. Jesse B. Thomas, D. D.; Rev. F. M. Ellis, Rev. J. W. Custis, and Rev. James Patterson. The pastor at present is Rev. K. B. Tupper, formerly of Virginia.

Fourth in order of date was the Union Park Baptist Church. It was organized in September, 1856. Its first house of worship being near Union Park, gave its name to the church. Another large and more inviting structure was subsequently built, still nearer the Park, at the corner of West Washington and Paulina streets. Subsequently, upon occasion of a union of the Union Park with the Ashland Avenue Church, the resulting organization took the name of Fourth Baptist Church. Its pastors have been: Rev. A. J. Joslyn, Rev. I. S. Mahan, Rev. E. G. Taylor, Rev. Florence McCarthy, Rev. D. B. Cheney, D. D., and Rev. E. B. Hulbert, D. D.; Dr. Hulbert being in service at the present time.

About the year 1857, the Berean Baptist Church was organized on the west side of the river. Its first pastor was Rev. Rufus Rider, who was followed by Rev. A. Kenyon. It subsequently, under the pastorate of Rev. N. F. Ravlin, took the name of the Fifth Baptist Church. In the changes made necessary through various causes, the field occupied by this church was occupied by a new organization, under the name of the Centennial Baptist Church, a prosperous and efficient organization, whose successive pastors have been Rev. N. E. Wood, Rev. C. E. Hewitt, D. D., and Rev. A. H. Parker, who is now in service.

The North Baptist Church was organized in November, 1857 being composed of persons living upon that side of the river who had been formed into a congregation under the ministry of Rev. J. A. Smith, of the *Standard*. Its first place of meeting was the lecture room of Rush Medical College. In the spring and summer of 1858, however, a house of worship was built and dedicated at the corner of Ohio and Dearborn streets. The church having acquired sufficient strength for the support of a pastor, Mr. Smith resigned, and Rev. S. W. Lynd, D. D., succeeded him. He was followed by Rev. A. H. Strong, now President of the Rochester Theological Seminery, and he by Rev. A. A. Kendrick, who is now President of Shurtleff College, at Upper Alton. Mr. Kendrick was succeeded by Rev. Reuben Jeffrey, D. D., and he by Rev. O. T. Walker. The great fire of 1871 destroyed the house of worship, which was at the time upon Chicago avenue, having been purchased of the Unitarians, and the church was scattered. Many of its members, however, were subsequently re-gathered, and in company with others formed the Central Baptist Church, near Lincoln Park, under the care of Rev. E. O. Taylor.

The North Star Church, also upon the north side of the river, was originally a mission of the First Church, established in 1860, at the corner of Division and Sedgwick streets. A valuable property was then secured, at a cost of some $80,000. The great fire destroyed the chapel and parsonage, but they were immediately re-built, through the efforts of Dr. Everts. The mission became a church in 1870. The first pastor was Rev. Geo. L. Wrenn. After him came Rev. E. R. Pierce, who was succeeded by Rev. J. M. Whitehead; he by Rev. R. P. Allison, upon whose resignation, in 1879, Rev. Joseph Rowley became pastor.

The Indiana Avenue Church, at the corner of Indiana Avenue and Thirtieth street, was also originally a mission of the First Church, founded in 1863, at which time a neat brick chapel was built upon lots donated for the purpose. Rev. J. A. Smith, D. D., served as the first pastor, from 1863 to 1868, when he was succeeded by Rev. M. S. Riddell, D. D., after whom came Rev. F. D. Rickerson and Rev. W. W. Everts, Jr. Upon the removal of the First Church to its present location, the Indiana Avenue Church was united with it.

In 1868 members of the Indiana Avenue Church united with others living near the University, in forming the University Place Church. Its first place of meeting was the chapel of the University. Subsequently a place of worship was built near the corner of Thirty-fifth street and Rhodes Avenue. Besides Dr. Smith, the church has been served in its pastorate by Rev. Wm.

Hague, D. D., Rev. J. B. Jackson, D. D., Rev. A. J. Frost, Rev. A. Owen, D. D., and Rev. J. T. Burhoe.

Other churches not named above, are the South Baptist Church, organized in 1867; Western Avenue, 1869; Coventry Street, 1870; Dearborn Street, 1875; Olivet (colored), 1853; Providence (colored), 1871, with German, Swedish and Danish churches.

THE UNIVERSITY.

The first steps toward the planting of a University in the city of Chicago, were taken about the year 1855–56. The idea seems to have originated with the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, then United States Senator for the State of Illinois. He proposed to donate for this purpose a site embracing ten acres of land, located near the lake, in the south part of the city. Rev. J. C. Burroughs, at that time pastor of the First Baptist Church, learning that such an offer had been made, visited Mr. Douglas at Washington, and found him prepared to entertain with much favor a proposal to make this donation for a University to be founded under the general auspices of the Baptist denomination; his wife then recently deceased, and whose memory was tenderly cherished by him, having been a Baptist. A deed of gift was accordingly made over to Mr. Burroughs by Mr. Douglas, of the land in question, in trust, for an institution of the kind named. It was provided that the University should be solely for purposes of general education, and that while certain rights of control should be allowed to the Baptist denomination, the institution should be so far undenominational as that representation in the faculty and board of trustees, as well as the privileges of admission to the several departments of instruction, should be open to all.

Mr. Burroughs immediately entered upon efforts for the raising of the funds necessary to erect suitable buildings and to endow the chairs. Resigning his pastorate, he applied himself personally, and with the co-operation of others, especially of Rev. J. B. Olcott, as agent, to that new work. By October, 1856, he was able to announce that the sum of $100,000 had been pledged. It was found necessary that a building should be immediately erected, as no sufficient accommodations could be had in the heart of the city where the proposed location was to be, nor even down town, where a preparatory department was opened in 1858, in the basement of the Universalist church on Wabash avenue. The corner-stone of the present south wing of the University building was accordingly laid, with appropriate ceremonies, July 4, 1857, Sen-

ator Douglas, Hon. I. N. Arnold, Rev. Robert Boyd, Rev. A. J. Joslyn, Dr. W. G. Howard, Rev. Lewis Raymond, and others, participating. This building supplied accommodations to the University during some six or seven years, when the edifice as it now stands was erected, Rev. M. G. Clarke being then the Financial Agent, and the work being done largely under his direction.

Immediately upon the institution of active measures for founding the University, the presidency of the institution was tendered to Mr. Burroughs. His own preference was that some one already well-known as an educator should be called to this post, and by himself a strong effort was made to bring Dr. Francis Wayland to accept the service. Dr. Wayland declining, the Board of the University continued to press the office upon Mr. Burroughs, who at length accepted it. The difficulties incident to such a service, in connection with a new enterprise, was in this instance much increased by the necessity Mr. Burroughs felt himself to be under of associating financial administration with the executive duties commonly assigned to the presidency of a literary institution. In the financial embarrassments and other disasters with which the city was visited, the University shared, to an extent that very much crippled its resources. A considerable percentage of the early subscriptions noticed above could not be collected. Loans were necessary to meet the cost of building and to cover other necessary expenses; accrued interest added to the burden, until, as has so often occurred in the history of incipient educational enterprises, the burden became a most serious one.

It will be sufficient in this place, to simply allude to the differences that arose in the Board of Trustees, partly personal, partly upon questions of policy. These grew at last, however, to a point that made it seem desirable that a change in the administration should take place. The office of Chancellor was accordingly created, with a view to separate the duties of financial and general administration from those more proper to the President's office, Dr. Burroughs was elected Chancellor, and Rev. Lemuel Moss, D. D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, was chosen President. This change was made in the year 1873, Dr. Burroughs having served as President some fifteen years. The new management, however, came to an end at the close of the year, Dr. Moss becoming President of the Indiana State University. After an interval of one year, Hon. Alonzo Abernethy, Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Iowa, a former pupil of the University, was chosen President, remaining in office some two years, when Galusha Anderson, D. D., now the President, was called from the pastorate of the Second Baptist Church to the responsible and difficult post.

By the depreciation of values, so general throughout the country, the property of the University has fallen much below the estimate placed upon it in more prosperous times, while large amounts in subscriptions and notes have, in the financial losses experienced by those who gave them, become uncollectable. In other respects, however, the outlook is greatly improved. Entire harmony has been restored in the Board of Management; the discredit always occurred by dissensions in such bodies has passed away; the faculty of instruction is certainly not less capable and efficient than at any former period, while the attendance of students yearly increases. The graduating class for 1880 numbered twenty-six, the largest in the history of the University.

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Union Baptist Theological Seminary was founded in 1865 when the charter of incorporation was granted by act of the State Legislature. Preliminary steps had previously been taken to this end, especially the organization of the Baptist Union for Theological Education, in 1860, and the opening of a theological class by Dr. Nathaniel Colver, as Professor of Doctrinal Theology. With him Rev. J. C. C. Clarke became associated, in 1866, as Professor of New Testament Interpretation. A full faculty organization, however, was not effected until the autumn of 1866, when Rev. G. W. Northrup, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Rochester Theological Seminary, was elected President and Professor of Christian Theology, in place of Dr. Colver, who had become President of a Freedmen's Institute at Richmond, Va., and Rev. J. B. Jackson, of Albion, N. Y., Professor of Church History. Prof. Clarke, about the same time, resigned to enter the pastorate, and Rev. G. W. Warren, of Boston, was elected Professor of Hebrew and Exegesis.

The work of instruction under the new faculty organization began Oct. 2, 1867, and that of providing funds at the same time, Rev. G. S. Bailey having been made the Financial Secretary. The friends of the institution came forward generously, and current expenses not only were well provided for, but a property soon secured, valued at some $80,000, including a fine brick building, erected and dedicated in 1869, to which were added other assets, making the whole amount $144,000, the liabilities being reported at $54,266. The financial management, since that date, has experienced the vicissitudes realized by other similar enterprises during the period. About the year 1876 a desirable property was secured at Morgan Park, fourteen miles from the centre of

the city, mostly through donations, and an excellent building erected, chiefly through the generosity of the Blue Island Land and Building Company. In the autumn of 1876 the Seminary was removed to these new quarters, the building in the city, adjoining the University grounds on the west, being rented, and the income used to cover the interest upon the debt.

In the year 1869 a very valuable acquisition was made by the Seminary in the purchase of the Hengstenberg Library, belonging to the estate of the distinguished Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, Prussia; the collection is very rich, especially in Calvinistic and Mediæval literature, numbering some thirteen thousand volumes. To this, later, was added the library of Dr. G. B. Ide, upon occasion of his death at Springfield, Mass. The library now numbers some twenty thousand volumes. With the faculty of instruction have been connected, besides those mentioned above, Dr. Wm. Hague, E. C. Mitchell, D. D., R. E. Pattison, D. D., A. N. Arnold, D. D., and B. Maimon. The present faculty is G. W. Northrup, D. D., President and Professor of Systematic Theology; J. B. Boise, Ph. D., D. D., LL. D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Literature; T. J. Morgan, D. D., Professor of Church History; W. R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, J. A. Edgren, D. D., Professor in the Scandinavian Department; Galusha Anderson, D. D., Special Lecturer on Homiletics and Pastoral Duties; and J. A. Smith, D. D., Special Lecturer on Modern Church History, Origin of Religions, and Philosophy.

The Scandinavian Department in the Seminary is a very important and interesting feature. It was organized in 1873, under the intstructions of Prof. Edgren, and has steadily grown in value and influence. It is the only department of its kind in the country, and has already sent forth a considerable number of educated men to preach to the Scandinavians in their own language.

JOURNALISM.

In the year 1853, Leroy Church and Rev. J. A. Smith, the former having recently resigned a pastorate at Hudson, N. Y., and the latter one at Rochester, came to Chicago as editors and proprietors of the *Christian Times*. Some six or seven years previously, the *Watchman of the Prairies* had been established here by Rev. Luther Stone, who, about the year 1852, sold his interest in that paper to Rev. J. C. Burroughs, by whom the publication was resumed under the name of the *Christian Times*. Of Mr. Burroughs the paper was purchased by Messrs.

Church and Smith, the latter, however, giving place in the proprietorship to Rev. J. F. Childs, retaining only the editorial connection with the paper, in which he has continued to the present date. Mr. Childs after some two years retiring from the paper, his place was taken by Mr. Edward Goodman, and the paper continued to be published for nearly twenty years by the firm of Church & Goodman. In December, 1874, the interest of Mr. Church was purchased by Dr. J. S. Dickerson, of Boston, whose decease in about one year after, transferred his interest to his wife, Mrs. Emma R. Dickerson. Subsequently the eldest son of Dr. Dickerson, Mr. J. Spencer Dickerson, was admitted to the firm, which now bears the name of Goodman & Dickerson.

In the course of its career of some twenty- seven years, the paper has incorporated with itself several other papers ; first the *Illinois Baptist*, published for some two or three years at Bloomington, then the *Witness*, of Indianapolis, Indiana ; later the Michigan *Christian Herald*, of Detroit. Upon the occasion of the last consolidation it changed its name to the *Standard*, which it still bears. It ranks second in point of circulation among the Baptist papers of the country.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES OF CHICAGO.

BY PROF. W. M. BLACKBURN, D. D.

In 1832 the Rev. Jeremiah Porter, Chaplain of a garrison in Fort Brady, organized a small Presbyterian church at the Sault Ste. Marie. Soon afterwards Major D. F. Wilcox, one of its pillars, and Major John Fowle, with some troops, were ordered to Fort Dearborn. In these departing families were most of Mr. Porter's flock. He accepted their invitation to join them, especially as he had been requested by the Home Missionary Society, at Boston, "to explore the shores of Lake Michigan," to see if there were any settlements where the gospel might be preached. On landing at Fort Dearborn, this company received a warm welcome from a little band of praying men, and John Wright, grasping the hand of Mr. Porter. exclaimed, "I have written and written in vain for a minister; this is like the bursting out of the sun from the darkest clouds !"

This joy was shared by Philo Carpenter, who had in August, 1832, gathered fifteen children "in a log house at the Point," and thus organized the first Sunday-school in Northern Illinois, except one founded by the Rev. Aratus Kent, in a dram-shop at

Galena. Already the venerable Jesse Walker had a missionary station on the West Side, so that the first known Protestant preacher in Chicago was a Methodist. The first Sunday-school, in its wanderings, had shelter in his house for a time.

In a carpenter shop of the military post, Mr. Porter began to preach, and about six weeks thereafter the First Presbyterian Church of this city was organized—June 25, 1833—with twenty-six members, nine of them being residents, and seven teen belonging to the garrison. It was attached to the nearest Presbytery, that of Detroit. Steps were soon taken to build a house of worship. It was a frame building about forty feet by twenty-five, furnished with plain benches, and costing $600. On January 4th, 1834, it was dedicated, "mercury that morning 24° below zero." It stood just north of the present Sherman House. "People wondered, why on earth Mr. Porter put the church away off there on the prairie."

The first Sunday-school, whose "library was comfortably carried in a silk handkerchief,' 'was now brought into the new edifice. In this school were the girls whose needlework brought the sum of $140, "to the great joy," says Mr. Porter, "of the church and its children. By vote of the society, that money was sent to Charles Gutzlaff, then the apostle to China. Three children of its teachers are now foreign missoinaries.

Dr. Arthur Mitchell, the present pastor, (1880), says that the members of the infant church immediately took measures to secure and sustain a public school. Up to this time, Miss Chappel, assisted by several ladies from the church, who were aided by funds contributed in churches East, had kept the only school in the place. It had been very successful. Seeing its prosperity, John S. Wright, eldest son of Deacon Wright, now built Miss Chappel a new school-house at his own expense. Just at that time a school fund was realized through the sale of public lands, and it was no longer necessary to ask Eastern churches to support the teachers. The school, then numbering 150 scho'ars, was committed to a board of trustees, and was transferred to Mr. Wright's new school-house. This was the first public school in Chicago.*

In 1834 this church became self-sustaining, and it connected itself with the newly formed Presbytery of Peoria. The next

*The public lands, whose sale is here referred to, comprised the 640 acres now bounded by Madison, State, Twelfth and Halsted streets, one hundred and forty-two blocks. "Of these," says Mr. Porter, "one hundred and thirty-eight were sold for $38,865. The four blocks remaning in the possession of the city are now worth a million of dollars! Mr. Carpenter then urged that they should sell only alternate blocks; but he was overruled, and the school fund is now twenty millions the poorer for it."

spring Mr. Porter was sent to the Presbyterian General Assembly, at Pittsburgh, as the first commissioner from Northern Illinois. Thus he was brought somewhat into the trial of the Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia; a trial which contributed largely to the disruption of his denomination in 1837, and the separate existence of "the Old School and the New School branches." After the resignation of Mr. Porter, this mother church held its influential position in the branch called New School, until the reunion of the two bodies in 1869–70, and this fact doubtless had its effect for many years, in determining the ecclesiastical relations of the Presbyterian churches organized in Chicago, and its vicinity. Their early history is largely that of her colonies.

The first colony was the nucleus of the Second Presbyterian Church, organized in June, 1842, with twenty-six members, under the pastorate of the Rev. Robert W. Patterson, who ably continued his pastoral care of it until 1873, when he accepted a professorship in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, in Chicago. Their first services were held in the third story of "the City Saloon," on the south-east corner of Clark and Lake streets; but in the next September they entered more sacred quarters. The Hon. William Bross tells us that, in 1846, after his first breakfast in Chicago, "a tall young man, made apparently taller by a cloth cloak, in which his gaunt figure seemed in danger of losing itself, and whose reserved, modest manners were the very reverse of what we had expected to find at the West, called on the clergy of our party and invited one of them to preach and the rest of us to attend service in the Second Presbyterian Church. That cloak would now be well filled by its owner, the Rev. Dr. Patterson, who has grown physically as well as intellectually and morally, with the growth of the city, to whose moral welfare he has so largely contributed. Of course we all went to what by courtesy, as we thought, was called a church. It was a one-story balloon shanty-like structure, that had been patched out at one end to meet the wants of the increasing congregation. It stood on Randolph street, south side, a little east of Clark. It certainly gave no promise of the antique but splendid church that before the fire stood on the corner of Washington street and Wabash avenue, or that still more elaborate and costly building, the Rev. Dr. Gibson's church, at the corner of Michigan avenue and Twentieth street."

The romance of pioneer life does not enter so largely into the history of other Presbyterian Churches in Chicago. They have grown from, and with, the city's growth. The Third Church was organized in July, 1847, Philo Carpenter being one of its thirty-five original members. Its first house of worship, costing

about $1,325, stood then in a corn-field on Union street, near Washington, on the West Side. This church removed in 1858 to the corner of Washington and Carpenter streets, and thence in 1877 to Ashland avenue, where its membership, under the pastorate of Dr. A. E. Kittredge, has become one of the largest in the denomination.

The first organization in Chicago in connection with the Old School branch was the North Church. It was organized in 1848 by Rev. R. H. Richardson, and, after holding meetings for some time in Rush Medical College, had its own house of worship on the corner of Illinois and Wolcott streets. Later it removed northward to a nobler building, and in 1870 it and the Westminster Church (N. S.) were united under the title of the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

In 1869 there were eleven New School and four Old School churches in Chicago and its nearest suburbs. The re-union of the two branches, in 1870, brought them into one denomination. This and the great fire of 1871 were the chief reasons for consolidating some of them. Others have been added to the list, so that there are now, within and near the city, twenty-three organizations, which constitute half the number of churches in the present Presbytery of Chicago. There are, also, in this city, two or three Presbyterian churches which belong to other denominations. The Presbyterians of Chicago have been active in education, and from them have come most of the funds employed in establishing their Theological Seminary within the city limits, and the University at Lake Forest, about twenty-five miles northward on the shores of Lake Michigan.

THE PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE NORTH-WEST.

BY PROF. W. M. BLACKBURN, D. D.

This institution was founded in 1830, in connection with Hanover College, at Hanover, Indiana. In 1840 it was removed to New Albany, Indiana, where it prospered until 1853, when various causes led to its embarassment. At length the majority of the synods most concerned in its welfare, favored its transfer to Chicago. While the Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., pastor of the North Church, Chicago, and other gentlemen of "the Northwest," were devising means for its new location and maintainance, certain lands were conditionally promised to it, and Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick generously offered $100,000 for the endow-

ment of four professorships. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1859, sanctioned these measures, took the proffered control of the Seminary and elected four professors. In the autumn of that year the Seminary was opened in Chicago by the installation of Rev. Drs. N. L. Rice, Willis Lord, L. J. Halsey and W. M. Scott in their respective chairs.

The institution was finally located on the southwest corner of Halsted street and Fullerton avenue, on part of twenty-five acres of land donated conditionally to it in 1863, by Messrs. Ogden, Sheffield and Lill. The conditions were that the seminary should be provided with suitable buildings, and maintained on this site twenty-five years. The prospects are that the conditions will be fulfilled, and in 1888 the title to the land perfected. The present buildings are excellent in appearance and for their purposes, and are already surrounded by a grove of planted trees.

An endowment of $134,600, chiefly contributed by the Hon. Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago, produces an income for the salaries of four professors, the fifth professor being supported by a special fund contributed for his maintainance. There are endowments of about $18,700, for other purposes. There are now about 9,000 volumes in the library.

The Seminary now is under the control of a board of forty directors. A board of seven trustees has charge of its property and financial interests.

"This Institution is open to students of all denominations of Christians. Its object is the thorough training of young men for the ministry of the gospel. The requisites for admission are, a consistent Christian profession in connection with some Evangelical Church, and a regular course of collegiate study. Exceptional cases, however, may occur of such as have not pursued a full college course, and these are referred to the discretion of the Faculty." Diplomas are given to students who regularly pursue the full course of studies, extending through three years, in the departments of systematic theology, Church history, pastoral duties, Biblical literature, and exegesis, Christian evidences and ethics.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Chicago Theological Seminary, which dates its existence from the fall of 1854, was the first of that group of theological seminaries which now make Chicago the great center of theological education in the West.

The idea of one such institution, which should unite in its

support all the Congregational churches west of Ohio, seems to have originated with Rev. Stephen Peet, and soon found favor with many of the leading minds in the denomination.

As a result, at a representative meeting held in Chicago, June 12, 1854, with Rev. Ason Turner, Jr., of Iowa, for moderator, and Rev. G. S. F. Savage, of Illinois, as scribe, steps were taken for calling a convention of all the Congregational ministers and churches of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and Missouri, to inaugurate the enterprise.

That convention met in Chicago September 26, 1854, and with great unanimity ratified the action which had been taken in preliminary conferences, endorsed the general plan proposed, elected a board of twenty-four directors, and committed to them the necessary work to be done in laying the foundations of the projected seminary.

Rev. Stephen Peet, the first President of the Board, was appointed general agent, and entered at once, vigorously, upon the work of securing funds for the endowment of the institution.

February 15, 1855, a liberal charter, which exempted all the property of the Seminary from taxation, was granted by the State Legislature of Illinois, incorporating them: "A body politic and corporate, to be styled the Board of Directors of the Chicago Theological Seminary," and whose object it declares shall be, "to establish a Seminary, located in or near the city of Chicago, that shall furnish instruction and the means of education to young men preparing for the Gospel ministry, said institution being equally open to all denominations of Christians for this purpose."

The charter members of the Board of Directors were distributed among the States as follows:

Michigan—Rev. L. Smith Hobart, Rev. Harvey D. Kitchell, D. D., Rev. Adam S. Kedzie, Judge Solomon L. Withey and Joseph Beebe, Esq.

Illinois—Rev. Stephen Peet, Rev. Wm. Carter, Rev. Flavel Bascom, D. D., Rev. G. W. Perkins, Rev. J. C. Holbrook, D. D., Rev. N. H. Eggleston, Rev. G. S. F. Savage, D. D., Philo Carpenter, Esq., and Joseph Johnston, Esq.

Iowa—Rev. A. B. Robbins, D. D., Rev. J. Gurnsey, and J. C. Foote, Esq.

Wisconsin—Rev. C. W. Camp, Rev. Hiram Foote, Rev. J. J. Miller, D. D., and Horace Hobart, Esq.

Minnesota—Rev. Richard Hall.

Indiana—Rev. M. Agustus Jewett.

Missouri—Rev. Truman M. Post, D. D.

The Directors hold their office for six years, but are eligible

for re-election. One-half of this Board, and also of the Board of Visitors, are chosen every three years by a Triennial Convention, consisting of the Congregational ministers, and one delegate from each Congregational Church in the ten States of the interior. The Seminary is thus kept close to the heart of the churches, and made responsible to them.

The institution was opened for students in October, 1838, with two professors, Rev. Joseph Haven, D. D., and Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, D. D. It now has a faculty of six professors, viz: Prof. Franklin W. Fish, D. D., Prof. G. N. Boardman, D. D., Prof. J. T. Hyde, D. D., Prof. T. W. Hopkins, A. M., Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, D. D., and Prof. G. Buckingham Wilcox, D. D.

Two hundred and seventeen students have graduated from the institution, and two hundred and eleven others have taken a part of their course here. These students have come from twenty-four of the states and territories of the Union—from Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, Holland, Iceland, Africa and India. They have received their collegiate education in forty-four different colleges.

The Seminary buildings, Hayes and Carpenter Halls, erected at a cost of about $70,000, are pleasantly located on Ashland and Warren avenues, opposite Union Park, and in addition to chapel and lecture rooms, furnish dormitory and study rooms for the accommodation of eighty students. A substantial fire-proof library hall is soon to be erected on the Seminary grounds, the gift of Col. C. G. Hammond.

In addition to the large private libraries of the professors, there is a valuable public library of nearly 6,000 volumes, for the free use of the students.

The estimated value of the property held by the Seminary is about $400,000, of which $125,000 is included in the grounds, building, library, furniture, etc. The endowment funds amount to $265,000, of which the income *only* can be used. The balance of the assets are general funds which can be used in meeting current expenses.

This seminary, though only in its infancy, has laid deep and broad foundations for a large growth and prosperity. Every year of its existence has shown more clearly the wisdom and necessity for its existence, and the superior advantages of its location.

Planted in the very heart of the great empire states of the interior, with a present constituency of over fourteen hundred Congregational Churches; with an able faculty, who are the peers of the best instructors of the older seminaries of the land; surrounded by a cordon of colleges from which to draw its students, it occupies a field second to none in its importance and promise.

G. S. F. Savage.

[From the Advance.]

THE CONGREGATIONAL DENOMINATION OF CHICAGO.

FROM SMALL THINGS TO GREAT IN THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION.

The Committee appointed to gather up the results of Congregational work in this Association during its first quarter-century, respectfully report:

This Association, consisting originally of three churches and nine ministers, was organized Tuesday, April 12, 1853. Just twenty years earlier, June, 1833, when Chicago was little more than a frontier military post, the First Presbyterian Church of this city was organized, consisting of twenty-five members from the garrison and nine from the citizens of the place, thirty-four in all. This is the oldest and first-organized church on this field. It is understood that Rev. Jeremiah Porter, who officiated in its formation, and a large majority of its original members, were from Congregational churches and of Congregational preferences, but in the providence of God, as our Presbyterian brethren would doubtless say, this powerful organization, which has done so much to shape the polity of surrounding churches, became Presbyterian.

Later in the same year, 1833, the First Baptist Church of this city was organized. In the spring of 1834 three other churches, the First Methodist, the St. James Episcopal, and a Roman Catholic entered the field, and as the population of the city increased, other denominations came in, and churches multiplied. Our own denomination instead of being first, is, with the exception of the Reformed Episcopal, last; instead of being the oldest, is, with this exception, the youngest in the sisterhood of churches.

Before any Congregational movement was inaugurated, the city had attained a population of some 30,000 inhabitants, embracing many strong churches of almost every denomination, some of them having commodious houses of worship, offering inviting homes for Congregationalists and for all classes of Christians seeking a residence in this growing commercial center; and the ground had become so thoroughly pre-empted and so well occupied, it seemed doubtful whether there was room for churches of the Pilgrim order. Whether this long delay was a loss to our common Christianity or not, it certainly proved a serious loss to our denomination—a loss of nearly all the Congregational element which came to this city during the first twenty years of its existence.

Finally, in the spring of 1851, our denomination entered the field. It came not to preach any other Gospel than that which was already preached; not to build on any other man's foundation; not in any spirit of rivalry or hostility to churches of other names, but as a fellow laborer in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

We were influenced mainly by three considerations: (1), The impression which time is verifying, that Chicago was destined to become a great city, and there was room and work for Christians of every name. (2), The conviction that Congregational brethren who were seeking, and were to seek, a residence in this city, would feel more at home, and do more and better work in a church of their own order, than in any other. And (3), the conviction that there was need of churches of more pronounced and active antagonism to the system of American slavery than any already in the field. But these considerations might have proved ineffective for a much longer period, had not a movement in the providence of God been precipitated upon us and rendered almost a necessity.

It was in this wise: The Third Presbyterian Church of this city, desiring to relieve themselves of all complicity with American slavery, declared by vote of forty-two out of sixty-eight resident members, their purpose to stand aloof from all meetings of the Presbytery, Synod and General Association of this branch of the Presbyterian Church, until it assume an attitude less equivocal and apologetic toward the "sum of all villainies." Refusing to rescind this action, the Chicago Presbytery declared all who voted for it outside the Presbyterian church, and ordered their names erased from its roll of members.

These forty-two brethren and sisters, most of whom had been originally members of Congregational churches, finding themselves thus summarily unchurched, felt that a necessity was laid upon them to inaugurate a Congregational movement. Hence the First Congregational Church of this city, and the great results which have followed. We call results great in no spirit of boasting. They are due in a large extent to the mighty trend of population which has caused this city to grow in a few years from a handful to half a million of people.

The First Congregational Church was organized, May 22, 1851, with forty-eight members, forty-two having been excluded from the Third Presbyterian. Eighteen months after its organization, December, 1852, a colony, impelled by dissatisfaction with the status of the Presbyterian General Association toward slavery, and by their preferences for Congregational forms, left the First Presbyterian Church and formed the Plymouth Church, consisting of forty-eight members.

The spring of 1853 found us with two churches in the city, and four scattered through the neighboring region—one at Crete, organized 1848; one at Fremont, organized 1838; one at Lyonsville, organized 1843; and one at Millburn, organized 1841; all feeble, with an aggregate of probably less than 200 members.

At an informal meeting, Dec. 1, 1852, of a few Congregational brethren, it was resolved to form a congregational Association, and Rev. Messrs. Goodman, J. M. Davis, and J. M. Williams, were instructed to draft a basis for such an Association, and at their discretion call a meeting to complete the organization. A meeting for this purpose was called April 12, 1853, in Chicago. A constitution was reported—the same with slight alterations, we now have—and adopted, and the organization completed, consisting of three churches: The Free Church of Ottawa, now connected with Fox River Association; the church at Plum Grove, now extinct; and the First Congregational Church of this city, and nine ministers:—E. Goodman, R. F. Dickinson, J. M. Williams and J. M. Davis, of Chicago; W. M. Richards and E. G. Howe, of Waukegan; W. Holmes, of Plum Grove; Geo. Schlosser, of Ottowa, and W. H. Starr, of Elgin. Of these, four have gone to their reward—the sainted E. Goodman, the young and brilliant W. H. Starr, leaving behind a small volume of valuable sermons, and Wm. Holmes, the father of the lamented John Milton Holmes, and S. S. Howe. The remaining five, so far as we know, are still living.

There were connected with this Association, for a longer or shorter period, during its first quarter-century, forty-seven churches and 132 ministers. Of these churches, one, the Tabernacle, became independent. Two, the Edwards, and a Scandinavian church, went over to other denominations; seven appear on the rolls of neighboring Congregational Associations, and six have either become extinct or absorbed in other churches. Thirty-one are still connected with the Association. Of the 132 ministers, seventy-seven have removed to other fields. Sixteen have departed this life, to-wit: E. Goodman, W. H. Starr, Wm. Holmes, Lucius Parker, Chauncey Cook, Edwin Wells, G. W. Perkins, M. D. Williams, Samuel Foster, Joseph Haven, James H. Dill, S. P. Smith, Thomas Lightbody, M. M. Colbern, E. B. Baxter, E. S. Howe; a fraction over twelve per cent. of the whole number. Thirty-nine are still with us.

The question submitted to your committee is: What were the results of Congregational work within the bounds of this Association during the first quarter century of its existence?

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* Read at a late meeting of the Association, and published in accordance with a unanimous vote of the meeting.

The answer must, of course, be very imperfect. We can give only figures, and some of these only approximately correct; but figures can express but a fraction of the influence our denomination has thrown into this great sea of influences. The struggles, the tears, the prayers, the unspoken words, what was done to break the arm of oppression, and create healthful anti-slavery sentiment, to promote temperance, education, purity and order, ennoble public sentiment to encourage every good and discourage every bad work, and prepare the way of the Lord, have gone into the great archives of unrecorded history.

It has been laying in churches and schools and other institutions the foundations of many generations. Its work will appear greater and greater as we recede from it. The value of this work has been greatly enhanced by the exigencies through which we have been passing. The quarter-century covered by our Report was the most critical period of our National existence. It synchronizes with the great struggle on this Continent between free and despotic principles.

> We've been living, we've been dwelling
> In a grand and awful time;

and we have occupied one of the foremost fields. What we have done to defend truth, freedom, and religion, to conserve and transmit to other generations a free Government and a pure Christianity, is too reaching and pervasive to be gathered into written history.

Your Committee has gathered up and summarized a quantity of statistics, which, if perfectly accurate, would indicate very nearly that kind of work which may be given in numbers, but owing to lost records in some cases, and to imperfectly kept records in others, the word *approximate* or *estimated* should be attached to many of the results we give.

We are able to report thirty-one new churches gathered on this field—Chicago and vicinity—during the first quarter-century of this Association. Of these, fourteen were within the limits of the city, to wit: New England, South Chicago, Edwards, Salem, Union Park, Lincoln Park, South Chicago (Forty-seventh street), Tabernacle, Oakland, Bethany, Leavitt street, Clinton street, Wicker Park, Tabernacle, Union. These fourteen, with the First Congregational and the Plymouth, previously organized, make a total of sixteen Congregational churches organized in this city. Outside the city there were during this time seventeen organized, to wit: Beecher, Blue Island, South Chicago, Desplaines, Evanston, Glencoe, Hinsdale, Jefferson, Lombard, Lyons, Maywood, Oak Park, Park Ridge, Prospect Park, Ravenswood, Wilmette and Winnetka. These seventeen, with the four churches pre-

viously organized, give twenty-one churches in the vicinity of Chicago. Adding the sixteen in the city, we have a total of thirty-seven organized on this field.

Of the fourteen churches organized within the city, one, the Tabernacle, became independent; and five others, to wit: the South Congregational, the Edwards, the Salem, Wicker Park and Oakland, either became extinct, or absorbed in other enterprises, leaving within the city at the close of the quarter century, with the First and Plymouth, ten churches. All the churches organized in the vicinity of Chicago were surviving, making a total of thirty-one living churches.

Of these, nearly all were in vigorous, successful and useful life. Among them are found some of the strongest and most flourishing of our denomination. All but one were found enjoying the stated means of grace, under the instructions of the living teacher, and but three were receiving Home Missionary aid. Twenty-eight of them had comfortable houses of worship; some four or five were among the costliest church structures in the West; and but few of these churches were seriously embrarassed by debt.

These thirty-one churches report 166 original members. Aggregate additions during the quarter century by profession of faith, 4,090; by letter, 5,470; total additions, 9,560; total number, including original members, 9,726 persons. Removals by dismission, 3,660; deaths, 517; by excommunication, 111; total dismissions, 4,288; leaving 5,754.

Ministers ordained, 38; pastors installed, 38; houses of worship erected, 45; parsonages, 6; cost of houses of worship, $1,121,000; cost of parsonages, $18,000; aggregate of other church expenses, $1,288,000; benevolent contributions, $525,550; total cash contributions, $2,934,550, or over $300, or $20 annually per capita of all who have been connected with these churches. This is probably within bounds, as large sums have doubtless been laid on the altar of God, of which no report will be made in this world. These churches report 428 years of Sabbath-school work, a term equal to their aggregate life, with an average attendance of 190 pupils.

In conclusion, your committee would say that in presenting these figures, they are led to feel that during the first quarter-century of the existence of this Association, a good and grand work was accomplished on this field, one which cost an amount of labor, self-denial, and self-sacrifice, of which God only has kept the record, and we rejoice and take courage in the results. At the same time, when we reflect upon the needs of the field, the incoming tides of evil, our efforts, and churches, and Sab-

bath-schools seem comparatively insignificant, and we are led to earnestly inquire if, after all, we are coming up to God's ideal of real Christian efficiency, and to lift the prayer that the hand who writes the results of the second quarter-century of Congregational work in this Association, may be able to make a brighter and gladder record.

J. M. Williams,
F. Bascom,
C. G. Hammond, } *Com.*

THE EPISCOPAL DENOMINATION OF CHICAGO.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Illinois, was organized on Monday, March 9th, 1835. A few clergymen and lay delegates from several parishes met in Peoria on this date and proceeding in conformity with the canonical provisions of the, General Convention, adopted a constitution, and passed canons, and assumed the position of an independent diocese. There were, at this time, but four presbyters and two deacons in the whole State of Illinois, and two of these, as Bishop Chase afterwards stated, "were on the wing." There were four parishes, and, so far as ascertained, only thirty-nine communicants. One house o worship had been completed. Trinity Church, Jacksonville, has the honor of being the first church built and consecrated in the diocese. The corner-stone of this church was laid by Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, in 1834 and, during the absence of Bishop Chase in England, it was consecrated by Bishop Kemper, Missionary Bishop of the North-West, in 1836.

The convention which organized the diocese of Illinois, invited Bishop Chase to take charge of the same and exercise Episcopal supervision over it. Bishop Chase had been Bishop of Ohio, but having resigned his jurisdiction was living in Michigan. Having signified his acceptance of his new diocese, he made his first visit to Illinois in May, 1835. In his own conveyance he traveled round Lake Michigan, and from Michigan City he proceeded "on the water's edge of the lake to Chicago, then a newly built town of a few houses, and a flourishing trade." There is no record that Bishop Chase officiated in Chicago on this occasion. In fact, he was out on a tour of inspection, as he could peform no Episcopal duty, except such as parishes might request, till the action of the diocesan convention had been ratified by the general convention, which in due time was done.

While there is no record of any services being held in Chicago before the 12th day of October, 1834, when the Rev. Palmer

Dyer officiated; the few church people in the town had the privilege of attending the services held by the army chaplains stationed at Fort Dearborn. St. James, the first parish in Chicago, was organized in 1834. The following gentlemen were interested in the movement, and the first nine were elected vestrymen: William B. Egan, Dr. Philip Maxwell, Giles Spring, John H. Kinzie, Dr. Clarke, Gurdon S. Hubbard, John L. Wilcox, William Pettit, Eli B. Williams, Jacob Russell and Hans Crocker. The communicants were Peter Johnson, Mrs. Peter Johnson, Mrs. John H. Kenzie, Mrs. Frances Magill, Mrs. Nancy Hallam, and Mrs. Margaret Helm. The Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, still living, of Connecticut, was called to the rectorship of the parish, and entered upon his duties in October, 1834. The first services were held in a building on the southeast corner of Kinzie and Wolcott, now State, and in rooms fitted up for the purpose by Mr. John H. Kinzie.

In 1836 Mr. Kinzie donated the lot on the southwest corner of Cass and Illinois, on which the first church was erected, at a cost of fourteen thousand dollars. It was consecrated by Bishop Chase July 10th, 1837. The style of the building was simple gothic, and its dimensions, 40 by 60 feet. A bell was in the tower bearing the name and date of the church. It had a very good, but small organ, and the music was by a voluntary choir. On the whole, though, the first St. James was a very modest edifice compared with those that have followed it. It was in that day thought to be very fine and grand for a frontier town. There was one feature about the old church which was the especial pride of the congregation; it was a large mahogany pulpit, some eighteen feet wide, six feet deep and fifteen feet high. Before this pulpit was the reading-desk, and still in front of the reading-desk, the communion table—a plain, honest table, and nothing else. All this costly arrangement suited the eye better than it did the officiating clergyman, and so in the early times of Mr. Clarkson, it had to give way to more modern styles and usages.

During the long and exceedingly successful rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Clarkson, now the honored Bishop of Nebraska, and in eighteen hundred and fifty-five, the present lot on the south-east corner of Cass and Huron was purchased. On this a large, handsome stone church was built, at a cost of about eighty thousand dollars, and was first opened for services in December, 1857. The great fire nearly destroyed this fine edifice, leaving nothing but the walls in an injured condition, standing. It has since been re-built, and while from necessity the architectural proportions have been marred, it is still one of the most imposing and commodious churches in the city. There was one thing

connected with this church before the fire, which is worthy of being mentioned. Messrs. E. H. Sheldon and E. B. McCagg caused to be erected in the vestibule of the church, and at a cost of about five thousand dollars, a beautiful marble monument to the memory of those members of St. James' who sacrificed their lives in the war for the preservation of the Union. It was of elaborate workmanship, and in every way worthy of the object for which it was built, and of the noble generosity of the loyal donors. Inscribed upon its face were the names of those who had fallen. St. James parish, from its admirable location, and because of having had many of the early and influential residents as its members, and because of the substantial worth and wealth of the congregation, has always held an important place among the Episcopal churches of the Northwest. Age adds to its dignity; and it is with commendable pride that old St. James likes to be considered the mother-church.

From time to time some of the most influential citizens of Chicago have held office in the parish. Among them may be mentioned: E. H. Sheldon, C. R. Barrabee, M. Higginson, Geo. L. Dunlap, E. H. Winston, H. A. Lowner, Geo. F. Rumsey, W. B. Ogden, Mahlon D. Ogden, I. N. Arnold, Thomas Drummond, Julian S. Rumsey, Geo. H. Dole, Jos. H. Hoes, and A. C. Calkins.

From the small beginning of a parish having but six communicants, and receiving, because of its weakness, missionary assistance, has grown the Episcopal Church in this city.

There are now twelve large and influential churches, besides several important missions, which will in time grow into parishes. The clergy who are officiating in these parishes are not surpassed in the ability, and zeal, and energy with which they uphold the honor of Christ and His Church. With a Bishop at their head, who is in every way fitted to be a leader, they rally around him, and are in sympathy with him, and with each in the promotion of every good work. Probably there has never been a time in the history of the Church in this city, when the clergy and laity were so united, when they stood so closely together, shoulder to shoulder, as a band of brothers, as they do to-day. In union there is strength. In union there is aggressive power. In union there is the guarantee of conquest. With a traditional policy of conservation, which grows out of our staid system of worship, and the stability of our creed, the Episcopal Church makes haste slowly. She goes forward with calmness and delibefation, and is always sure of holding the ground when once possessed; she plants herself to remain.

The Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D.D., rector of St. Thomas Church, N. Y., was elected assistant Bishop of the diocese of

Illinois, in 1851, and on the death of Bishop Chase in 1852, succeeded according to canon, to the jurisdiction of the diocese. In the death of Bishop Chase, the church lost one of her great pioneer missionary Bishops, of powerful physical frame, of strong intellect, and indomitable will; all obstacles and hindrances and difficulties were crushed under him. In 1819 he was made Bishop of Ohio, after having before served in the State as a missionary. Cheerfully and successfully he encountered all the trials and difficulties of his new position. In Illinois he found his labor harder, for age and bodily infirmities had crept upon him; but the old fire was in his soul, and he only laid aside his armor when death compelled him.

Bishop Whitehouse was a man of superior attainments, of fine culture, and brought to the administration of his office the highest knowledge and the greatest dignity of character. Thoroughly read in the history of the church, understanding the strong points in growth and development, grasping with keenness and sagacity the primitive idea of the Episcopate, he had long pondered over the question of establishing in this country the cathedral system. Not the cathedral system of Europe, but the cathedral as the exponent of the simple idea that the Bishop is the chief minister in the diocese; that the Bishop might have a church in which the Episcopal chair should have a recognized official place; a church in which he might officiate at pleasure; in which he might hold his nominations, and in the management of which he might not be interfered with; a church in which there should be no pew system, and in which the poor should have the gospel preached to them. This cathedral should be the centre of church work; to it should be attached a sufficient number of clergy to do the missionary and charitable work of the city and surrounding towns; to it should be attached schools and hospitals, and with it should be connected a clergy house for the accommodation of the clergy passing through or visiting the city.

This was a noble grand scheme in its conception. The Bishop never thought of accomplishing this comprehensive plan in a day or a generation. But he believed in laying the foundation, in commencing the work, and in letting the servants of God develop and complete it in His own good time. Nor did the Bishop ever suppose that this cathedral would in any way interfere with or abridge the power or organization of parishes, or subvert their independence. It is due to the memory of Bishop Whitehouse to say that he was the first one in this country to broach the cathedral system. His plans met with great opposition, both within and without the diocese. But he knew that he was right, and feeling that prejudice would die out in time, when the plan

was shown to be harmless, he, in 1861, purchased the Church of the Atonement, on the corner of Washington and Peoria streets, and commenced his work in a very modest and unobtrusive way. The Bishop was right in his judgment. Prejudice and clamor have died out. Cathedral spires are rising in every diocese. Not one word is spoken against them. But to the honor of Chicago it may be said, that in it was founded the first cathedral. The Church of the Atonement, now known as the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, has received many important additions and improvements. Within the last year it has been most beautifully frescoed, a handsome marble altar has been erected, and all indebtedness having been liquidated, it was consecrated last December in the presence of many Bishops and clergymen, by Bishop McLaren, the Bishop of the diocese. To his indefatigable efforts and his warm sympathy with the cathedral principle, is to be attributed its present prosperous condition. In all this he has been ably assisted by Canon Knowles.

Bishop Whitehouse having died in 1874, was in 1875 succeeded by the Rev. William E. McLaren, L. L. D., rector of Trinity Church, Cleveland, Ohio. Bishop McLaren is a most worthy successor to Bishops Chase and Whitehouse. Under his able and wise administration of the diocese, it soon became apparent that it must be divided. It was too large for the strength and time of one man, however capable and energetic. Seeing that the necessities of the church demanded division, he very soon in his episcopate, began to work in a practical and effective way for its consummation. The old diocese was co-extensive with the State. There are now three dioceses within the same boundaries, each having its own bishop and progressing in a healthy and satisfactory manner. Thus the little "one," in 1835, "has become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation."

St. Luke's Hospital is under the charge of the Episcopal Church. It owes its origin to the forethought, and benevolence, and energy of the Rev. Dr. Locke, rector of Grace Church. Some years ago, the necesity of such an institution being apparent, the Dr. started in a modest way the hospital. Year by year it has grown, till now the present building has become too small for all who seek admission. It is open to persons of all faiths, and of no faith. No question about these things is asked of any applicant. The past year the amount contributed and expended was about twelve thousand four dollars. Two beds have been endowed; and one for incurable cases is now receiving contribution for permanent endowment.

The Rev. Dr. Locke is President of the Board of Trustees; and under his wise and economical management there is the guaran-

tee of future prosperity, as in the past. And it is hoped the time is not far distant, when the wealthy will realize the great importance of this noble charity, and erect new and more suitable buildings, and amply endow it.

T. N. Morrison.

Saint Luke's Hospital is a free hospital under the care of the Episcopal Church. Its President must always be one of the rectors of the Episcopal Church in Chicago, or the Bishop, and its trustees are taken from the clergy and laity of that church. It however makes no distinction of creed, order or nationality, but is conducted on the most liberal terms, and is very popular with all classes and creeds.

It was founded in 1863, and its founders were a few ladies who had been working for the Military Hospitals at Camp Douglas. They organized themselves under the Rev. Clinton Locke, the rector of Grace Church, who was the first president of the hospital, and has always held that office since, and has ever been most deeply interested in the work, and gives it much thought and time. It has no endowment as yet, but its property is all free from encumbrance, and it has a building fund of $18,000.

REPORT OF MEDICAL BOARD.

FROM OCT. 1ST, 1878, TO OCT. 1ST. 1879.

No. of Patients remaining in the Hospital, Oct. 1st, 1878	44
No. of Patients admitted during the year ending Sept. 30th, 1879	279
No. of Patients discharged during the year	272
No. of Deaths (males 8, females 8)	16
No. of Patients remaining in Hospital, Oct. 1st, 1879	35
No. of Dispensary patients treated during the year	900
Total number of patients treated during the year	1,223
No. of Births	14

Expenses $12,400; capacity of hospital, forty-five beds.

Clinton Locke,
President St. Luke's Hospital.

THE JEWS OF CHICAGO.

BY REV. B. FELSENTHAL.

The number of Jews living at present in Chicago, is variously estimated to be between 15,000 and 20,000. A historian writing the history of the North-west, and especially of the great Western metropolis situated at the shore of Lake Michigan, must of necessity not neglect to give an account also of the first Jewish immigration; of the growth of the important Jewish element in our midst; of their temples and societies; their contributions towards the devlopment and prosperity of Chicago, spiritually and morally, as well as materially, and-so-forth.

It is very likely that some single Jewish individuals settled in

Chicago, or attempted to settle here between 1830–1840, for in this decade large numbers of German Jews had come to America, expecting to find here not only better prospects in their various pursuits of life, but also a refuge from the oppressive and exclusive laws under which the Jews still had to suffer at that time in the old Fatherland. Here, in the United States, they found a new Fatherland, granting them full civil and political rights equally with the citizens of other denominations; and these new-comers, confessing the old Hebrew faith, appreciated this, and warmly and sincerely was the thankful attachment to their new country.

A large number, of course, remained at first in the great cities on the Atlantic sea-shore—in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore; but a considerable number soon found their way to the Valley of the Ohio and to the prairies of the West.

For the first time a larger number of Israelites came to Chicago, or rather, to be more exact, to Cook County, Illinois, in 1843. A certain Mr. William Renau, a young and enthusiastic gentleman of the Jewish faith, then living in New York City, took measures for the establishment of a Jewish Colonization Society, and his labor was not in vain. A number of Israelites entered into his plans and intentions, and joined his society. After the organization had been sufficiently consummated, the society deputed a Mr. Meyer to go West, to select lands for the members, upon which they might settle, and to report the results of his investigations and researches to the society Mr. Meyer accordingly went West, and after looking around for several weeks in different parts of the country, he selected a parcel of land comprising 160 acres, situated in the town of Schaumburg, Cook County, Illinois, which he purchased for himself, and where he remained. To the society in New York he reported by a written document which was very encouraging, and in which he urged the members to migrate to this part of the country without hesitation, for—so he said substantially—"This is a land in which milk and honey is flowing, particularly for tillers of the soil; and this part of the land, and especially the still insignificant town of Chicago opens furthermore a vista into a large commercial future."

Thereupon the majority of the society set out for the West and came to Chicago. They met there Mr. Meyer, and from him they received more complete details

After many consultations, it was found that many disagreed to the plans laid out beforehand by Mr. Meyer; the consequence was that they did not settle together in a body, as it had been intended from the beginning; but still determined to carry out

the plan of farming, they scattered in different directions. Some bought farms already improved; others claimed government lands; still others settled down in villages, and connected farming with mercantile life.

The majority of these men, by their industry and their frugal and economical habits, succeeded in becoming pretty well-to-do.

After the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Railroad from Chicago to Elgin had been completed, Chicago became quite a center of attraction for people inclined to trade, and Jewish families in comparatively large numbers, came to make it their home. Two Jewish families had been residing here in the city somewhat previous to this time, and one of them, Mr. Benedict Schubert, had become quite wealthy It was he who had built the first brick house in Chicago. He had been a tailor by trade, and he was very poor when he had come to live in that town. But by his industry, and the industry of his wife, he soon acquired sufficient means, and he became, in his day, the only prominent merchant tailor in Chicago.

Mr. Meyer, spoken of before, after having become advanced in years, and being without grown children old enough to be of any help to him, was among those who came to the city to live there. He had sold his farm, and invested all his funds in Chicago real estate. As a far-seeing man of sound judgment in such matters, he advised all his friends and acquaintances to act similarly; at least, he desired that they should do so with a part of their means. By many he was looked upon at an eccentric. However, the result proved that he was right. Though his investments brought no immediate fruits to himself, yet to those who came after him and took his advice, it was a rich mine of wealth.

Chicago had meanwhile became widely known, especially since it was rumored that it would be a great railroad center, and thereby many Israelites were induced to select this place as their home. Among the first ones who about that time came to Chicago, we mention the brothers Kohn, L. Rosenfeld, Jacob Rosenberg, the brothers Rubel, the brothers Greenebaum, Samuel Cole, Mayer Klein, M. M. Gerstley, Fuller, Weineman, Brunneman, Clayburgh, Weigselbaum, Zeigler, etc. Since Chicago has had enterprising and energetic citizens of the Jewish persuasion in almost all branches of mercantile and industrial life, and since several years there reside here, also, a considerable number of Israelites belonging to the learned professions—lawyers, physicians, and others—who have justly acquired the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and who contributed their share toward the general prosperity and the general good standing of the city.

We would, indeed, have to occupy a large space were we to enumerate all the Jewish houses engaged in the various branches of business; even then if we would restrict ourselves to wholesale business. Commerce in dry goods, clothing, hardware, boots and shoes, tobacco—in short, in every imaginable branch—is largely shared in by Jewish houses. So are many banking institutions owned and successfully conducted by Jewish firms. So is the manufacturing of clothing, cutlery, chemical preparations, cigars, furniture; so are printing and lithographic institutions, bookbinderies, tanneries, beef packing houses, etc., etc., conducted by Jewish owners and energetic Jewish minds and hands.

But it is time that we come now to speak of the religious organizations of the Jews of Chicago. For the first time the Chicago Jews entered into such a religious organization in 1845, and the first public act by which they demonstrated their existence as a body corporate, was the purchase from the city, of a piece of ground for a cemetery. This old Jewish cemetery had to be given up, as such, in 1856, the city having become meanwhile so extended that this cemetery was within the city limits. At present the same forms a part of the Lincoln Park. Not long after this cemetery had been acquired, the association who owned it organized into a regular congregation. This was the first Jewish congregation in Chicago, and very likely of the whole North West. It was chartered in 1848 under the name "*Kehillath Anshey Maarab*" (Congregation of the Men of the West). Its first services were held in a hall situated in the uppermost floor of an old frame building on the southwest corner of Lake and Wells streets, and Ignatz Kunreuther was the first minister of this congregation. After the congregation had become strong enough, financially, they leased a lot on Clark street, between Quincy and Jackson streets, upon which they erected a Synagogue. At the expiration of that lease they bought a lot on the northeast corner of Adams and Wells streets, where they built another Synagogue. Here they remained for several years, until the house became too small for the congregation. They then sold this property, and bought a church on the corner of Peck Court and Wabash Avenue, where they remained until the building was destroyed by the great fire of 1871. Afterwards they purchased a church on the corner of Twenty-sixth street and Indiana Avenue, and there the congregation *Anshey Maarab* still worship.

After Rev. Mr. Kunreuther above mentioned, the following gentlemen officiated successively as ministers of this congregation: G. Snydacker, G. M. Cohen, L. Lebrecht, L. Levi, M. Mensor, M. Moses, and L. Adler. The last named Rabbi, who was

called here in 1861, is still occupying the position of the spiritual guide of the congregation, and labors within his field with great success, as a true teacher of religion and of Judaism.

Not exactly a congregation, but a society of a semi-religious character was also instituted at an early date by a number of younger Israelites in Chicago, under the name of "*Hebrew Benevolent Society.*" In its flourishing days it did a great deal of good in the field of charity. It purchased also three acres of ground in the town of Lake View (a little south of Graceland), and laid it out for a cemetery.

Later other charitable societies came into existence, by which the old Hebrew Benevolent Society became superceded. Nominally, however, it still exists, but merely as a burial ground association.

A second Hebrew congregation was established in 1851 by a number of Israelites, mainly from the Eastern provinces of Prussia, and to which the founders gave the name *Kehillath B'nay Shalom*" (Congregation of the Sons of Peace). This congregation rented first a hall in a building on the southwest corner of Dearborn and Washington streets; afterwards they occupied a hall in a building on Clark street, near Jackson street, and in 1864 they dedicated their new synagogue on Harrison street, near Fourth Avenue. This structure, in its time the most beautiful of all the Chicago synagogues, fell a prey to the great conflagration of 1871. Since then the congregation, which had greatly suffered by the fire, rallied again and erected a new house of worship on Michigan Avenue, between Fourteenth and Sixteenth streets. Among the Rabbis who officiated in this congregation, we mention: A. J. Messing, M. Spitz, H. Gersoni.

The third Jewish congregation which was founded in Chicago, is "*Sinai Congregation.*" Its first meeting for devotional purposes was held in June, 1851, in a temple situated on Monroe street, near LaSalle street, and in which the congregation continued to worship until April, 1865, at which time they consecrated their new temple on the northwest corner of Van Buren street and Third Avenue. By the fire of 1871 this temple was laid in ashes. The congregation was then without a meeting house of their own for several years. But in April, 1875, they dedicated their new temple on the southwest corner of 21st street and Indiana Avenue—an imposing structure they still occupy.

The Rabbis who officiated successively in this congregation, were: 1. Dr. B. Felsenthal (1861–1864). 2. Dr. I. Chronik (1866–1871; from 1864 to 1865 the ofice was vacant). 3. Dr. K. Kohler (1871–1879). 4. The present incumbent, Dr. E. G. Hirsch (since September, 1880).

Another congregation, the fourth one in chronological order,

was established by Israelites residing in the West Division, in 1864. It was chartered under the name, *Zion Congregation.* Its first divine service was held in September, 1864, and the first temple it occupied was situated on Desplaines street, between Washington and Madison streets. (The building had originally been a Baptist church, and had been sold to the young Jewish congregation.) In 1869 the congregation disposed of their temple which they then possessed, and erected a new structure in a more suitable location, to wit, on the southeast corner of Jackson and Sangamon streets. Dr. Felsenthal was invited to fill the Rabbi's chair in this congregation as soon as it had organized (in 1864), and he still occupies the office.

In 1867 "*The North Side Hebrew Congregation,*" now worshiping in a rented locality on Dearborn Avenue, east of Washington Park, was established. Previous to the great fire, this congregation had a temple on Ohio street, near Wells street, but the fire destroyed it. A. Norden, who was the first minister of this congregation, but who became deprived of his situation in consequence of the conflagration, was elected some years ago by his congregation as their Rabbi, and is still officiating as such.

During the last ten years a number of other Jewish congregations have been built, and at present Chicago numbers thirteen chartered Jewish congregations.

Coming now to charitable Jewish societies, it deserves to be mentioned that quite a number of them were in existence already in earlier years. In 1859 the *United Hebrew Relief Association* was founded, a society still existing, and affording aid and assistance to destitute, sick, and otherwise suffering persons, to widows and orphans, and so forth, and thereby doing a great deal of philanthropic work. Also many other charitable societies exist, yet this U. H. R. A. has maintained its place among the Chicago Israelites as the most favored society of its class, and by the liberality of the Jewish inhabitants of this place, it is enabled to spend annually considerable amounts of money for its noble purposes. In fact, most of the other benevolent societies regard themselves, in a certain sense of the word, as but branches or component societies of this institution.

Its first president was Henry Greenebaum; at present Isaac Greensfelder presides over it. For several years past F. Kiss acts as superintendent, and is daily on duty in behalf of this association.

An hospital had been erected under the auspices of the U. H. R. A. in the year 1868, and was conducted on most liberal principles. It was situated on La Salle street near Schiller street. But

this hospital, too, fell a prey to the fire on October 9, 1871. At present a new Jewish hospital is being built on the Lake shore, foot of Twenty-ninth street. The U. H. R. A. has mainly been enabled to undertake the re-building of the hospital by the munificence of the late M. Reese, of San Francisco, Cal., who in his last will bequeathed to the society the amount of $50,000, to be devoted towards the erection of such a hospital.

Among this class of charitable societies, may also be counted a number of lodges of various Jewish orders. After the pattern of the Free Masons, Odd Fellows and similar orders, there were some Jewish orders formed in the United States, as for instance the *Independent Order of B'nay Brith* (Sons of the Covenant), the *Independent Order of the Free Sons of Israel*, the *Kesher Shel Barrel* (Iron League), all of which have philanthropic ends in view. All of these orders are represented in Chicago by a number of lodges.

We must not omit to mention here that several Jewish societies for literary purposes (debating clubs and the like,) and for amusement, have at various times been established here. Of some prominence, in their time, were the Concordia Club and the Harmonia Club (not in existence,) the Standard Club (still existing and flourishing,) the Zion Literary Society (also still prospering), and others.

It remains to be mentioned that in several other cities in the Northwest Jews have settled in more or less great numbers, and have formed congregations and other societies. So are fine prosperous Jewish congregations to be found in Milwaukee, St. Paul, Springfield, Quincy, Peoria, and there is hardly any village where not a few Israelites may be found, though their number may be too small to organize and to maintain a regular congregation.

A grand institution towards which the Jews of the Northwest all contribute, and which belongs to them in common, is the Jewish Orphan Asylum, in Cleveland. It is said to be one of the largest, best conducted, and best endowed institution of its kind in the United States.

THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

BY DOCTOR ALVAN E. SMALL, OF CHICAGO.

This is the name of the religious body which accepts the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and are properly known as Swedenborgians. Its members, however, do not assume to be followers of any man, but regard the Bible as the Word of God, and the true understanding of it as the only Christian rule of faith and practice. But they believe that now is the Second coming of the Lord—not in person but in spirit—in revealing the internal and spiritual sense of the Word of God; and that in Swedenborg's writings is revealed the true and uniform means of learning that sense; and that the revelations therein contained are addressed, not, like previous revelations, to the infancy and childhood, but to the manhood of the world; and hence all that a man is called upon to believe, in this Apocalyptical or New Jerusalem Dispensation of Divine Truth, he can see rationally and receive freely.

The three essential doctrines of this church as declared in the constitution of the Illinois Association, which is the general body of the church in Illinois, are as follows:

1. God is one in essence and in person, in whom is a Divine Trinity, and He is the Lord God, the Savior Jesus Christ.

2. The Word, or Sacred Scripture, is Divine Truth itself. It is written according to the correspondence of natural with spiritual and celestial things; and it thus contains three distinct senses, the Celestial, the Spiritual, and the Natural, which are adapted to all the various states of angels and men, and it is the Divine Medium by which men are associated with angels, and by which angels and men are conjoined with the Lord.

3. The Lord alone is the source of Genuine Life, the precepts of which are the Ten Commandments; these precepts are to be obeyed by man as of himself, with the acknowledgment that the will and the power to do them are of the Lord alone; and thus men are regenerated and saved by the Lord, by means of a life according to His precepts.

The last clause in that Constitution is as follows:

"This Association regards the payment of a part of the income of each member for the advancement of the uses of the Church, as a proper and necessary acknowledgment that we receive every blessing from the Lord, and expects that all its members will contribute to the funds of the Association, as the Lord shall give them ability."

This association was formed at Canton, Fulton county, June

3d, 1839, under a call issued in that year by the three gentlemen whose names are subscribed to it, the first residing in Chicago, and the two latter in the vicinity of Canton. It was as follows:

To the Receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem in the State of Illinois:

Dear Brethren:—Believing that the time has come for the Receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines in this State to take more decided measures to co-operate with the Divine Providence in disseminating the doctrines of the New Dispensation, we respectfully invite you to assemble at Canton, Fulton county, on Saturday and Sunday, the 6th and 7th days of July next, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The object of the meeting is to bring our scattered energies together, by forming acquaintance with each other, and thereby extending the social sphere of the church, and to take such steps as may be deemed essential, in our isolated condition, to enable us to come more fully into order.

It is earnestly desired that every receiver who can conveniently attend will not fail to be present, and such as cannot be present will communicate to the meeting by letter on the following subjects:

The residence of the receiver; the number of New Church books in possession; the number of receivers and readers in the vicinity; the names of persons to whom communications may be addressed; the disposition to contribute towards obtaining a New Church minister to visit and preach at the various places where there are receivers in this State; and such other information as may be deemed of interest to the church.

J. Young Scammon,
Jonas Rawalt,
John F. Randolph.

June 3d, 1839.

Communications to the meeting should be addressed to Jonas Rawalt, Canton, Fulton county.

Pursuant to the above invitation, a meeting of the Receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines was opened in the College Building, in Canton, on Saturday, July 6th.

John F. Randolph, of Fulton county, was elected President, and J. Young Scammon, of Chicago, Secretary of the meeting.

After the meeting was organized, the service of the church was read by the President, and the Lord's Prayer read.

Communications were received and read from Mr. Charles G. McGraw, of St. Louis, Mo.; Mr. Elisha Taber, of Springfield, Sangamon Co.; A. D. Wright, Esq., of Petersburg, Menard Co.;

E. N. Powell, Esq., of Peoria, Peoria Co.; Mrs. Nancy Harlan, of Darwin, Clark Co.; F. B. Murdock, Esq., of Alton, Madison Co.; Mrs. Betsey Adams, of Charleston, Peoria Co.; all of them expressing much interest in the objects of the meeting.

On Sunday morning divine service was performed, and the articles of faith read from the book of worship, after which an address, explanatory of what is meant by the New Jerusalem Church, was delivered by one of the brethren, J. Young Scammon.

At this meeting, the following officers were elected:

John F. Randolph, of Canton, President; Caleb North, of Rochester, Peoria Co., Secretary; Jonas Rawalt, of Canton, Treasurer; E. N. Powell, of Peoria; J. Young Scammon, of Chicago, additional members of the Executive Committee.

There was no meeting of the Association in 1840, as the services of a minister could not be obtained; but in 1841 the Rev. Lemuel C. Belding, of Pennsylvania, was sent out as a missionary by the then Central Convention, and visited Canton, and helped to form a small Society there; and in 1842 the Rev. F. O. Prescott, of the Western Convention, subsequently known as O. Prescott Hiller, visited Illinois, and preached and administered the sacraments at the meeting of the Association.

The Rev. John Randolph Hibbard came to Illinois at the invitation of the Association, in 1843, and remained as its general minister or superintendent until 1879, when, having removed to Detroit, Michigan, he ceased to be connected with the Association. While acting as such general minister, he became successively minister of the Canton, Peoria and Chicago Societies; and the Church in this State has grown up and been organized chiefly under his superintendence.

A very few, perhaps ten or a dozen, receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines, as they usually style themselves, had been found in very scattered or isolated places for some years before the first meeting of the Association, particularly in the vicinity of Peoria and Canton, and individual receivers lived in Clarke, Sangamon and Madison Counties, but there were not probably more than fifteen or twenty in the whole State.

The history of this body of professed Christians in Chicago dates from the arrival of J. Young Scammon as a future resident, in September, 1835. He was the first known receiver in the northern part of the State of Illinois.

Holding with Swedenborg, that an individual man who is receptive of the Divine Love and Wisdom, which constitute the essential church, is an external church in its least form, he immediately commenced, as such church, "solitary and alone," to

hold New Church worship in his office. The next year he became acquainted with and introduced the doctrines of the New Church to Mr. Vincent S. Lowell, then a young merchant in Chicago, who received the same, and united with Mr. Scammon in his Sunday worship.

In 1837 Mr. Scammon was married to Miss Mary Ann H. Dearborn, of Bath, Maine, who was also a receiver of these doctrines, and soon after he brought his wife to Chicago, rooms for their accommodation having been secured in the City Hotel, then located on Clark street, where the new Sherman House now stands. Sabbath morning worship was then conducted in his private parlor, and those interested were invited to attend. In 1838, Mr. Scammon removed into his dwelling on Clark street, opposite the public square, where religious worship was continued on the Sabbath, as usual, until he removed into a house erected by him on the corner of Michigan avenue and Randolph street, in which the regular services were for some time conducted. After a while they were changed to his office in the Saloon Building, at that time situated on the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets; afterwards to the Common Council chamber, adjoining Mr. Scammon's office, and then to a large room in the next story, and finally to the Saloon Hall itself, as members increased and more room was needed. The attendance was never large.

On the 7th of September, 1843, J. Young Scammon and his wife, Mary Ann H. Scammon, and Vincent S. Lovell, formed themselves into a legal religious society, and assumed the name of "The Chicago Society of the New Jerusalem."

The urgent reason for this legal organization at that time was to secure the donation of a lot for church purposes from the State, under the law in relation to towns laid out on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This law provided that a church lot should be donated to each regularly constituted religious society, in every town laid out by the State on the line of the canal, on canal lands. The provisions of this act were to be in force in Chicago only till the termination of that year. By virtue of the existence of "The Chicago Society of the New Jerusalem," although composed of but three members, and through the agency of Mr. Scammon, the lot 76x171 feet, on the northeast corner of Wabash avenue and Adams street, was seasonably secured for the future use of the church.

The society continued to meet for social and religious worship in the Saloon Building, gradually increasing in numbers. It was deemed expedient to adopt rules and regulations for carrying on its business and providing for the orderly increase of members.

Accordingly, on the 25th of March, 1847, the first annual meeting of the Society was held in Mr. Scammon's office.

The Society adopted for its platform of union the three essentials of the church, as contained in No. 259 of Emanuel Swedenborg's Treatise on the Divine Providence, viz:

"The acknowledgment of the Divine of the Lord.

"The acknowledgment of the Sanctity of the Word, and

"The life which is called Charity."

This declaration had been signed September 7th, 1843, by J. Young Scammon, Mary Ann H. Scammon and Vincent S. Lovell.

At the meeting held March 25, 1847, or on that day, William E. Jones, of the firm of Ogden, Jones & Co., Jos. K. C. Forrest and John E. Wheeler, two of the original proprietors of the Chicago *Tribune*, John Sears, Jr., Franklin Scammon, Thomas L. Forrest, George R. Bills, and Professor James V. Z. Blaney, of the Rush Medical College, signed the declaration and platform and became members. It was also voted, at this meeting, "That any person invited by the Executive Committee, might become a member by signing the above declaration."

J. Y. Scammon and Vincent S. Lovell were the first trustees of the Society, and it appears from the records that no others were appointed till the meeting of February 25, 1849, and then, after a more extensive organization, J. Y. Scammon, W. E. Jones and George R. Bills, were made the Executive Committee; who with James V. Z. Blaney, John Sears, Jr., John E. Wheeler and Hugh G. Clark were made trustees. Thos. L. Forrest was appointed Secretary, Franklin Scammon, Treasurer, and J. K. C. Forrest was elected Leader, whose duty it was to lead in worship on the Sabbath.

At this meeting the trustees were authorized to lease the church lot for a period not exceeding five years, and the Executive Committee was authorized to act in behalf of the Society in the recess between its meetings, and to take measures to establish a new church library. It was also voted at this meeting that the annual meeting should take place on the 2nd Monday of April, and that the fiscal year should end on the *first* of the same month.

There appears to be no record of any other meeting until the annual meeting on the 9th of April, 1849. But during the interim religious services had been conducted at the usual place in the Saloon Building, by J. K. C. Forrest. Public lectures were also given by Rev. Geo. Field.

Early in February, 1849, the Society numbered 21 members, who were unanimous in the desire of being consecrated as a church, and, for the purpose of carrying out this desire, they in-

vited the Rev. J. R. Hibbard, an Ordaining Minister of the New Jerusalem, to visit Chicago. It appears from the records that he did so, and consecrated the Society as a church; or rather that he met the Society on the 25th day of February, 1849, three members only being absent, at the residence of J. Y. Scammon, at the corner of Michigan avenue and Randolph street, and did then and there, by appropriate services, consecrate the same as a religious society, and in accordance with the authority committed unto him as an Ordaining Minister of the New Church in the United States, he recognized it as a regularly instituted society thereof.

The correspondence and proceedings of Feb. 25 were duly reported and recorded at the annual meeting which followed, April 9, 1849.

It appears that Rev. J. R. Hibbard was present by invitation at this annual meeting, and opened it for business by reading a portion of the Divine Word and prayer—a precedent which has since been observed in all the meetings of the Society. At this meeting there was the usual election of officers, with the exception of leader, which office was abolished, and the time of holding the annual meeting was changed to the second Monday of January, and the ending of the fiscal year to January 1st, of each year.

The Executive Committee was authorized to invite Rev. J. R. Hibbard to become pastor of the Society, and to make such provisions for his support as might be deemed necessary.

It was also voted at this meeting that a record of the baptisms and marriages in the Society be kept, and that all children so baptized be regarded as junior members thereof, and for whose spiritual education it was made the duty of the Society to provide.

In accordance with the authority given the Executive Committee, an invitation was extended to Rev. J. R. Hibbard to take the pastoral charge of the Society, at a salary of $500 a year, or in that proportion for any fraction of the year he might serve. Mr. Hibbard responded favorably to the invitation, and took up his residence with the Society, and himself and wife united with the same, January 1st, 1850.

The Society at this date numbered twenty-six members, and probably as many more, not members, attended the meetings for public worship. From the first formation of the Society, in 1843, and even prior to this event, until Rev. Mr. Hibbard accepted the Society's invitation to become its pastor, its finances were based upon voluntary contributions. Mr. J. Y. Scammon being the first to take an interest in disseminating the doctrines of

the New Church, furnished at his own expense the various places occupied by the Society for worship, and for the transaction of its business, and procured and kept for sale the writings of Swedenborg, until the church rooms were procured in a building erected by Mr. Harrison Newhall, at the north-east corner of Dearborn and Randolph streets, and fitted up as a place for public worship.

In addition to this generosity, Mr. Scammon subscribed liberally at all times for the replenishing of the treasury, and keeping the Society free from debt.

The pastor labored successfully for the interests of the Society, and preached most of the time on Sabbath mornings in the Saloon Building, till some time in 1851, when the church rooms were secured and fitted up on the corner of Dearborn and Randolph streets. In this new place for worship quite a large congregation attended the public services on the Sabbath, and it became quite apparent that Mr. Hibbard's labors were not only satisfactory to the Society, but eminently efficient in spreading a knowledge of the Heavenly Doctrines. A library had been established, and from this source general New Church reading had been provided. At the annual meeting, held January 12, 1852, the treasurer reported that the Society was in a healthy financial condition, its debts all paid, and a small balance in the treasury.

At the annual meeting held Jany. 11, 1850, a committee on music was appointed to superintend this department of public worship, and to effect its introduction, when they thought best, into the regular exercises of the Sabbath. It was voted in 1852, at the annual meeting, that the pastor or any member of the Executive Committee might consider himself a representative of the Society in any general body of the church, when not otherwise specially represented.

It does not appear on the records when the Society first provided a Sunday School. The first time mentioned is in the records of the meeting of the Executive Committee March 25,1852, when thirty dollars were appropriated for a Sunday School Library.

In the fall and winter Rev. B. F. Barrett delivered a course of lectures on Sunday evenings to crowded houses in the new church rooms, and also supplied the pulpit when the pastor was absent as a missionary and superintendent of the Illinois Association. From a resolution recorded on March 6th, 1853, it would appear that Mr. Barrett's labors were highly appreciated and approved of by the Society.

The Illinois Association, of which the Chicago Society and its members had from the first been a part, had held up to this time

two annual sessions in the church rooms in Chicago, and it was voted this year, 1852, to invite the General Convention of the New Church in the U. S. to meet in Chicago in June, 1853.

It met here, and its sessions were held in Newhall's Hall, before referred to, and subsequently, in the years 1860, 1865, 1871, the General Convention has been held in Chicago.

From Newhall's Hall the Society removed to a schoolhouse, purchased by it, on the north side of Adams street, between Wabash avenue and State street, and caused a school, kept by Mr. H. O. Snow, a New churchman, to be established there. The Society remained there until the winter of 1857, when the building was destroyed by fire. From thence it removed to an old church building which had been originally built by the Second Presbyterian Church, and had been removed to Harrison street, which was purchased by the Society and occupied by it until it built its new and commodious stone temple on Adams street, on the lot secured by Mr. Scammon in 1843, as before stated.

It remained here until the great fire of October 9, 1871, destroyed it, together with a mission church building which it had placed upon a lot at the junction of Clark and LaSalle streets, opposite Lincoln Park. This temple was a very convenient building, containing, beside the church proper, a basement room for social meetings, a pastor's study and library room, and a residence for the janitor. The Society had great prosperity, pecuniarily and otherwise.

Through the Rev. John H. Ragatoz, a German congregation and society were established and church built in the northwest part of the city, on Ashland avenue, just north of Chicago avenue, which is now used for worship by the German Society.

It had also a mission church at the corner of Thirty-third street and South Park avenue, in which services were held until the building of the New Church Hall on Eighteenth street, near the corner of Prairie avenue.

After the great fire the Society sold its church lot on Adams street, and with the proceeds purchased the property on Eighteenth street, and a church lot at the corner of West Washington and Ogden avenues, and caused places of worship to be erected on them, and secured a residence for the pastor adjoining the Eighteenth street Hall.

Mr. Hibbard's health failing, leave of absence was given him in 1871, and he went to Europe for his health. During his absence, and for some time before, the Rev. Calvin Day Noble was employed to preach for the Society as Mr. Hibbard's assistant. On Mr. Hibbard's return there was a division in the Society, a part of the congregation preferring Mr. Noble. These formed

themselves into a second society under Mr. Noble, but it was dissolved shortly after Mr. Noble left, and it has now gone out of existence.

The panic of 1873 completed the financial ruin of many of the leading members of the Society who had been greatly embarrassed by the great and subsequent fires, so that the Society was no longer able to support their pastor, and he was employed as the general missionary of the General Convention. In March, 1877, those members of the church who thought that a younger minister and more central place of worship were desirable, formed a new society, called the Union Swedenborgian Society, invited the Rev. L. P. Mercer to become their pastor, and established worship in Hershey Hall, on Madison street, between State and Dearborn streets, where he has preached since and is now preaching.

Worship and Sunday School are kept up in the North and West side places of worship, the Rev. W. F. Pendleton acting as minister. No regular worship has been had in Eighteenth street hall since Mr. Hibbard's resignation in 1877, although for a portion of the time Dr. A. E. Small has conducted the services, and Mr. O. L. Barler and others have preached there, and Sunday School has been maintained under the superintendence, first, of Miss Auanna E. Scammon, and subsequently of Mr. R. A. Keyes.

From the beginning New Church books have been kept for sale, and New Church libraries maintained. The first books were placed, in 1838, in the book-store of Mr. S. F. Gale, the first bookseller in Chicago. The great fire of 1871 destroyed both a large stock of books kept for sale, and the New Church Library. A new supply was obtained, and the nucleus of a new library established on the three sides of the river, or in the three Divisions of the city, but the general embarrassments of the members of the Society have rendered all their efforts feeble, and very little has been accomplished. Many hope for a new state of things with returning prosperity.

It has been the aim of the Society to avoid incurring debts, and it has avoided them, except in obtaining places of worship. Debts have all been promptly paid off, except two for $5,000 each, and interest and taxes on the two places of worship at Eighteenth street and West Washington avenue. It was not the intention to incur those, but unforeseen circumstances kept those debts upon our hands, the two buildings costing $10,000 more than was intended.

The members hope soon to get out of debt, and keep out. The Society has always provided for its own poor. It has al-

ways recognized the duty of every one contributing to the support of the church as the Lord should give him ability, and there has been a general, though not universal, endeavor to act up to this principle.

Of the members of the Society who signed the original articles of association, only Mr. J. Young Scammon is living. He occupies his law office in the building at the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, where he had his office forty-four years ago, in 1836. Of those who have gone, Dr. Franklin Scammon and Mr. John Sears, Jr., remembered the Society in their wills. The executors of the latter paid over 10 per cent. of the estate to the society.

The Society cannot be said to be a proselyting community. It considers that it is its duty to provide means for making known the doctrines of the New Church, and instructing those who desire such instruction. The members of the old Board of Trustees have generally been re-elected, and Mr. Scammon was chairman of its Executive Committee until he was left out of the board, in 1877, at his request.

But a vacancy occurring, an urgent and unanimous request was presented to him to resume his membership, which he consented to do upon the condition that he should not be expected to attend its meetings when it was not convenient for him to do so. On his retirement, Dr. Alvan E. Small was elected Chairman, and Alexander Officer Vice-Chairman, which positions they continue to hold. Mr. R. A. Keyes is Secretary, and Mr. Olof Benton Assistant Secretary. The Treasurer is Mr. Willet Northup, who has held that office for many years. He is also Treasurer of the Illinois Association. These gentlemen, together with J. Young Scammon, Robert E. Moss, Wm. A. Barton, James M. Hill, H. S. Maynard and Orlando Blackman, constitute the Executive Committee, which has charge of the affairs of the Society.

The action of the Society has usually been very harmonious, and a willingness to abide for the time being by the decision of the majority has generally, if not always, been expressed, while the wishes and feelings of the minority have always been respected.

EARLY CHICAGO METHODISM.

BY REV. ARTHUR EDWARDS, D. D.

Civil records show that in 1831 Chicago contained but about a dozen families. The inevitable and indefatigable Methodist preacher was not far off. Church records show that in 1831 the old Illinois Conference had a Sangamon district, in which there was a "Chicago Mission." In the year last named Rev. Jesse Walker was appointed missionary to Chicago. This sainted ecclesiastical "Pathfinder," even in 1831, had already seen twenty-nine years of border service as a minister of the Gospel. In 1806, under the leadership of William McKendree, who was afterwards a bishop, Walker entered Illinois as a missionary to the entire territory. These two devoted men traveled the unbroken wilderness between Kentucky and the heart of Illinois on horseback. They slept under their saddle-blankets beneath the smiling skies, and cooked their own meals in true pioneer style. Sometimes, perhaps, they thought the stars smiled grimly, for it is recorded there was much rain, rivers were overflowing, and during the journey their horses swam the swollen streams, while the riders carried their garments and Bibles across in their hands, raised high above their saddles. McKendree tarried a few weeks and returned to Kentucky. Walker remained alone, and by constant itinerating and camp meetings, succeeded in his noble work as he was accustomed to do. The fruits of his labor, and of the few who aided him in the ministry, is attested by the formation of the Illinois Conference in 1816. This conference, it is characteristically said, "had no boundary on the west, included the last Methodist cabin toward the setting sun, and took in all Missouri and Illinois, and the western half of Indiana."

They tell us that this tireless Jesse Walker had met Daniel Boone in Kentucky. Dr. Abel Stevens, the Methodist historian, says that Walker "was to the Church what Boone was to the early settler—always first, always ahead of everbody else, preceding all others long enough to be the pilot of the new-comer." Somewhere in the tide of pure, bounding blood that has nourished Chicago into a hardy metropolis, there throbs the pulse in church life which Jesse Walker stimulated when he came to the village in 1831. He lived here in that year, and when he was away on duty at distant points, his pulpit was filled by William See, the United States blacksmith, at the Chicago post, who had once been a minister in the Illinois conference. These

two ministers, and Mrs. Col. R. J. Hamilton, were the first of Chicago Methodists.

In 1832 a Mission district was formed, of which Jesse Walker was the presiding elder. Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, who yet survives, was pastor of Chicago station in that mission district. In 1833 Walker was both at the head of the district and pastor of "Chicago Mission." In that year the first quarterly conference was held in the "Watkins School-house," at the corner of North La Salle and Water streets. At the Lord's table during this quarterly meeting, there were present: William See and Henry Whitehead who were local preachers, Mrs. See, Charles Wisencraft and wife, Father Noble, Mrs Col. R. J. Hamilton and Mrs. Harriet Harmon. Mr. Whitehead, who survives, is a superannuated member of the present Rock River conference. In 1834 the first Methodist "class" was formed, and Charles Wisencraft was appointed "Class Leader." These worshipped in Indian Chief Billy Caldwell's log council house on the North Side, not far from the corner of Franklin and Water streets, or in Ingersoll's tavern, on the west side of the river, between Fulton and Lake streets, or in a building on the North Side, between LaSalle and Clark streets.

The first church was built in 1834, by Henry Whitehead and John Stewart. The original contract is in Mr. Whitehead's possession. The brief document provides for a "frame building, twenty-six feet by 38; 12 feet posts; sheeted and shingled roof; seats with broad backs, and a rail of separation down the middle; a neat pulpit; a platform for a table and chairs; the whole to be done in a workman-like manner," and for the sum of $580. The contract bears the autograph of Jesse Walker, who agrees to accept; "these propositions given by Messrs. Whitehead & Stewart, on the part of the Methodist Episcopal church, signed June 30, 1834." The house was duly erected on the north side, at the corner of Clark and Water streets. The aged Jesse Walker became superannuated in 1834, and died in holy triumph in October of 1835. In 1834 Rev. J. T. Mitchell became pastor, and the church was strengthened. In 1836, the lots at the corner of Clark and Washington streets were purchased through Robinson Tripp, who survives as a member of the church, now standing on them.

In the fall of 1836 O. T. Curtis became pastor, but in the financial crash of the following year, loss, scandal, and overbearing moral pressure, tested the church cruelly in common with the entire city and country. Men remember to this day the devout and devoted Peter R. Borein, who was sent as pastor in the autumn of 1837. A year later a revival began under the labors

of this good man, and so greatly did the interest affect all classes, that three hundred, or about one-tenth of the entire population of the young city joined old Clark St. Church. Mr. Borein died soon after, and his last sermon is spoken of till this day. In the winter between 1837 and 1838, the church was moved over on the ice from the North side to the lots purchased in 1836, as stated. The house was enlarged to twice its original size. In 1839 S. Stocking became pastor, and he was followed by Hooper Crews, who served in 1840 and 1841, and who is still at work in the Rock River Conference. During his pastorate, the house was again enlarged as before. In 1842, under the pastorate of N. P. Cunningham, the church again became too small. In 1843 Rev. Luke Hitchcock, still living, was appointed pastor, and a colony from the old church, under the pastorate of Abram Hanson, built a church on Canal Street. This colony afterwards became Jefferson Street church, and, later, Centenary church.

In 1844 Wm. M. D. Ryan became pastor of Clark St., with Warren Oliver as assistant. Revivals followed, and the often enlarged house became too small again. A new building that cost $12,000 was dedicated in November, 1845. In 1846 Chauncey Hobart was pastor. In 1847 "Indiana street" church was set off from Clark St., and the colony is now identified as "Grace Church." Rev. Philo Judson was pastor at the "old hive" in this year. In 1848 Richard Haney was sent to Clark St.
and he was returned in 1849. Rev. Stephen P. Keyes followed in 1850; Rev. John Clark in 1852; Rev. Hooper Crews in 1854; Rev. James Baume in 1856; Rev. W. F. Stewart in 1858; Rev. O. H. Tiffany in 1860; Rev. F. D. Hemenway in 1865; Rev. C. H. Fowler in 1863; Rev. W. C. Dandy in 1866; Rev. J. A. Gray in 1867; Rev. W. H. Daniels in 1869; Rev. H. W. Thomas in 1872; Rev. S. A. W. Jewett in 1875; Revs. M. M. Parkhurst and W. A. Spencer in 1876; and in 1879, Rev. J. Williamson.

In 1858, under a charter, a new "church block" was erected for the mother society at Clark street, at a cost of $70,000. The plan was to build a business block, in which stores and offices were to yield rents for the support of the church on the third floor. Notwithstanding the panic of 1857 and 1858, the trustees funded the debt of $70,000, paid taxes and insurance, and carried the project through. In 1865 the noble trustees began to aid sister Methodist Churches in the city, and few now existing have failed to secure help. From 1865 to 1871, the board had extended aid to the extent of over $70,000, the original cost of the first "block." This building perished in the fire of October, 1871, but

was replaced by a new one that cost $120,000, in 1872. The rebuilding was made possible by insurance on the old building, of $65,600, and funds, given by Methodists to the fire fund, to the extent of $10,000. This "old Clark Street" Block is known all through the Church, and it has made a fragrant memory for itself. The grand men who were trustees under the charter of 1857, were Grant Goodrich, J.K. Botsford, Wm. Wheeler, Orrington Lunt, J. V. Farwell, J. W. Waughop and John Hayward. All survive save Mr. Wheeler.

It is impossible to give space to detailed histories of many churches which have been colonized from the original church, or from its derivatives. A table at the end of this chapter will name them, and include the major items relating to their present status. Each church has its shining record of devout men and women. All are active and charateristically useful. The denomination has been an important factor in the city's history, and to this hour it is grateful to co-work with sister denominations in promoting the best interests of mankind.

Among the most heroic, self-denying and successful ministers and churches are those of the German, and the various Scandinavian component parts of the Methodist Churches working in the city. They are represented in the tables given below. No pen can duly estimate the good they have done and are doing among the populations most directly concerned. Their work is very successful.

The Germans read the *Apologist*, edited by Dr. W. Nast, in Cincinnati, and the Swedes the *Sandebudet*, Chicago, edited successfully by V. Witting, N. O. Westergren, and Dr. Wm. Henschen. The Chicago Depository, a branch of the Western Methodist Book Concern, was established in 1852. It purchased valuable property at 66 Washington St., which was exchanged after the great fire of 1871, for other property at 57 Washington St. Rev. Luke Hitchcock, D. D., whose name has already been mentioned in this sketch, and who for twenty years served as an agent of the Book Concern, has lived in Chicago and has done much to make the Western Concern and the Chicago Depository a success. Rev. Drs. J. M. Walden and W. P. Stowe are the present agents. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* was established as an organ of the church, in Chicago, in 1852. Rev. J. V. Watson, D. D., was editor until 1856. Rev. T. M. Eddy, D. D., followed as editor in 1856 and served until 1868. In that year Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D., became editor, and in 1872 Rev. Arthur Edwards, D. D., (who had served as assistant editor from 1864) was elected editor, and he is now serving as such. The paper has a circulation larger than that of any Evangelical church in the West,

save one, and that belongs to the Methodist Church, and is published in Cincinnati.

The following statements relate to Methodist Episcopal Churches situated within the present city limits. The year of the appointment of the first pastor expresses approximately the date of the organization of the respective Churches:

Chicago Mission (now First Church, or "Old Clark Street") Autumn of 1830, Jesse Walker; 1831, S. R. Beggs; 1832, Jesse Walker; 1834, John T. Mitchell; 1836, O. F. Curtis; 1837, Peter R. Borien; 1839, S. H. Stocking; 1840, H. Crewes; 1842, N. P. Cunningham; 1843, L. Hitchcock and A. Hanson; 1844, W. M. D. Ryan and W. Oliver; 1846, C. Hobart; 1847, P. Judson; 1848, R. Haney; 1850, S. P. Keyes; 1852, John Clark; 1854, Hooper Crews;1856, James Baume; 1858, W. F. Stewart; 1860, O. H. Tiffany; 1862, F. D. Hemenway; 1863, C. H. Fowler; 1866, W. C. Dandy; 1867, J. W. Gray; 1869, W. H. Daniels; 1872, H. W. Thomas; 1875, S. A. W. Jewett; 1876, M. M. Parkhurst and W. A. Spencer; 1879 John Williamson.

Canal St.—Next "Jefferson St;" and now "Centenary."—1845, Sius Bolles; 1847, Harvey S. Brunson; 1848, R. A. Blanchard; 1850, Wm Palmer; 1852, James E. Wilson and Wm. Keegan;—*Jefferson St.*—1853, E. H. Gammon; 1854, Sius Bolles; 1855, J. F. Chaffee; 1857, S. P. Keyes; 1858, R. J. White; 1859, W. McKaig; 1861, C. H. Fowler; 1863, Robert Bentley; 1864, Chas. Shelling; 1865, supplied;—*Centenary*—1866, C. H. Fowler; 1867, R. M. Hatfield; 1870, C. H. Fowler; 1873, J. O. Peck; 1875, S. H. Adams; 1877, H. W. Thomas; 1880, A. C. George.

Indiana St.—(Grace.)—1847, Freeborn Haney; 1848, John F. Devore; 1849, Zadok Hall; 1850, Boyd Lowe; 1851, John W. Agard; 1852, Sius Bolles; 1854, Thomas Williams; 1857, S. G. Lathrop; 1859, H. Whipple; 1861, L. H. Bugbee; 1863, J. C. Stoughton.—*Grace.*—1864, O. H. Tiffany; 1867, A. J. Jutkins; 1870, M. M. Parkhurst; 1873, C. E. Felton; 1875, John Atkinson; 1878, R. D. Sheppard.

Trinity.—1864, J. H. Vincent; 1865, Wm. A. Smith; 1866, S. A. W. Jewett; 1868, T. M. Eddy; 1869, J. H. Bayliss; 1871, S. McChesney; 1874, O. H. Tiffany; 1877, W. F. Crafts; 1879, R. B. Pope.

State St.—Wabash Ave.—1852, N. P. Heath; 1853, F. A. Read; 1855, W. B. Slaughter;—*Wabash Avenue*—1857, Wm. M. D. Ryan; 1859, W. Krebs; 1860, H. Cox; 1862, R. L. Collier; 1865, R. M. Hatfield; 1867, C. H. Fowler; 1870, R. M. Hatfield; 1871, S. McChesney; 1872, J. F. McClelland; 1873, J. L. G. McKown; 1874, John Williamson; 1876, A. W. Patten; 1879 F. W. Bristol.

Owen St.—Ada St.—1853, S. Guyer; 1855, C. French; 1856, Wm. Tasker; 1857, 1858 and 1859, supplied;—*West Indiana St.*—1860, Jacob Hartman; 1862, supplied; 1863, Wm. D. Skelton; 1866, Robert Bently; 1868, J. Hartwell; 1869, W. F. Stewart;—*Ada St.*—1870, T. R. Strobridge; 1873, W. C. Dandy; 1874, J. L. G. McKown; 1875, J. M. Caldwell; 1877, S. H. Adams; 1880, A. Gurney.

Bridgeport.—Simpson Chapel.—1862, Peter K. Rye; 1863, M. B. Cleveland; 1864, Joseph Wardle; 1865 and 1866, supplied; 1867, E. W. Fay;—*Simpson Chapel.*—1868, W. Thatcher; 1870, H. W. Scoville; 1871, H. Hill; 1874, A. Youker; 1877, J. H. Alling.

Dixon St.—1870, T. P. Marsh; 1872, J. H. Thomas; 1873 and 1874, supplied; 1875, E. C. Arnold; 1877, E. M. Boring.

Des Plaines St.—Maxwell St.—St. Paul's.—1857, H. Whipple; 1859, supplied; 1860, E. Stone; 1862, L .Hawkins; 1863, E. M. Boring; 1864, T. L. Olmsted; 1865, S. Guyer;—*Maxwell Street.*—1866, A. T. Needham; 1868, E. W. Fay; 1869, W. H. Burns; 1872, S. G. Lathrop; 1873, H. L. Martin; 1876, A. Gurney; 1877, T. P. Marsh; 1879, J. W. Phelps.

Fulton St.—1874, R. S. Cantine; 1876, S. M. Davis; 1877 W. H. Holmes; 1879, Geo. Chase.

Park Ave.—1865, supplied; 1866, A. P. Mead; 1867, J. H. Bayless; 1869, H. W. Thomas; 1872, W. H. Daniels; 1874, N. H. Axtell; 1876, S. McChesney; 1879, T. Strobridge.

Wesley Chapel.—Grant Place.—1866, H. Whipple; 1867, M. H. Plumb; *Grant Place:* 1868, E. M. Boring; 1869, C. G. Truesdell; 1871, E. M. Boring; 1872, S. C. Clendening; 1875, T. P. Marsh; 1878, F. P. Cleveland.

Indiana Ave.—Michigan Ave.—1869, Hooper Crews; 1870, R. D. Shepherd; 1873, J. W. Phelps; 1874, M. M. Parkhurst; 1877, J. Williamson; 1879, G. R. Vanhorne.

St. Johns.—Oakland.—Langley Ave.—1869, C. E. Mandeville; 1871, C. G. Truesdell; 1872, J. F. Yates; 1873, L. Meredith; 1875, W. C. Willing; 1877, T. C. Clendenning; 1880, R. M. Hatfield.

Western Ave.—1871, A. Youker; 1874, R. D. Shepherd; 1877, S. H. Adams; 1878, J. M. Caldwell.

State St.—1872, J. G. Campbell; 1873, M. C. Stokes; 1875, W. A. Spencer; 1876, Ezra M. Boring; 1880, W. Thatcher.

Halsted St.—1872, S. Washburn; 1874, H. Hill; 1876, W. Craven; 1879, F. A. Harding.

Chicago City Mission.—1855, Sius Bolles; 1856, 1857, 1858 and 1859, supplies; 1860, W. F. Stewart; 1861, supplied; 1862, J. W. Chadwick; 1863, H. Whipple; 1866, supplied; 1867 and 1868, S. G. Lathrop; 1869, &c., supplies.

Winter St.—1877, Geo. Chase; 1879, Wm. Craven.

Emmanuel.—1879, J. W. Richards.—Lincoln St.—Jackson St.—Asbury Chapel.—Northwest Church.—Milwaukee Ave.—Indiana St. are flourishing missions.

GERMAN M. E. CHURCH.

South Chicago German—Van Buren St.—1852, A. Kellner; 1855, F. Schuler; 1856, H. F. Koeneke; 1857, C. Holl; 1859, L. Lass; 1861, F. Kopp; 1863, I. Lines; 1865, Chr. Loeber; 1867, E. Wunderleck; 1870, R. Fickencher; 1872, Chr. Loeber; 1875, supplied. 1877, C. F. Allert.

South West German Mission.—1872, P. Hinner; 1874, J. Blatch.

Dayton St.—1875, J. Berger.

North Side German—Indiana Street.—Clybourne Avenue.—1852, Philip Barth; 1853, C. Wenz; 1854, L. Lass; 1855, J. H. Westerfeld; 1856, F. Kopp;—*Clybourne Avenue.*—1857, J. Schafer; 1859; J. Haas, Jr.; 1860, F. Kluckholm; 1862, Wm. Plaffle; 1865, J. Blatch; 1868, G. L. Mulfinger; 1870, F. Rinder; 1873, supplied; 1874, J. W. Roecher. 1877, J. Schnell; 1879, G. H. Simons.

German City Mission—Buddan St.—1870, G. H. Simons; *Portland Street.*—1872, W. Keller; 1875, B. Lampert.

West German—Maxwell Street.—1855, Henry Senn; 1856, R. Fickencher; 1858, W. Winter; 1860, I. Lines; 1861, L. Lass; 1863, P. Hinners; 1866, F. Fischer; 1868, R. Fickencher; 1870, C.G. Becker; 1872, J. W. Roecher; 1874, G. L. Mulfinger; 1876, C. A. Loeber; 1879, F. Gottschalk.

Reuben St.—Ashland Ave.—1868, J. Blatch; 1869, P. Hinners; 1871, supplied; 1872, G. L. Mulfinger; 1874, F. Rinder; 1877, H. Wegner; 1879, J. Bletch; 1880, J. J. Keller.

Emmanuel Church.—1879, G. H. Simons; 1879, J. Schnell.

Zion Mission.—1877, H. Lemke; 1878, Wm. Karnopp; 1879, F. Meyer.

SWEDISH M. E. CHURCHES.

Swede Mission (afterwards May St.).—North Side.—1853, S. B. Newman; 1855, Erick Shogren and N. Peterson; 1859, J. Bredburg; 1860, J. Bredburg and Eric Carlson; 1861, A. J. Anderson and Eric Carlson; 1864, supplied; 1865, N. O. Westergren and V. Witting; 1868, Nels Peterson; 1870, A. J. Anderson; 1873, E. Shogren and Alfred Anderson; 1875,—*May Street.*—N. O. Westergren and E. Shogren; 1877, D. S. Sorlin; 1878, J. Wigren.

Market St.—1877, A. J. Andersen; 1879, D. S. Sorlin.—South Chapel.—Haven St.—F. Ahgren; 1878, N. O. Westergren.

NORWEGIAN M. E. CHURCHES.

INDIANA ST.—FIRST CHURCH.—1877, A. Haagensen; 1878, J. H. Johnson.

DIVISION ST.—SECOND CHURCH.—1877, C. F. Eltzholts; 1878, J. De L. Thompson.

PRESIDING ELDERS.

A list of presiding elders of the district of which Chicago has been a part, is subjoined. Some of the names do not appear on other lists:

ILLINOIS CONFERENCE.—In 1831 and 1832—Sangamon district: Peter Cartwright, Presiding Elder; in 1833, Simon Peter, P. E. In 1834 and 1835—Chicago District: John Sinclair, P. E.; in 1835, W. B. Mack, P. E.; 1836 to 1839, John Clark, P. E.

In 1840 ROCK RIVER CONFERENCE was set off from the Illinois. John T. Mitchell was P. E. of Chicago district, 1840 to 1841: Hooper Crews, 1842 and 1843; James R. Goodrich, 1844; James Mitchell, 1845, 1846; John Chandler, 1847; Hooper Crews, 1848; A. L. Risley, 1849, 1850; John Sinclair, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854; J. W. Agard, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858; Luke Hitchcock, 1859; E. M. Boring, 1860, 1861, 1862; Stephen P. Keyes, 1863, 1864; Hooper Crews, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868; Wm. C. Dandy, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872; Andrew J. Jutkins, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876; William C. Willing, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880.

The following figures, expressing the status in the autumn of 1879, relate to Churches in the city limits.

ENGLISH CHURCHES.

Names of Churches.	Members and Probationers.	Value of Church property.	Teachers and Scholars in Sunday School.
Clark Street,		$123 000	127
Wabash Avenue,	208	65 000	335
Trinity,	450	150 000	493
Michigan Avenue,	425	62 000	721
Langley Avenue,	238	20 000	625
State Street,	100	3 500	175
Grace	325	85 000	807
Grant Place,	330	9 000	
Centenary	825	97 000	806
Ada Street,	290	60 000	508
Park Avenue,	325		293
Western Avenue,	305	10 000	385
Fulton Street,	195	4 400	381
Dixon Street,	88	2 500	174
St. Paul's,	302	6 000	303
Halsted Street,	150	50 000	847
Simpson,	162	1 500	190
Emmanuel,	110		147
Jackson Street,	40	3 200	133
Winter Street,	87	10 000	180

GERMAN CHURCHES.

Clybourne Avenue,	176	$15 000	200
Maxwell Street,	257	10 500	349
Ashland Avenue,	200	15 500	240
Portland Avenue,	122	5 000	171
Emmanuel Church,	112	6 000	135
Zion Mission,	30	1 000	80

SWEDISH CHURCHES.

Market Street,	320	$24 000	290
May Street,	290	14 000	200
Haven Street,	125	1 000	60

NORWEGIAN CHURCHES.

First Church,	312	$18 000	342
Second Church,	65	2 500	80

The Methodist Church has two important educational institutions at Evanston, Illinois. The Northwestern University was organized by charter in 1851. In 1853, Rev. Dr. C. T. Hinman was elected President, and a faculty was formed. Dr. Hinman died in 1854, and Rev. Dr. R. S. Foster (now Bishop) was elected President in 1854. He resigned in 1860, and Rev. H. S. Noyes acted as President until his death in 1869. In that year Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven became President, and when he resigned in 1872, Rev. Dr. C. H. Fowler was elected. Dr. Fowler was elected editor of the N. Y. *Advocate* in 1876, and Oliver Marcy, L. L. D., has since acted as President. The University has a foundation in real estate. The present site of Evanston embraces about four hundred acres of land, a part of which has been sold to residents. This purchase money and rents constitute the income of the University. The entire valuation is about one million dollars, and the future of the schools is assured. The University has six departments: 1, Literature and Science; 2, College of Literature and Arts (Woman's College); 3, College of Music; 4, College of Law (in Chicago); 5, College of Medicine (Chicago Medical College); 6, Preparatory School. The library has over 30,000 volumes. The six faculties includes about fifty professors The students number about 800 in all departments. The wisdom of the organization of the University is justly attributable to Hon. John Evans, Hon. Grant Goodrich, Orrington Lunt, Jabez K. Botsford and Rev. R. Haney. Rev. Philo Judson was long a wise agent and counsellor for the trustees. The institution holds a very high rank.

The church has another important institution in Evanston, Ill., for the education of young men for the Methodist ministry. Mrs. Eliza Garrett, wife of Augustus Garrett who was once

Mayor of Chicago, died in 1855, leaving about a quarter of a million dollars to found the Garrett Biblical Institute. The will was drawn by Hon. Grant Goodrich, and the institute was opened in 1856. Rev. Dr. John Dempster was the first President. Rev. Dr. D. P. Kidder, Rev. Dr. Henry Banmister, Rev. F. Johnstone, Rev. Dr. F. D. Hemenway, Rev. Miner Raymond, and Rev. Dr. W. X. Ninde (the present president), constitute the list of instructors. Mr. Johnstone served for a short time, and Dr. Kidder went to a similar institution in the East in 1871. The three years' course is exclusively biblical and theological. About two hundred and forty graduates and twelve hundred students have received instruction from the able faculty. Many graduates and students have gone abroad to mission service. Many conferences in the church, particularly in the northwest, have in their ranks earnest men who were educated in this Biblical Institute. Hon. Grant Goodrich, whose service in the parent Methodist Church in Chicago (Clark St. Church), and in the Northwestern University, has been noted, and Hon. Orrington Lunt, have given much of their lives and substance to the Institute. These their good works will follow them. The University and Institute both have good buildings.

The sources of these data are historical lectures by Hon. Grant Goodrich, 1852; General Minutes of the Church; Stevens' History; John Stewart's "Highways and Hedges"; "Methodism in Northwest," by Rev. S. R. Beggs; Peter Cartwright's Autobiography; Simpson's Cyclopedia of Methodism, and current papers.

CENSUS OF CHICAGO FOR 1880, OBTAINED FROM THE RECORDS IN WASHINGTON IN ADVANCE OF THEIR PUBLICATION.

The population of Chicago now appears to be 503,301 of whom 257,027 are males, 246,274 females; 298,426 natives, 204,875 foreign; 496,617 white; 6,475 colored, 160 Chinese, 2 Japanese, 37 Indians and 1 East Indian. This statement is still subject to possible corrections, by reason of the discovery of omissions or duplications of names in the lists of inhabitants returned.

Very respectfully,

FRANCIS S. WALKER,
Superintendent.

HISTORY OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION, AND THE GROWTH OF THE LIBERTY AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

BY HON. Z. EASTMAN.

I have been requested to write for this work some passages of history bearing upon the late agitation of the anti-slavery question in the West, and its effects upon the fate of the nation. It is almost superfluous to state that it is a favorite doctrine of our people, that ours is a government of liberty; that liberty is the great boast of the nation, and the object and end of the struggles of our forefathers in making this country an asylum of the oppressed of all lands, and achieving finally national independence. Consequently, when the form of government first began to take shape, it was upon this declaration, which it was assumed was a self-evident truth, "that all men were then equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The patriots of the revolution, who achieved their independence, were doubtless sincere believers in this truth. They had no mental reservations, that is, the most of them; and believed that the doctrine applied to black men and slaves, as well as to white men. They did not say, and they did not mean, that white men, when they combined to make a new government, were then equal, etc., as a distinguished Senator from Illinois once stated they meant to say.

It was very consistent with this doctrine, of the fathers of the Revolution that when the nation had received the bequest of a large area of territory which was by nature free from slavery, that they should have taken special pains to guarantee that state of freedom for all future time. Negro slavery, they said, had been forced upon the colonies by the policy of the mother country; and as it was found existing in all the original territories, they could see no other way but to leave it to time and Providence for its extirpation. But wherever the nation began new it would keep itself clear of this admitted curse. The nation had no territory of its own. It was all made up of the areas of the provinces or colonies that had entered into the Confederation which was formed to secure national independence. When it became a nation in fact, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788, and the old Confederacy had been superseded, it was in a condition to inherit an estate. Consequently the States which held territory outside of their administrative limits, prospectively

or directly, were preparing to cede that territory to the nation as a body capable of inheriting and holding such an estate. And therefore Connecticut and Virginia set the example and relinquished their jurisdiction over the vast regions of wild and uncultivated lands in the Northwest, which they held by virtue of their colonial charters; Virginia ceded the larger part in a state of nature. Land unoccupied by civilized man, though full of the wealth of the forest and the mine, is as valueless as the waves on the ocean. So the Virginia territory of the Northwest was money-valueless to the State if it remained without population. Without impoverishing herself she gave to the nation the vast territory, and in so doing she gave it an empire. But she coupled with the gift the condition that it should be kept free forever from that curse of slavery that was already then beginning to prey upon her own vitals. Thus originated the Ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory, which was passed by Congress in 1787, as the condition of receiving the donation of the territory from Virginia. Art. 6 of the said ordinance provides: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

On the passage of this clause of the Ordinance, finally rested the fate of the nation. It was originally insisted upon (it is said), as a political and economical measure; that to give to the land a marketable value, for the settlement of free and independent laborers and owners of the soil, it should be kept free from slavery. Whatever the motive, it has proved to have been in the largest degree, profitable and wise, and a controlling policy in the fate of the nation. It was in this sphere, and in the area of the Northwest territory, that the problem was solved that finally delivered the nation from the incubus of slavery. The consecration of the Northwest to freedom by the State of Virginia, became the nucleus of the power that delivered the nation. The story of this achievement, to a large extent yet unwritten, except in the acts of men, is to form the chapter of history we are about to write.

The Northwestern Ordinance, so called, was the ratification of the deed of cession for the territory locally defined as "lying within the United States, northwest of the Ohio River," and it declares that there should be formed in the said territory, not less than three and not more than five states. And in the territory was organized, as population rapidly increased, the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. It then embraced all the territory within the boundaries of the United States lying outside of special jurisdiction, for the Southern At-

lantic States claimed that their boundaries extended to the French and Spanish possessions at the West and South. In this "earlier and better day," we see that the policy was to make all national territory free, and not divide it as the Missouri Compromise indicated, into half free and half slave ; or make it all slave, as the Repealers of the Compromise evidently intended.

Besides the exclusion of slavery from the territory, we may judge the tone of the times and the character of the instrument from such clauses as these: "All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. Should public exigencies make it necessary * * * to take any person's property, or demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made." And better still: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." There ought to have been good government on such a charter. To this Northwest territory, under the impulse of freedom, came rapidly an energetic and intelligent population, making homes and civil society on the fertile lands, which probably surpassed any other equal area on the face of the earth. It became the empire to which the moral and political power of the nation concentrated.

But there was a strong impulse to emigrate from the slave States to this region, as well as from the Northern States, which were fast throwing off the remnants of the slave system that had clung to them. Many of the people of the South came to the Northwest to get rid of slavery, but they often retained the prejudices in which they had been educated. There was, however, a strong feeling among the early settlers that the slavery prohibition was acting detrimentally to the growth and development of the country of the Northwest, a section to which all eyes were turned, as since they have been turned to the lands beyond the Mississippi and the Pacific Coast. There was not always absolute faith in free labor in conflict with slave labor.

There were many dissatisfied persons, who held public meetings, and memorialized Congress to obtain a removal of the restriction for a limited time, that Southern planters might be induced to move into the territory with their slaves. A sort of *quasi* slavery was introduced in the name of apprentices, which gave a slave code to Illinois, in spite of the slavery prohibition clause. So good a man as Wm. Henry Harrison was made president of a convention at Vincennes, Territory of Indiana, in 1804, the object of which was to promote territorial interests by ob-

taining a modification of this organic law. We see now what was gained by holding fast to the right thing, against the popular drift and a short-sighted policy. The slavery prohibition clause was the vital element in the prosperity of the Northwest, when the tide of population finally had set in this direction.

But there were many who had been trained in the notion that slavery was the only element of prosperity at the South, who were constantly harping on that one string—"Let slavery be introduced into the Northwest." At so late a time as 1839, 1840, after the murder of LOVEJOY, and when the State was loaded down by weight of debt and depression of business, there were men of influence who declared there was no other way for the State to be delivered from its "Slough of Despond," but to call a State convention and alter the Constitution, so that slavery might be legally introduced. It was the thought of some that there could be no prosperity unless some one did the work of another for nothing. In much earlier times there were prominent men in this State who persistently held to such views, and they were carried into political action to that extent that the supporters of this policy were defined as the "slave party."

The Territorial Legislature of Illinois seemed to favor the measure, but it produced a partial re-action, so that an anti-slavery delegate, Jonathan Jennings, was elected to Congress, who retained his place until Illinois was admitted as one of the States of the Union, in 1818. In 1824 the question of the admission of slavery came up so prominently in what was called the Convention issue, which was to call a Convention to alter the Constitution to admit slavery, that it became a marked chapter in the history of Illinois. Gov. Coles was distinguished as an anti-slavery man on this question. He had moved into the State from Virginia, and had emancipated his slaves, and settled them on land near Edwardsville. It required a vote of two-thirds of the legislature to call a convention for the people to vote to alter the Constitution. And so strong was the slavery party in the State that they lacked only one vote of getting the constitutional two-thirds in favor of the measure at first; and by a legislative trick this one was at last gained, and a vote of the people for the convention was authorized; but in August, 1824, it was voted down by the people by a majority of 1,800 in a vote of 12,000.

On such a slender thread as this did the fate of the State and the nation hang, as the truth of history shows.

There was in 1824, in consequence of these schemes for slavery, a strong contesting anti-slavery party in Illinois. This was after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, in 1820, and when there had come a relapse in the anti-slavery feeling everywhere

else in the country. Benjamin Lundy was at that time printing in Tennessee, the first anti-slavery newspaper ever issued. The slavery question was then generally admitted to be a matter to be determined by the people of the Slave States for themselves. From Lundy's efforts came the agitation of modern abolitionism. It took on a new and more energetic phase, when Garrison, a disciple of Lundy's, started his "Liberator" at Boston, in 1830. Those who took interest in the anti-slavery discussion that grew out of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, looked upon this Convention question in Illinois as one of national importance:—should the apostacy of the Missouri question lead to the abrogation of the Northwestern Ordinance? and shall the whole territory northwest of the Ohio river be given up to slavery by a vote of the people, on the primative squatter sovereignty assumption, in spite of the Missouri Compromise?

It was during the time that these apostate settlers were proposing to repeal this restriction-clause in the ordinance, and after the slavery question was being agitated in Illinois, that Thomas Jefferson wrote his famous letter, in 1814, to Gov. Edward Cole, on the condition of the slave, and the hopes of his emancipation. He says: "The love of justice, and the love of country, plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have plead so long in vain. * * * From those of the former generation who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. * * * I had always hoped that the *younger generation*, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become, as it were, the vital spark of every American, in the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice—would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. * * * Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time."

Hardly thirteen years had passed away before this anti-slavery party of Illinois seemed to have perished, or the men leading in it taking opposite sides, when the question came up on new issues. Hooper Warren, who had been the single newspaper editor who opposed the convention, was almost the only man alive of the old associates, who ranked himself with the modern abolitionists. Rev. John M. Peck, who had been an active opponent of the introduction of slavery into Illinois, was active in opposition to modern abolitionism, and was regarded as pro-

slavery, and was engaged as editor of the *South Western Baptist Banner*—a newspaper that was completely acceptable to a denomination that owned one of their preachers as a slave, and to a church where one of the female members sold a brother-baptist, and contributed the avails of the sale of the brother's flesh and blood to buy the plate for the communion service. But still the truth seemed to be left in the land, like the leaven, to bring the dead mass to life again ; and emancipation went marching on with time, though it left its followers behind.

About ten years after this convention project was settled, Rev. E. P. Lovejoy was found in St. Louis, editing a religious newspaper, in which, under the privileges of the free press, he claimed the right to discuss the subject of slavery as a moral question. That right was denied him, and he was driven out of St. Louis, and he sought a city of refuge in Illinois, at Alton. Here he claimed only the same right, not to be an abolitionist, but the freedom of the press to discuss slavery as freely as any moral question. And that right was again denied him in Alton by the voice of the populace, but not by the law. One press after another was destroyed, and he still persisting in standing by his rights. In the month of November, 1837, he was killed by the mob; and in thirteen years after the State had deliberately decided to stand for the liberty that was guaranteed her in the ordinance for her government, she gained the unenviable title of being the Martyr State, by suffering one of the truest men that ever lived, to die for the very cause that she had made alive. And there were very few people, indeed, in the State to raise any voice of condemnation against this outrage. And like the martyr, Stephen, devout men carried Lovejoy to his burial, though not so many in number as made lamentation over Stephen, for only a brother minister made a prayer over his grave, at which only were present, for fear of the mob, but one or two faithful friends and relatives. A cluster of brother ministers of the New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and pious members of these churches, stood by him in his conflicts for the freedom of the press, and lamented him when dead, and had their zeal for the same cause inspired by his example. Every important town in the State seemed emulous of the fate of Alton. It was the exultant boast of the people of Illinois, in 1837, that no abolition newspaper could be permitted on her soil. Abolitionism, a "word covered o'er with shame," always meant, and only meant, the freedom of the slave—that emancipation, which Jefferson so hopefully saw advancing in the march of time.

Soon after the murder of Lovejoy, there was a meeting called in

Chicago—not to sympathize with the cause of abolitionism, but to condemn this assault on the constitutional right of the freedom of the press. It was called to be held in the Saloon Building, a small public hall on the corner of Clark and Lake streets, on the third floor, and the meeting was held not without fears that it would be broken up by a mob. There was an abundance of caution used in the calling and holding of the meeting, to avoid any collision "with the fellows of the baser sort." Rev. F. Bascom, of the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. C. V. Dyer, Philo Carpenter, Robert Freeman, Calvin DeWolf, and some few members of the Baptist and Methodist churches, were the leading spirits of this meeting. A watch was set to give seasonable warning of any approach of a mob, should any one be sent howling upon the track of these devout men, mourning for Lovejoy, and endeavoring to give voice to a right minded public opinion. But there was happily no demonstration of mob violence, and the meeting was not a large one, but probably fully represented the interest which Chicago then took in the fate of Lovejoy; the city was at least saved from the disgrace of a mob. It was not then presumed that an abolition press would have fared any better in Chicago than it had at Alton. The public were not prepared to tolerate any such newspapers.

This was the first anti-slavery meeting, if it may be called such, held in Chicago, of which there is any recollection. The men who were present became prominent afterward in the anti-slavery history of Chicago. The men who were willing to be known as abolitionists, soon after this event, were mainly a nucleus that formed around the First Presbyterian Church, embracing a few individuals who were Methodists or Baptists; but in almost every instance they were professing Christians, who were led to take a stand by the death of Lovejoy. Here was the beginning of that anti-slavery sentiment that became a power in Chicago, and made that city distinguished throughout the country as one that proved itself a law-abiding community by sheltering and protecting the fugitive slave against illegal arrest.

A few months after the death of Lovejoy, the people of the West saw this announcement in G. D. Prentice's *Louisville Journal:* "Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker and Anti-Slavery Pioneer, is about to go to Illinois to succeed Lovejoy in printing an abolition newspaper." Prentice had known of the career of Lundy, and was personally friendly. It was then said that Lundy, the non-resistant Quaker, who was known as a prudent though a fearless man, was the only person the merciless people of Illinois would let live in their midst as the publisher of a newspaper that opposed slavery, and it was very doubtful whether

even he could be allowed to find a place for the rest of the soles of his feet in the Prairie State. But during the year 1838, Lundy, according to promise, made his appearance in Illinois. The last compliment paid him before he left Philadelphia was the burning of all his worldly effects by the mob in Pennsylvania Hall. He had only a subscription book to begin his publication with in Illinois. The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a paper which has been printed for many years, in many cities and States, now hailed from Hennepin, but was really printed at Lowell, LaSalle county. The notable thing about this paper, for our purpose in this connection, was that it carried upon its front-let this motto: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," etc. This was the motto and the platform of Lundy's journal; the paper was for the restoration of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence.

We can better understand this line of argument in history by referring to the character of the anti-slavery agitation as carried on by different sects in different sections of the country. The anti-slavery movement was largely an emanation of the religious sentiment. Leading men in it were usually professing Christians, and largely developed in the line of personal piety and human benevolence. There were a few persons who were earnest abolitionists who were avowed unbelievers, and probably from a logical inference growing out of the fact that the majority of the professing Christians of the country pretended to believe that the bible authorized slavery, making God the author of that abominable system of iniquity. But slavery in all its aspects was very largely a political institution. It was created by law; it must be abolished by law. There was no class of abolitionists that proposed the removal of slavery by the political power of the nation. It was universally regarded as a State institution, and it was a perversion of the facts and a misrepresentation of the position of the agitators, the assertion that there was any purpose to meddle with slavery by an undue exercise of legal authority.

It was a movement for a moral appeal to the slaveholders to action of themselves, for their own salvation. Therefore the fact should be remembered that many of the active abolitionists were among and from the slaveholders of the South ; and a sad thing it was for the people there that they drove such men from their midst. The abolition party was divided up into sects; some were for carrying that reform mixed up with other good measures, such as women suffrage, land reform, and temperance. Some were for making it a political question, carrying it to the polls, as they said; others were not for soiling the reform in the

muddy waters of politics. Garrison stands forth as a leader, but he was not for voting at all, and declared for "no union with slaveholders," in Church or State. The voting abolitionists formed a political party in 1840, and nominated JAMES G. BIRNEY, formerly a slaveholder, for the Presidency.

But this section was again divided into other sects. Some were only Free Soil; some merely against the extension of slavery, and the Gerrit Smith section was the very antipodes of the Garrisonian section. They believed in the unconstitutionality of slavery, and would have had it smitten down by a decree of the United States Court. Garrison's special characteristic was his repetition of Elizabeth Heyrick's English propogandism of immediate and unconditional emancipation, as in opposition to gradual emancipation, on the logical inference that slavery being a sin should be immediately forsaken by profession of repentance. Great stress is laid on Garrison's work for originating this doctrine in this country, and giving it, as it was said to do, the great moral power that carried it through to success in emancipation. But the virtue of this claim is much over-rated. Garrison did not originally preach it, nor was it finally carried to completion in the ending of slavery. Emancipation came through the madness of the slaveholders and the use of the war-power, in judgment without repentance.

But there were anti-slavery people among all these sects, excepting the non-resistants, who believed in the saving power of the Declaration of Independence. They believed in the necessity of continuing to administer the national government on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and that failing to do so, all political parties had gone into a state of apostacy. The reform in Illinois particularly was propogated on this basis. Anti-slavery men here were trained to be so, on the truths of the Declaration of Independence. They were never divided or troubled with the divisions that characterized the East, under the stringent lead of Garrison, Gerrit Smith or Greeley. They fellowshipped all these, but followed the lead of none of them. They were working for a genuine Liberty Party to administer the government on the Constitution as it is under the Declaration of Independence as the Magna Charta. It is necessary that this explanation and distinction be understood as we proceed further in this hitherto unwritten history.

Benjamin Lundy, the pioneer, as we have said, when he came to Illinois, set up the banner of the Declaration of Independence on the ground of the ordinance of '87. He had always held up that banner. It was always the motto of his paper. Lovejoy's *Alton Observer* was in no sense a political paper; it was a Pres-

byterian religious journal, claiming the right to discuss slavery as a moral question. The Liberty Party of 1840 was not formed when Lundy came to this State; he died the year before its organization. But it had been proposed. Lundy favored such a party in politics, based upon the motto of his paper. His "*Genius*," through many difficulties, was only irregularly published. He lived only to set up that banner; to become the nucleus of a new party, and one which at last should triumph in the nation. His leading idea was armed with tenfold more force than Garrison's Immediatism or Gerrit Smith's Unconstitutionality of slavery. It was for going back to fundamental truths, and putting all things right from the beginning. He died, leaving his banner flying, and his mantle to be worn by others.

His newspaper was continued, with a partial change of name, by Hooper Warren and Z. Eastman, the writer of this sketch. But the motto and the principles and objects continued. Mr. Warren was then an old man, and had been the editor of the only anti-slavery paper in Illinois, the *Edwardsville Spectator*, at the time of the Convention question. Mr. Eastman was a young man, and had never acted with any then formed political party, but whose youthful aspirations and hopes had been, while residing in New England, for the formation of a political organization delivered from the national apostacy, which should administer the government on the doctrine of the Fathers—the natural equality of all. He had advocated such a party while associated with Mr. Lundy in his "*Genius*."

In 1840 a Birney Presidential ticket was formed in Illinois, in the rural region of Farmington, Fulton Co., by those who had stood by Lovejoy at his death. It received at that election only 144 votes, only one of which was counted in Cook County, and the honor of that one count lies between two votes cast in Chicago, one by the late Dr. C. V. Dyer, and the other, Calvin DeWolf. The successor of Lundy's journal, the *Genius of Liberty*, did not appear till after the election of 1840; but it advocated the continuation of the Liberty party in opposition to a large portion of friends who had co-operated with the Anti-slavery Society. The Illinois Anti-slavery Society had been formed at Alton, just before Lovejoy's death, and was one of the steps that led to the hostility that was manifested against the abolitionists, and the organization was cemented by his blood. Annual meetings of this society continued to be held, and officers elected; but many persons who had supported it, were opposed to the formation of an anti-slavery party in politics, and they turned back, and walked no more with the followers of Lovejoy.

Warren and Eastman's *Genius* was printed on Lundy's press, in LaSalle county, till 1842, and it had succeeded in establishing landmarks in all sections of the Northwest. The only other journal of the kind then printed in the West was the *Philanthropist*, at Cincinnati. An informal committee of the anti-slavery people of Chicago, who had made up their minds that they should no longer vote with the old political parties, a majority of whom were of the First Presbyterian Church, under the pastorate of Rev. F. Bascom, invited Mr. Eastman to remove with his newspaper to Chicago. Dr. Dyer was the party commissioned to extend this invitation. As the result of it, the *Western Citizen* was started as the organ of the new Liberty party for the Northwest in 1842. That journal made the platform of that party in the introduction which appeared in its first number, as follows:

"In political affairs, our object is simply to carry out the principles of the Declaration of Independence. We stand on the same ground where Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and other honored patriots stood before us. We wish to save this nation from the evils and the curse of slavery, and from the political degeneracy which has fallen upon us, through the influence of a departure from the first principles of liberty. If the objects which were sought to be obtained by the political reformation in the time of the Revolution, were then worthy of pursuit, they are equally so now; and we shall not cease to urge the importance of them upon the people.

"We are firm in the belief that it is impossible to sustain a free government by the administration even of good laws, without the prevalence of correct public opinion, grounded upon morality and a proper allegiance to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

"We shall endeavor to establish these truths, by presenting them clearly, forcibly and fearlessly, and in a spirit of meekness and kindness. On their accomplishment, we see no reason why our government should be overturned—our constitution trampled under foot—or the union dissolved; or why the church organizations should be destroyed, or the ministry be annihilated. We wish it distinctly to be understood that our course is *reformatory* and not *destructive*."

When Mr. Lincoln had been elected to the presidency, eighteen years after this declaration of principles was written, a copy was transmitted to him, calling his attention to them as the fundamental principles of the Republican party which had triumphed in his election; and he responded in recognizing their application, and inviting a special interview with the writer in regard to them.

In May, 1842, at the time when arrangements had been made for establishing the *Western Citizen*, the last anniversary meeting of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society—consecrated by the blood of Lovejoy—was held in Chicago; and the first Liberty State Convention was held, which, as a political organization, succeeded the other as a mere moral society. This State convention laid

down a platform of principles, and issued an address to the people. One resolution gives the gist of its doctrines:

"That freedom or slavery is the great question of this age and country—one which must be met, discussed and settled on fair, just and consistent principles, before prosperity can be expected again to smile on our land."

We can understand now the application of these truths and warnings, and how much better it would have been for the nation had they been heeded.

The convention put in nomination Major C. W. Hunter, of Alton, for governor, and Frederick Collins, of Adams county, for lieutenant governor. These were the first candidates of that initiatory party.

The *Western Citizen* was put into the hands of Mr. Eastman as its editor and publisher. By his invitation, Ichabod Codding, whom he had known at the East, left Connecticut and came to Illinois to become the leading orator for the Liberty Party. Chief Justice Chase has described Mr. Codding as being the most eloquent speaker he ever heard from the platform. The labors of Codding, as a speaker, were very effective in building up the cause. Owen Lovejoy became a co-worker with this party at this convention, giving up, with some reluctance, the society formed at his brother's martyrdom. James H. Collins, a prominent lawyer of Chicago, who had some time before been converted to religion and abolitionism, at that time gave in his adhesion to the Liberty Party then formed, as the party of his future political life. L. C. P. Freer and Calvin DeWolf, Philo Carpenter, and most of the men since prominent in that reform, identified themselves with this new party. Dr. C. V. Dyer was probably the most active of the Chicago reinforcements. He procured the place of meeting, which was in Chapman's Hall, a building occupying the ground of the new bank building on the southwest corner of Randolph and LaSalle streets, west of the log jail, on the public square. This convention was the beginning of the organization of abolitionism in Chicago, that became nationally known for its earnestness and thoroughness, and locally recognized for its association with the Underground Railroad, and had a marked effect on the politics of the State, and ultimately the fate of the nation. Its projectors probably builded wiser than they knew.

After this convention the Liberty Party always put candidates in nomination for every State election; and candidates for Congress were brought out as fast as the principles of the party gained ground in Congressional Districts. As the conflict for its idea went on, the contest was intensified by the political

issues that were coming up in the nation, growing out in part of the moral agitation that was going on in the land.

Then came the annexation of Texas, for the purpose of extending the area of slavery, followed by the Mexican War, as the result of that national robbery; then the acquisition of a vast extent of territory, and the contest that came of it, as to its fate in regard to the extension of slavery into it; the Wilmot Proviso, the Nebraska and the Kansas bills, squatter sovereignty, and the contest for freedom in Kansas, which brought old John Brown to the front; these, all supplemented by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, bringing down these events of this exciting agitation till 1854, on which period hangs a new dispensation. During this time the Liberty Party was looming up in power and in importance. It was the only party that was capable of grappling with the events that were pregnant with the fate of the nation.

It was a period of political and moral commotion unparalleled in the history of any nation. It was the period of intense agitation of the slavery question in every respect. The Democratic party had said in its platform that it would resist this agitation, and then went on and furnished fuel for the agitation. The Whig party, in its platform, said they would discountenance this agitation, and then gave countenance to the agitation that was aimed against the principles of this little Liberty party. And in Illinois this little party became the most thoroughly organized and concentrated political combination ever before known in this State, and probably not since equaled in intensity and efficiency. In 1852 it numbered ten thousand votes and held the balance of power in a majority of the Congressional districts. The voters were all readers of their organ, the *Western Citizen*, which through all the changes and modifications of Free Soilism, conscience-Whiggery and Independent Democracy, and Americanism, remained true to its one idea, the Liberty Party to preserve the government as the succession of the party of 1776, that had formed the nation.

This national agitation brought two important men of Illinois to the front as national men, namely, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. They were leading men, representing opposite principles and antagonistic elements in the fate of the nation. Into the area of the consecrated freedom of the Northwestern Ordinance came the conflict of the ideas which should rule the fate of the nation, and these men in the order of events seemed to be the representatives of the struggle of these ideas for the ascendency. But the Liberty Party was the only organization that was prepared to meet the emergency.

Previous to 1852, the State of Illinois was regarded as one of the most solidly democratic states in the Union. The people were only allowed to send to Congress one opposition member, called whig, at each congressional election. And this opposition influence came from the conservative, Henry Clay-school of politics, that had overflowed from Kentucky into the interior of Illinois, overlapping the area of Egypt, which was always darkly democratic. This conservative whig influence sent a Lincoln, a Baker and a Yates to Congress at different elections, as the single opposition representative. And Stephen A. Douglas, a native of Vermont, seemed to have made himself the demi-god of the State, as fully as John C. Calhoun was of South Carolina. The State was of course, earnestly in support of all the measures of the Democratic party, and these measures were being artfully manipulated to bring Douglas prominently before the public as a national man, with an impetus in the direction of the Presidency.

Mr. Lincoln, as an attorney and an honest man, and of genuine, progressive conservatism in politics, had grown into great esteem with the people of all parties. He had won in Congress some reputation to his damage, as a politician, by his opposition to the Mexican war. Douglas was the leader of the debate through the Senate, of the principles on the platform in the State. Douglas was mainly responsible for the squatter sovereignty theory of governing the territories, as well as for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and was one who was known as an advocate of the Fugitive Slave Law. These measures put the whole country in a state of ferment. Mr. Douglas took the stump in their favor, while Mr. Lincoln was known to be opposed to them. In 1852, the Fugitive Slave Law abomination had been passed; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a measure pending. The Liberty party maintained an unbroken front in its organization. The democratic party was feeling the disrupting influences of its iniquities from free-soilism, yet apparently growing stronger in its sin, by the concentration of all the rowdy forces of the nation in its favor, and the prospective coming of the solid South on the slavery question. The whig party was sensibly weakening from the protest of the conscientious whigs, and the higher moral plane on which the party stood. There were signs of disruption and the formation of a new party, on the distinct issues which the democrats had made for their party lines.

Thinking men of the Liberty Party realized that they were in possession of a balance of power, as between these two weakening forces, which might be used effectually for the advancement of their principles and objects. The State was despotically democratic under the lead of Douglas, who had even then an

eye on the Presidency. The party had every member of Congress, excepting Richard Yates, who had been elected by a small majority. The Liberty Party now knew by the numbering of their votes that they had it in their power to turn the scale in favor of the weakening Whig party, or let the power remain with the Democrats. In the election of 1852, they stood by their colors on the presidential vote, and gave to John P. Hale nearly 10,000 votes. But enough of them, under the advice of their leaders, and the indirect influence of the *Western Citizen*, so diverted their votes to Congressmen, who they knew were pledged to their principles and against Douglas' pet doctrines, that they secured the election of several Whigs to Congress, and independent democrats, so that the State was at once taken out of the hands of the democrats, and that arrogant power in Illinois was broken forever. It was at this election and by this policy that Hon. E. B. Washburne was first elected to Congress. Who now can measure the consequences that grew out of that choice?

Mr. Lincoln was made the candidate of the Whig party in the winter of 1854 against the re-election of Gen. Shields to the Senate. The Liberty party vote had contributed to the election of a so-called Whig delegation in Congress. A large number of Free Soilers and Independent Democrats had contributed to the same result. In the State legislature the Free Soilers and Liberty party held the balance of power. It was thought that it was asking a little too much that they should be required also to magnify the old Whig party, by giving their power to the Senate also, as they would have done had Mr. Lincoln been elected by their votes, and it would have been accounted a Whig party triumph instead of a triumph of the people, and the Liberty party would have been held responsible for selling out to the Whigs. They had to study the art of using their power and keeping it. For this reason Mr. Lincoln did not receive the support of this class of representatives, as Mr. Washburne and Mr. Norton had received that class of votes; but the Independent and Liberty vote was given to Lyman Trumbull, and he was elected Senator, and Mr. Lincoln reserved for a higher position. It was a most fortunate thing, indicating wise political management, that Mr. Lincoln was not elected Senator at that election. The Republican party was informally organized in 1854, consummated in the nomination of Fremont in 1856. The Liberty party holding to its principles, was only merged into the Republican after this date.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise soon followed this election, and Mr. Douglas seemed to vainly hope to recover his

lost popularity at home, by the success of this measure, and the double-sided view that seemed to some extent, to be taken of it at the North and South—at the South as a measure for the extension of slavery beyond its original boundary line; at the North as favoring the extension of liberty beyond the line of its former restriction. Mr. Douglas' artful insinuation of the act was that if it was originally wrong to pass that compromise, it was now a long-deferred right to repeal it. But the moral sense of the nation interpreted it otherwise. It was looked upon along with the Dred Scott decision, as treading down the last barrier against the supremacy of the slavery power. This repeal put the antagonistic forces more directly in battle array.

Mr. Douglas' term in the Senate was to expire next, and the re-election, or the election of another one in his place, would occur in the session of the legislature in the winter of 1858–9. Mr. Lincoln was opportunely in reserve to be put into the field in this contest. Mr. Douglas was looking to the endorsement of his own State after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in his own re-election, and as a stepping-stone for the higher position of a nomination to the presidency, by the democratic party.

The old Whigs had unlimited confidence in Mr. Lincoln; he was the most popular man in the party. But there was some earnest inquiry by those who had previously opposed his election as Senator, as to his fitness to represent them in the hoped-for re-organization of party on the question of the Liberty Party resolution of 1842, "Freedom or Slavery." Would Mr. Lincoln be such a partisan that he would elect to live or die as a Whig, and die with his party? or was he prepared to live if his party should die? Affairs had got to that state that it seemed as if the good old Whig party, which had been much idolized, must be the first to die for the people.

The editor of the *Western Citizen*, about this time, visited Springfield in company with Cassius M. Clay. He took the occasion to call upon Mr. Lincoln, but had no conversation on political subjects. He remembered that a client of Mr. Lincoln's, who was the agent of the Underground Railway at Springfield, and who had employed Mr. Lincoln as his attorney in all times trouble, and who greatly esteemed him—had paid for a copy of his paper from year to year, which he had had addressed to A. Lincoln. He remembered that at the mast-head of this paper, this motto had been ever carried as Lundy had carried it—"We hold these truths to be self-evident," etc.; and he had some desire to know how this doctrine fitted on the great lawyer who was the defender of the agent of the Underground Railroad

against legal prosecution. This agent said Mr. Lincoln was all right on the negro question; he gave money when necessary, to help the fugitives on the way to freedom. There was some desire to know if he would stand right on the National questions if he were elected to the Senate, as there was then a prospect of his being a competitor of Judge Douglas. An interview was had with Mr. Herndon, his law-partner. Mr. Herndon said Mr. Lincoln was all right. "He has been an attentive reader of your paper for several years; he believes in the Declaration of Independence, and he is a great reader of the abolition papers. He is well posted. That he might get all sides of that question, I take Garrison's *Liberator*, and he takes the *National Era* and the *Western Citizen*. Although he does not say much, you may depend upon it, Mr. Lincoln is all right; when it becomes necessary, he will speak so that he will be understood." And he did speak to the Bloomington Convention. After this there was no longer any opposition to Mr. Lincoln from the most radical of the abolitionists. They understood him; they knew that he was wholly with them; that the great inspiration of his life, was the restoration of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, to the administration of the government.

Mr. Douglas found that his doctrine of squatter sovereignty rather over-acted itself with his own democratic party. He builded worse than he had contemplated, and he was brought into discord with a wing of his own party on the Lecompton Constitution of Kansas, which had been adopted by the Missouri invaders, and which he strenuously opposed because there was too much squatter sovereignty in it. But on his return to Illinois at the close of the session, in the spring of 1857, Mr. Douglas expressed in his speech at Springfield, a determination to maintain all the positions he had taken in the Senate on the slavery question, intimating that he might even sustain the Lecompton Convention, and its slaveholding constitution, and on this basis go before the people for re-election. Whenever Mr. Douglas made a speech defining his policy, the public expected a reply from Mr. Lincoln. In this instance they were not disappointed, and in two weeks Mr. Lincoln reviewed Mr. Douglas' leading speech. In this speech occurs this remarkable passage, referring to a portion of Judge Taney's memorable Dred Scott decision:

"In those days (early times of the country) our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed, sneered at, construed, hawked at and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it. All the powers of earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him; ambition follows, philosophy follows, and

the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison-house; they have searched his person, and left no prying instrument with him. One after another they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him; and now they have him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key; the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is."

There is almost the hint of prophecy in this paragraph. Mr. Lincoln, in less than eight years, led by Providence, found the instrument to unlock that prison-house without the key, and set the prisoner free.

In this same speech at Springfield we find the following:

"He (Douglas) finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes ALL men, black as well as white, and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend that it does, want to vote, eat, sleep and marry with negroes. I protest against this counterfeit logic. * * * If I do not want a black woman for a slave, it does not follow that I want her for a wife. * * In some respects she is not my equal, but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hand without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal and the equal of all others."

The Senatorial question was the great question of Illinois in the year of 1858. Mr. Douglas was already on the stump in defense of his measures which he had pressed upon the nation, through the Senate. Mr. Lincoln, who was regarded as his natural competitor and opponent, had been prompt to volunteer to reply to Douglas' introductory speeches, an extract from one of which we have just given. The unusual practice was resorted to by the new party of Republicans, of holding a State Convention for the nomination of a candidate for Senator, and Mr. Lincoln was cordially put in nomination. The question was not to be determined by their votes, but by the votes of the representatives in the State Legislature. Therefore, in the canvass representatives were selected in view of settling the Senatorial succession, whether it should be Douglas, a democrat, or Lincoln, a Republican. It was well understood that in Mr. Douglas' case it would settle more than the Senatorial question; with him it was also a nomination for the Presidency. With Mr. Lincoln it was only a contest with this champion Democrat for the senatorship, but more in the contest than on anything else, for the prospect of defeating Mr. Douglas on his own ground did not seem very brilliant.

This story is told of Mr. Lincoln, that illustrates his view of the situation. An inquirer says to Mr. Lincoln, "What do you

expect to do? You don't expect to beat Douglas, do you?" Mr. Lincoln responded that it was with him as it was with the boys who made an attack on a hornet's nest. "What do you expect to do, boys? You don't calculate to take that hornet's nest, do you?" "We don't know that we shall exactly take it, but we shall bedevil the nest." "So," Mr. Lincoln said, "if we don't capture Douglas we shall bedevil his nest." That is about the way Douglas found it, some time after the election.

The debate which followed between Lincoln and Douglas, was one of the most important political debates that ever occurred in this country. Mr. Douglas had already become a national man through the strength of his character and genius, and for his daring in political lofty-tumbling. Mr. Lincoln was not well known beyond his own State, but at home well known as a keen debater, and a match in logic and hard-drawn arguments for his brilliant opponent.

Mr. Lincoln was nominated as a condidate for the Senate, at the convention at Springfield, June 17, 1858. At the close of the convention, he struck the key-note of the debate on the issues of the day, in the opening paragraph of his speeeh. It has since been numbered with others of the remarkable historical and prophetical utterances of that wonderful man. It is the famous declaration that this Union could not permanently endure half slave and half free. It is matched only by Mr. Seward's "irrepressible conflict." Said Mr. Lincoln:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far in the fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not closed, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North, as well as South."

This was uttered, as Mr. Greeley says, by one born in Kentucky under the influence of slavery, and but recently a conservative politician, four months before, Mr. Seward put forth his more classical prophetic statement; and the two are more interesting for standing in parallel companionship. Said Mr. Seward:

"These antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think

it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. *It is an irrepressible conflict* between opposing and enduring forces; and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation."

In this same Springfield speech Mr. Lincoln gave the best interpretation ever made of the popular term of squatter sovereignty, which, while in its proper phase it expressed only the rightful basis of government, was so perverted in this case as to mean: "If any one man chooses to enslave another, no third person shall be allowed to object." On another occasion he forcibly expressed the same idea in the reversed sense: "I admit that the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself; but I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent."

In this canvass Mr. Lincoln held seven joint debates with Mr. Douglas, and made innumerable speeches on other occasions. Mr. Douglas' character and position was well known throughout the nation, and he was regarded as the foremost champion of the measures which characterized the slave policy, and one of the ablest debaters of the country. The originality and freshness of Mr. Lincoln's speeches—his terse and homely style—the pertinence of his illustrations, and his inimitable humor, attracted to him public attention; and the debate had hardly closed before he became equally known through the nation, and the eyes of the public were upon these two men as the most prominent political personages of the country. Mr. Douglas used to say, rather sneeringly, during the debate, that Mr. Lincoln was after his place—meaning the senatorship. Mr. Lincoln never shrunk from the imputation that he was the Republican candidate for that office. But Mr. Douglas was also looking for another place, of which his election to the Senate was only the stepping-stone, and that was the Presidency. The thoughts of some may have been led in the direction that this new man, rising so rapidly into popularity in the West, might also be an opposing candidate in the same election, but there were then no marked manifest demonstrations in that line. But the result was that Mr. Douglas carried a majority of the representatives; there were in the senate fourteen Democrats and eleven Republicans, and in the house forty Democrats and thirty-five Republicans — making a majority on joint ballot of eight for Mr. Douglas—the close vote of Madison county even turning the scale; but Mr. Lincoln had a plurality of more than four thousand in the popular vote. And so Mr. Douglas kept his place, got his election, and got his coveted nomination to the presidency, but the nomination of a divided party, and he the rock on which it split.

An overruling Providence seemed to direct in the affairs of the nation in the ordering of the fate of this remarkable man, Abraham Lincoln; in permitting the defeat of the first nomination, when it was a great grief to his friends—and again in the second nomination against Mr. Douglas; for he was reserved for the higher position of the Presidency. He did not get the "place" of Mr. Douglas, to which he and his friends for him aspired, but he got that greater place to which Mr. Douglas had been aspiring, and it was a "place" into which he was called by that Supreme Ruler of the Universe to whom he had reverently appealed, and to a higher position than being the Father of his country—for it was to be its SAVIOR.

The fact stands, that Mr. Lincoln was elected as the first Republican President. The party that elected him was formed in 1854. It came from the nucleus of the Liberty party of 1840, which came of the modern anti-slavery agitation. It was not the child of the Whig party or any other party; it had had no succession, as has been claimed for it, and neither has its opponents, the democratic party, any such historical succession as has been claimed for that. The Republican party of Lincoln was the restoration of the party of the Declaration of Independence, to bring back the nation from a state of apostacy. The democratic party had no succession from Thomas Jefferson, for he wrote the platform of this restored party when he wrote that Declaration. But the Democratic party was born of Andrew Jackson, with Martin Van Buren for its god-father, and it was baptized into the doctrine that "to the victor belongs the spoils." In its childhood it was affianced to loaferism and rowdyism, and in its maturity became the ally of American slavery. Mr. Lincoln's election was the defeat of that party, and it was to have been hoped that, ripening into maturity, in rebellion and treason, that its overthrow would have been a death from which there was no possible resurrection.

Mr. Lincoln seemed to have been inspired for the mission to which he was called. He doubtless received his early impressions for his lessons in political reform, from the motto that was ever before him in the anti-slavery newspapers which he read, and the constant reiterated teachings of the little Liberty party that was leading his destiny: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights," etc. This was the chord of harmony in his soul, to which every sentiment and every action of his being vibrated. Therefore in his debate with Douglass we find him constantly harping upon that chord. This is seen in what we have quoted already. Mr. Douglas treated the

Declaration of Independence with contempt. Mr. Lincoln's endeavor was to bring back the people from the heartlessness of apostacy to a lively sense of the beauty and truthfulness of those principles. He felt that they were the sentiments of his new party, and he led the party still further along in respect and love for those principles as its vitality.

In the platform of the convention at Chicago, which put Mr. Lincoln in nomination for the Presidency, May 16, 1860, is this declaration: "That the maintenance of the principle promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution—[now repeating the celebrated motto of Liberty]—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved." For that end was Mr. Lincoln, under God, called to the head of the nation.

In the debate Mr. Douglas said: "No man can vindicate the character, motives, and conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence except upon the hypothesis that they referred to the white race alone, and not to the African." If there were such a thing as political blasphemy, we should think this were it. Mr. Lincoln responded: "My good friends, read that carefully over some leisure hour, and ponder well upon it; see what a mere wreck, mangled ruin, it makes of our once glorious Declaration of Independence."

After his election, going from his humble home at Springfield, to which he never returned alive, on his way to enter into the Presidency, he was beset on his way by plots for his assassination, but was turned aside by invitation to Philadelphia to a flag-raising over Independence Hall, where the Declaration was signed eighty-four years before; and on that occasion he gave utterance to these remarkable words:

> "I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was something in the Declaration of Independence, giving Liberty not only to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that, in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. * * * Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. But, if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, I would rather be *assassinated* upon this spot than to surrender it."

Did he then know that the assassins were on his track? This hope of the world, Judge Douglas and the Democratic party would have crushed out.

The space for this chapter will not permit us to quote the

abundant extracts from his abundant writings, where he thus shows forth the inspiration of his soul, in being the one called of God to bring back the nation from its far wanderings from its own faith and hope. Charles Sumner, in his memorial oration in commemoration of the life of Lincoln, strikes that chord, and shows us in numerous extracts what was the secret of the power of Lincoln.

In a measure this a chapter of unwritten history. The scribes of history at the East have failed to tell the world of that patient working of the anti-slavery men of the Northwest who followed the martyrdom of Lovejoy and the example of Lundy in their faithful adhesion to the truth of the Revolutionary fathers, and in the regenerating power of their Declaration; and that they led such a man as Lincoln in that path of national salvation. It is a great truth and marvelous to our comprehension, that the policy of the forefathers to keep all our national territory free as God had made it, as in the Ordinance of the Northwest, should be the saving policy of the nation at last, against that apostacy that would have made all the nation slave territory; that in the area of that ordinance should this problem be worked out; and the man, who is styled the Savior of his Country, be called to that position by the voice of God.

There is nothing more appropriate with which to close this chapter, than that pathetic appeal of Abraham Lincoln to the nation, to aid him in his work, in the last sentences of his first Inaugural Address:

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriotic grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this proud land, will yet swell the chorus of the union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angel of our nature."

THE UNION COLLEGE OF LAW.

This institution was at first organized as the Law Department of the University of Chicago, in the fall of 1859. It was indebted for its origin proximately to the liberality of some of the leading members of the Chicago Bar, conspicuous among whom was Hon. Thomas Hoyne, who contributed the sum of $5,000 towards the endowment of a law professorship. Other members of the bar united in a guaranty to secure to the professor a sum of money which, together with the income of the endowment fund, would aggregate $2,000 per annum, for such a period as would suffice to give the experiment a fair trial. An invitation was extended to Henry Booth, Esq., who was then engaged in the practice of law at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., to come and assume the principal charge of the new enterprise. Encouraged by this generous expression of confidence and assurance of substantial aid on the part of the Chicago Bar, Prof. Booth accepted the proposal and entered at once upon the work. Judge John M. Wilson and Grant Goodrich, of the Superior Court of Chicago, volunteered to assist him during the first year. The school was opened in September, 1859, with twelve students, David Dudley Field, of New York, delivering the opening address. The attendance had increased to the number of forty or more in the fall of 1861, when upon the call for volunteers for the war, the patriotic response was so general that the class was at once reduced to seven. During the progress of the war, and for some time afterwards, the attendance was so small that for want of funds to employ an assistant, Prof. Booth was compelled to assume nearly the whole burden of conducting the school, besides which he found it necessary to engage in practice for his own support. In 1862, and for two or three years ensuing, Hon. H. B. Hurd was associated in the management of the school, and rendered much valuable assistance. In 1867 Hon. I. G. Wilson, now Judge of the Appellate Court for the First District, was engaged in the school for a year, proving a successful and very satisfactory instructor. Subsequently, R. Biddle Roberts, Esq., John A. Hunter, Esq., a graduate of the school, and Van Buren Denslow, Esq., were successively employed, and labored earnestly and efficiently in the cause of legal education. Many lawyers, now in successful practice in this and other States, will long retain pleasant recollections of the services of these gentlemen in their behalf. But during the whole period, from the commencement of the school until the fall of 1870, the chief burden and labor of instruction was borne by Prof. Booth.

Besides attending to his own department, whenever for any cause his associates were unable to attend to their duties, he took the vacant place, and during nearly half of the period aforesaid, he had no assistance whatever.

In July, 1870, concurrently with the adoption of the new constitution, Prof. Booth was elected to the bench of the Circuit Court of Cook county, and for a season retired from active duty in the school, only giving an occasional lecture.

The great fire of 1871 temporarily broke up the school, but the students soon rallied under the charge of Professors Roberts and Hunter, who continued to perform the duty of instruction until the following summer, when they both retired from the service. In September, 1872, at the usual time of opening the school for the fall term, a class of twenty pupils having presented themselves for instruction, and no one appearing to perform the duty, Judge Booth volunteered to teach them gratuitously, devoting an hour in the morning before going into court, and another hour in the evening after adjournment. In this manner the school was kept from disbanding until February following, when Prof. Denslow partially relieved him of a duty which was becoming somewhat burdensome. Judge Booth, however, still continued to render gratuitous service to the extent of teaching an hour each day after court, during nearly the whole of his official term of nine years.

In the summer of 1873 the Northwestern University determined to carry into effect its long cherished plan of connecting a Law Department with that institution. The friends and promoters of legal education were strongly impressed with the conviction that the existence of two rival law schools in Chicago would be highly detrimental, and that the end in view could be best served by a union of the two Universities in the support of a single school. Overtures were therefore made between parties representing these two institutions, respectively, which resulted in a concession by the University of Chicago, to the Northwestern University, of an equal and joint interest in the Law School. By this plan the Union College of Law, which is the name assumed under the new arrangement, is placed under the control of a joint Board of Management, consisting of eight gentlemen, four of whom are chosen by the trustees of each University, the President of the University being included in the number. Concurrently with the adoption of the new plan, the corps of professors was enlarged by the election of Hon. Lyman Trumbull and Phillip Myers, Esq., on behalf of the Northwestern University, and Hon. James R. Doolittle on behalf of the University of Chicago, Prof. Denslow being also retained on behalf of the latter

institution. Judge Booth also continued his connection with the school, as Dean of the Law Faculty.

Under this arrangement the Union College of Law has enjoyed a higher degree of prosperity than ever before. The professors now in charge are Hon. Henry Booth, L. L. D., Dean; Hon. William W. Farwell, A. M., late judge of the Circuit Court of Cook county, on the Chancery side; Hon. Harvey B. Hurd, reviser of the Statutes of Illinois; Hon. Marshall D. Ewell, L. L. D., author of the work on Fixtures bearing his name, and a law writer of acknowledged ability; and Dr. Nathan S. Davis, M. D., L. L. D., Lecturer upon Medical Jurisprudence. The usual number of students in attendance at present is about one hundred. The College has adopted a graded course of study, requiring for its completion two years, of thirty-six weeks each. The diploma admits to the bar, and it is the aim of the faculty to secure thoroughness, and to elevate the standard of legal education. Practice in moot courts, training in forensic speaking and extemporaneous debate, constitute part of the exercises of the school. The most serious obstacle which the Union College of Law has to contend with, is that presented by the numerous law schools springing up in the West, some of them offering a course of study requiring one short school year for its completion; others occupying two years, of twenty-four weeks each; all necessarily superficial by reason of the brevity of the term of study—all lacking the thorough drill given in this institution, but at the same time presenting to the student the tempting offer of a diploma without much hard study, and the hope of an easy access to the bar. With such institutions the Union College of Law can enter into no competition, but relying upon the just appreciation of the legal profession and of the public, will strive to deserve success, as well as to win it.

This school has no endowment whatever; the fund originally contributed by Mr. Hoyne for that purpose, having unfortunately been lost in the financial embarrassments of the parent institution. The moderate compensation of the professors is derived wholly from what remains of the tuition fees, after deducting therefrom the rent of rooms and other incidental expenses. Consequently the professors find it necessary to pursue other business to obtain a support. This is unfortunate in some respects. To come before the class wearied with the labors of the brush, or the contests of the bar, is to teach under great disadvantage. The professor should be in a situation to give his freshest energies and best thoughts to his work. Whether the Union College of Law will ever be so happily circumstanced that its professors can devote their whole time to the business of instruction, is a problem for the future.

Such a consummation is perhaps too much to expect. While it is considered that all educational institutions require endowment or public support to secure the best results, Law Schools of all others seem to be least favored; yet, it would seem that there might well be a public and general interest taken in the support of schools for the training of those who are to mold the legislation of the State for good or evil, and who must be depended on for the administration of justice.

This sketch would be quite defective without mentioning in terms of the highest commendation the liberality of the Law Institute, a corporation composed of gentlemen of the Chicago Bar in opening the door of its excellent library to students of the Union College of law, free of charge.

DIE FREIE PRESSE OF CHICAGO.

By Max. Eberhardt.

The first number of the *Freie Presse* was issued in Chicago of July 2, 1871; it was then published as a weekly, and was in sympathy with the Liberal wing of the Republican party, and subsequently proved a very keen and able advocate of the movement which, as we all know, resulted in the nomination of Horace Greely for the Presidency. The great fire which occurred not many months after the paper had been started, interfered with the issue of but one number. The paper was published as a weekly until February 5, 1872, when it began to be issued as a daily and weekly, besides having a separate issue on Sunday. Though started without the aid of much capital, its rapid growth and success as a ready spokesman, and an unflinching advocate of a broad Liberal policy within the Republican party, are but evidence of the energy and perseverance which Mr. Michaelis has devoted to the business and editorial management of the paper. It is now being published by the German American Publishing Company, and employs 108 persons in its various departments. It still maintains its position as an independent Republican newspaper, and provides a larger number of Germans with reading matter than any German newspaper concern in the country. The *Freie Presse* is entirely free from debt, and its business is managed on a sound financial basis, and with a view to a ready and strict discharge of all its obligations. It is one of the many enterprises in the city of Chicago which testify to the rapid growth, not only of the Western metropolis, but of the entire Northwest.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1871.

"A voice is ringing in the air,
A tale is trembling on the wire,
The people shout in wild despair:
'Chicago is on fire.'"*

In the year 1871 A. D., and the year 38 of the existence of Chicago as a city, on the 7th, 8th and 9th of October, occurred the great fires. They mark an episode in Chicago history never to be forgotten. The official census of the city for 1870 was 298,977. Its population at the time of the fires, one year later, at a prudent estimate, may be set down eight per cent. more, making 322,895. A small portion only of these were born here. They had been drawn hither by those incentives which the locality offered for speculation, not only in the rise of real estate, but in the facilities which the place offered as an emporium for the sale of every kind of merchandise, to supply the increasing wants of the great Northwest in the building up process in which she was then, and must still for many years, be engaged, before she will have taken upon herself the conditions of political and social maturity.

The extra stimulus which the war had given to the increase of business in Chicago had subsided, and a lull in that impulsive haste that had long been a distinguishing feature here, had settled upon the city. The volume of staple business was without diminution, the real estate market was firm, and the demand for this important auxiliary to wealth was healthy; but yet there was evidently an undercurrent manifest in moneyed circles, signifying that prices of it would not soon again advance, at least, by any eccentric movement. After the war was over, a general expectation followed that prices for everything would fall immediately, and as one, two, three and four years had passed without any serious reduction, either in goods or real estate, the people of Chicago had begun to believe that no such destiny was in store for them. Such was the feeling in the spring of 1871.

The latter part of the summer and autumn following passed without rain in the entire Northwest. The whole country was so exhausted of moisture that even the night refused her customary allowance of dew on the vegetation, and the grass was crisp beneath the feet of the hungry cattle of the pasture. The

* "The Fall of Chicago," a poem written by Mrs. S. B. Olsen, while the fire was burning, and published in a pamphlet.

earth was dry as ashes to the depth of three feet, and the peaty bogs of the marsh were as combustible as the contents of the furnace. Southern winds prevailed, bringing warmth without moisture, and fanned the forests into universal tinder. Even the summer's growth of the prairie would feed a flame in places where it had not been grazed down or mowed. Chicago was not unlike the country around in dryness, and, unfortunately, the well-built buildings of stone and brick which composed her central portions were partly surrounded by cheap wooden buildings, characteristic of all Western cities of sudden growth. It was among these that a fire broke out a little before ten o'clock on the night of October 7, 1871, on Clinton street, near its crossing of Van Buren street, two blocks west of the river. Owing to the inflammable character of the building where it began, and the strong wind that blew directly from the south, it quickly spread to adjacent buildings, and ere it could be extinguished, burnt over the area lying between Van Buren street on the south, Clinton on the west, Adams on the north, and the river on the east, except one or two small buildings on the outermost corners of the blocks.

This was the largest fire that had ever visited Chicago up to this date.

The next evening, Sunday night, October 8, at about the same hour, a fire broke out six blocks south of the first fire, in a cow-stable on the north side of De Koven street, a little east of Jefferson. The current account at the time attributed it to the kicking over of a kerosene lamp by a cow, while its owner, a woman named O'Leary, was milking her, and in the turmoil of the hour, this theory was accepted as a veritable truth, published in the newspapers, and even in some of the books giving the history of the fire, but no evidence can be found to sustain it, while, on the contrary, the following statement would go to disprove it, or, at least, involve the cause of the fire in mystery. On the following morning, (Monday), Clinton S. Snowden, now city editor of the Chicago *Times*, and Edgar L. Wakeman, now manager of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for Chicago, while the fire was yet consuming the buildings in the North Division, visited the scene where it started. Here they found a large crowd of excited men speculating on its cause, and here was the hut of O'Leary, with doors and windows barred, while her cow stable, where all the crowd supposed that the fire originated, was reduced to ashes. The two sight-seers now determined to force a passage into the O'Leary hut, and to this end pried up one of the back windows with a board and entered the premises.

They found Mrs. O'Leary in a fearful state of suspense lest she should be arrested as an incendiary, but somewhat under the

influence of stimulants to brace up her courage for the occasion. She solemnly denied any knowledge of the cause of the fire, and if she knows its cause, without doubt she will carry the mysterious burden while she lives. The above circumstances are stated because they describe the first interviewing of Mrs. O'Leary, and both of the gentlemen are now well-known journalists of Chicago. Their statement accords with the following, from the foreman of the first engine company on the ground, which is here inserted as official:

CHICAGO, November 14, 1880.

Mr. Rufus Blanchard, Dear Sir:—In compliance with your request as to the origin and condition of the great Chicago fire, I would state, that being the first officer at the fire, that I received an alarm from the man in watch-tower of engine company No. 6, one minute in advance of the alarm given by the watchman in city hall tower. On my arrival at the fire, which was in the alley bounded by Jefferson, Clinton, Taylor and DeKoven streets, I discovered three or more barns and sheds on fire.

I connected to the nearest fire plug, located on the corner of Jefferson and DeKoven streets, and went to work. As to which barn the fire originated in, I could not say.

As to the fire not being checked in its northward progress, I would state in explanation, that previous to the great fire of 1871, watchmen were stationed in the city hall tower, to keep a lookout for fires; and if a fire was discovered by either of the men, he called the operator on duty in the fire alarm office, located on the third floor below the watch-tower, and instructed him what box to strike.

On the evening of Oct. 8, 1871, the watchman on duty in the city hall tower, discovered the fire, and ordered the operator to strike a box located one mile southwest from the fire, which he should have located one mile northeast, and which would have brought the first alarm engines instead of the second, which responded to the alarm given by watchman, the first alarm engines remaining at their respective houses. In conclusion, I would state that the above are facts.

WILLIAM MUSHAM,
Foreman of Engine Co. No. 6.

Whatever might have been its cause, there is no reasonable suspicion that it was the result of incendiarism. Before the strong south-westerly wind which was then blowing, it penetrated diagonally across block after block, at first cutting a swath about 80 feet wide, gradually increasing in width in passing through the cheap wooden buildings in its track, leaving behind a fiery

wake, making slow but sure inroads, laterally on both sides. At 11:30 it had reached the open ruins of the previous night's devastations. Though up to this time the utmost exertions of the firemen had been feeble and unavailing against the progress of the flames, it was hoped that the broad space burnt the night before would arrest the northern progress of the fire, and the river its eastern progress. But by this time it had attacked the planing mills and various manufactures of lumber along the west side of the river, between Taylor and Van Buren streets, and a living mass of fire, covering a hundred acres of combustibles, shot up into the clouds, lighting up the midnight hour with a sheet of flame, which dashed hope of arresting its career to the ground. At one bound the wind carried burning brands, not only across the river, but even to Franklin Street. These newly kindled fires immediately spread, and the South Side was ablaze; and now it assumed proportions that exceeded in magnitude its intensity thus far. The whole South Division was now thoroughly alarmed, it being evident that not only the entire business area of the city must burn, but nearly the entire North Division lay in the track of the destroyer in its irresistible progress before the wind. Still a ray of hope was left to the North-siders, and to the owners of the *Tribune* building also, which was supposed to be fire proof. This hope was dispelled two hours later, as will appear from the following account, written in Sheahan & Upton's History, from notes as they viewed the scene from the upper windows of the *Tribune* building:

"About one o'clock, a cloud of black smoke rose in the south-west, which, colored by the lurid glare of the flames, presented a remarkable picture. Due west another column of smoke and fire rose, while the north was lighted with flying cinders and destructive brands. In ten minutes more, the whole horizon to the west, as far as could be seen from the windows, was a fire cloud with flames leaping up along the whole line, just showing their heads and subsiding from view like tongues of snakes. Five minutes more wrought a change. Peal after peal was sounded from the Court House bell. The fire was on La Salle street, had swept north, and the Chamber of Commerce began to belch forth smoke and flame from windows and ventilators. The east wing of the Court House was alight; then the west wing; the tower was blazing on the south side, and at two o'clock the whole building was in a sheet of flame. The Chamber of Commerce burned with a bright steady flame. The smoke in front grew denser for a minute or two, and then bursting into a blaze from Monroe to Madison streets, proclaimed that Farwell Hall and the buildings north and south of it were on fire. At 2.10 o'clock the Court House tower was a glorious sight. At 2.15 o'clock the tower

fell, and in two minutes more a crash announced the fall of the interior of the building. The windows of the office were hot, and the flames gave a light almost dazzling in its intensity. It became evident that the whole block from Clark to Dearborn, and from Monroe to Madison, must go; that the block from Madison to Washington must follow; Portland Block was ablaze, while everything from Clark to Dearborn, on Washington street, was on fire. At 2.30 the fire was half-way down Madison street; the wind blew a hurricane; the firebrands were hurled along the ground with incredible force against everything that stood in their way. Then the flames shot up in the rear of Reynolds' block, and the *Tribune* building seemed doomed. An effort was made to save the files and other valuables, which were moved into the composing room, but the building stood like a rock, lashed on both sides by raging waves of flame, and it was abandoned. It was a fire proof building; and there were not a few who expected to see it stand the shock. The greatest possible anxiety was felt for it, as it was the key to the whole block, including McVicker's Theatre, and protected State street and Wabash and Michigan avenues, north of Madison street. When the walls of Reynolds' Block fell, and Cobb's building was no more, the prospects of its standing were good. Several persons were up-stairs and found it cool and pleasant—quite a refreshing haven from the hurricane of smoke, dust and cinders that assailed the eyes.

"Meanwhile the fire had swept along northward and eastward. The Briggs House, the Sherman House, the Tremont House, had fallen in a few minutes. The bridges from Wells to Rush street were burning; the Northwestern Depot was in a blaze, and from Van Buren street on the south, far over into the north side, from the river to Dearborn street, the whole country was a mass of smoke, flames and ruin. It seemed as if the city east of Dearborn street and to the river would be saved. The hope was strengthened when the walls fell of Honore's noble block without igniting that standing opposite. The vacant lot to the south seemed to protect it, and at seven o'clock on Monday morning the whole of the region designated was considered saved, no fire being visible except a smouldering fire in the barber's shop under the *Tribune* office, which being confined in brick walls, was not considered dangerous. Every effort was made to quench it, but the water works had burned, and the absence of water, while it announced how far north the flames had reached, forbade any hope of quenching the fire below.

There was one remarkable turning point in this fire, in which everything was remarkable; and that was at Madison street bridge, where every one expected to see the fire re-cross to the west side, and commence upon a new path of destruction. Directly across

this bridge were the Oriental Flouring Mills, which were saved from destruction by the immense steam force pump attached to the mill, by which a powerful stream of water was thrown upon the exposed property, hour after hour. This pump undoubtedly saved the West Division from a terrible conflagration, for if the Oriental Mills had burned, the combustible nature of the adjoining buildings and adjacent lumber yards would have insured a scene of devastation too heart-sickening for contemplation.

The scene presented when the fire was at its height in the South Division, is well nigh indescribable. The huge stone and brick structures melted before the fierceness of the flames as a snow-flake melts and disappears in water, and almost as quickly. Six-story buildings would take fire, and disappear forever from sight, in five minutes by the watch. In nearly every street the flames would enter at the rears of buildings, and appear simultaneously at the fronts. For an instant the windows would redden, then great billows of fire would belch out, and meeting each other, shoot up into the air a vivid, quivering column of flame, and poising itself in awful majesty, hurl itself bodily several hundred feet and kindle new buildings. The intense heat created new currents of air. The general direction of the wind was from the southwest. This main current carried the fire straight through the city, from southwest to north-east, cutting a swath a mile in width, and then, as if maddened at missing any of its prey, it would turn backward in its frenzy and face the fierce wind, mowing one huge field on the west of the North Division, while in the South Division it also doubled on its track at the great Union Central Depot, and burned half a mile southward in the very teeth of the gale—a gale which blew a perfect tornado, and in which no vessel could have lived on the lake. The flames sometimes made glowing diagonal arches across the streets, traversed by whirls of smoke. At times, the wind would seize the entire volume of fire on the front of one of the large blocks, detach it entirely and hurl it in every direction, in fierce masses of flame, leaving the building as if it had been untouched—for an instant only, however, for fresh gusts would once more wrap them in sheets of fire. The whole air was filled with glowing cinders, looking like an illuminated snow storm. At times capricious flurries of the gale would seize these flying messengers of destruction and dash them down to the earth, hurrying them over the pavements, with lightning-like rapidity, firing everything they touched. Interspersed among these cinders were larger brands, covered with flame, which the wind dashed through windows and upon awnings and roofs, kindling new fires. Strange, fantastic fires of blue, red and green, played along the cornices of the buildings. On the banks of the river,

red hot walls fell hissing into the water, sending up great columns of spray and exposing the fierce white furnace of heat, which they had enclosed. The huge piles of coal emitted dense billows of smoke which hurried along far above the flames below. If the sight was grand and overpowering, the sound was no less so. The flames crackled, growled and hissed. The lime stone, of which many of the buildings were composed, as soon as it was exposed to heat flaked off, the fragments flew in every direction, with a noise like that of continuous discharges of musketry. Almost every instant was added the dull, heavy thud of falling walls, which shook the earth. But above all these sounds, there was one other which was terribly fascinating; it was the steady roar of the advancing flames—the awful diapason in this carnival of fire. It was like nothing so much as the united roar of the ocean with the howl of the blast on some stormy, rocky coast.

Great calamities always develop latent passions, emotions, and traits of character, hitherto concealed. In this case, there was a world-wide difference in the manner in which men witnessed the destruction of all about them. Some were philosophical, even merry, and witnessed the loss of their own property with a calm shrug of the shoulders, although the loss was to bring upon them irretrievable ruin. Others clenched their teeth together, and witnessed the sight with a sort of grim defiance. Others, who were strong men, stood in tears, and some became fairly frenzied with excitement and rushed about in an aimless manner, doing exactly what they would not have done in their cooler moments, and almost too delirious to save their own lives from the general wreck. Of course, the utmost disorder and excitement prevailed, for nearly every one was in some, degree demoralized, and in the absence both of gas and water, had given up the entire city to its doom. Mobs of men and women rushed wildly from street to street, screaming, gesticulating, and shouting, crossing each other's paths, and intercepting each other as if just escaped from a mad house. The yards and sidewalk of Michigan and Wabash avenues for a distance of two miles south of the fire limit in the South Division, were choked with household goods of every description—the contents of hovels, and the contents of aristocratic residences, huddled together in inextricable confusion. Elegant ladies who hardly supposed themselves able to lift the weight of a pincushion, astonished themselves by dragging trunks, and carrying heavy loads of pictures and ornamental furniture for a long distance. Some adorned themselves with all their jewelry, for the purpose of saving it, and struggled along through the crowds, perhaps only to lose it at the hands of some ruffian. Delicate girls, with red eyes and black-

ened faces, toiled, hour after hour, to save household goods. Poor women staggered along with their arms full of homely household wares, and mattresses on their heads, which sometimes took fire as they were carrying them. Every few steps along the avenues were little piles of household property, or, perhaps, only a trunk, guarded by children, some of whom were weeping, and others laughing and playing. Here was a man sitting upon what he had saved, bereft of his senses, looking at the motley throng with staring, vacant eyes; here, a woman, weeping and tearing her hair, and calling for her children in utter despair; here, children, hand-in-hand, separated from their parents, and crying with the heart-breaking sorrow of childhood; here, a woman, kneeling on the hot ground, and praying, with her crucifix before her. One family had saved a coffee-pot and chest of drawers, and raking together the falling embers in the street, were boiling their coffee as cheerily as if at home. Barrels of liquor were rolled into the streets from the saloons. The heads were speedily knocked in, and men and boys drank to excess, and staggered about the streets. Some must have miserably perished in the flames, while others wandered away into the unburned district, and slept a drunken sleep upon the sidewalks and in door-yards. Thieves pursued their profession with perfect impunity. Lake street and Clark street were rich with treasure, and hordes of thieves entered the stores, and flung out goods to their fellows, who bore them away without opposition. Wabash avenue was literally choked up with goods of every description. Every one who had been forced from the burning portion of the division had brought some articles with them, and been forced to drop some, or all of them. Valuable oil paintings, books, pet animals, instruments, toys, mirrors, bedding, and ornamental and useful articles of every kind, were trampled under foot by the hurrying crowds. The streets leading southward from the fire were jammed with vehicles of every description, all driven along at top speed. Not only the goods which were deposited in the streets took fire, but wagon loads of stuff in transit, also kindled, and the drivers were obliged to cut the traces to save the animals. There was fire overhead, everywhere, not only on the low, red clouds, which rolled along the roofs, but in the air itself, filled with millions of blazing fagots, that carried destruction wherever they fell. Those who did rescue anything from the burning buildings, were obliged to defend it at the risk of their lives. Expressmen and owners of every description of wagons, were extortionate in their demands, asking from twenty to fifty dollars for conveying a small load a few blocks. Even then there was no surety that the goods would reach their place of destination, as they were often followed by howling crowds, who would

snatch the goods from the wagons. Sometimes, thieves got possession of vehicles, and drove off with rich loads of dry goods, jewelry, or merchandise, to out-of-the-way places."

As early as three o'clock, on the morning of the 9th, the fire attacked the North Side. It has not been definitely known where it first began, but it is certain that the Water Works, a mile distant from any portion of the blazing South Side, were among the first buildings visited; and their speedy destruction, cutting off the water supply, all hopes of extinguishing the fire fled. Two large elevators on the north bank of the river were also in flames immediately afterwards, and the wretched inhabitants living east of Franklin street, beheld with dismay the approach of the destroyer both in front and rear. Suddenly the entire population seized the most valuable things they could carry, and fled, either to the lake shore, or westward across the river, or directly before the pursuing enemy, northwardly out Clark or Wells Street. Says Mr. Colbert:

"A terrible panic ensued. There was sudden screaming and dashing about of half-clad women, gathering up such valuables as could be suddenly snatched. There was frantic rushing into the streets and shouting for vehicles. There was anxious inquiry and anon distressed cries for absent protectors—a large portion of the men being on the far side of the river, and in many cases unable to reach their homes. Then there was a pell-mell rush through the streets, some of the wild faces pushing eagerly in this direction and others quite as eagerly in the opposite; and children screaming; and shouts resounding; and brands falling in showers; and truckmen running each other down; and half-drunken, wholly desperate ruffians peering into doors and seizing valuables, and insulting women; and oaths from lips unused to them, as hot as the flames which leaped and crackled near by; and prayers from manly breasts where they had slumbered since childhood; and every other sign of turmoil and terror."

Those who took refuge on the sands of the lake-shore, found it a treacherous asylum. There was no escape to the northward, for the narrow passes farther in that direction were a sweltering current of hot air pouring over the crested margin of the lake, like the vomiting of a furnace.. Meantime the heat soon began to be almost insupportable where they were, and in this extremity, at places, they were forced into the shallow waters of the lake to protect themselves from burning till they could be rescued in boats.

By four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, the fire had burned out. Its progress against the wind on the South Side was arrested by the efforts of private citizens and a small military force under Gen. Sheridan; but on the North Side it burned as long

as buildings stood before it, and died away on the open prairie for want of fuel.

In its early stages, after the flames had crossed the river, and were rapidly devouring the business portion of the city in the South Division, Lind Block, on the west side of Market Street, between Randolph and Lake, by dint of great exertion on the part of some of its tenants, successfully resisted them. The well-known house of Fuller & Fuller, occupied the central portions of this block; and in reply to the writer's inquiry how it was saved, Mr. O. F. Fuller stated that while the fire was burning on the West Side, and approaching towards them, they took the precaution to provide an abundant supply of water on each floor of their premises, and constantly applied it to the most exposed portions of the building when the fire reached their immediate vicinity, having previously cut away wooden signs or any other combustible material outside. During the greatest heat the outside walls of the block were too hot to bear the hand on, but still every man remained at his post inside on each floor, subject to the order of a sentinel, whose business it was to call them away if the building ignited. Three times a retreat was ordered, under an impression that combustion had taken place, but happily this impression was a false alarm, growing out of the lurid glare from adjacent flames, reflected from the windows of the building, and each time the men returned to their posts, where they continued to ply water to the heated windows, while was raging

> "Fire to right of them,
> Fire to left of them,
> Fire in front of them."

Said Mr. Fuller: "The fire, viewed from the roof of Lind Block at this time, presented phases of thrilling interest. At two o'clock a.m., Market street and the approaches to Lake and Randolph street bridges were crowded with loaded vehicles hurrying to the West Side, and this retreat grew into a stampede when the Garden City hotel, and the buildings on the East side of Market street, from Madison to South Water, ignited. After burning fiercely for but a brief space of time, they fell in quick succession in the general ruin."

The next morning when the light of the sun was piercing through the smoke and flames that now enshrouded the entire business portion of the South Division, there stood Lind Block, a solitary relict of its former grandeur. Beyond it, toward the East, the eye could catch transient glimpses of many a grim old ruin in its ragged deformity, amidst the accumulating clouds of smoke that rose to the sky in dissolving forms, and told

the tale of destruction. Besides Lind Block in the South Division, the house of Mahlon B. Ogden, in the central track of the fire in the North Division, was saved, while all else around it was left in ashes.

Mr. Ogden, shortly after the fire, informed the writer that he remained in his house as long as he could without being surrounded by fire, when he, with his family, retreated with the crowd; but that he kept the roof of his house covered with wet carpets while he was in it, and it being in the inside of a square, with trees all around, as if by a miracle it did not burn.

No attempt will here be made to record personal incidents of the fire. These are almost infinite, and their records may be found in the several large volumes published immediately after the fire, but the following account of the action of the city authorities, taken from the Report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, is an historical document which shows the elastic force of the people of Chicago in their promptness to grapple with the duties before them:

"The homeless people of the South Side were for the most part received into the abodes of their more fortunate neighbors, or taken to the hearts and hospitalities of those to whom a day before they were utter strangers, without formalities or ceremonies, for a kindred sorrow which had left no human interest untouched had done its work.

"Those of the North Division had betaken themselves for the night to the sands of the lake shore, to Lincoln and other small parks, and the prairies. Comparatively few had found shelter for the night.

"Those of the West Division who were left homeless were for the most part sheltered in the churches and school-houses, and on the prairies on the northwest of the city. Comparatively few of those who had fled before the flames, had tasted food since early Sunday evening, and hunger came to them to add its terrors to those of exposure, and in many instances apprehension of death.

"And then came the greatest terror of all, the consciousness of the fact that families had been separated; husbands and wives, parents and children were missing. The flight had been so rapid, and in all directions the thoroughfares had been so obstructed, and in some cases utterly impassable, by the crowding of vehicles and masses of people, and the city itself a wave of fire—it is no marvel that under these circumstances, thousands for the time were lost sight of, and became lonely wanderers, and that hundreds perished in the flames.

"The seeds of permanent or temporary disease sown, the bodily suffering and mental anguish endured, can never have statistical computation, or adequate description.

"The bodies of the dead, not less than three hundred in number, who perished in the flames, were given interment at the county burying ground.

"The city authorities were prompt in their endeavors to bring order out of the chaos which, in some measure, we have assayed to describe. The Mayor telegraphed to neighboring cities, first of all, for engines to help stay the ravages of the fire, and for bread to feed the homeless and destitute."

A council of city officers was held, who issued and signed the following, which was the first proclamation from the Mayor and Government:

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, In the providence of God, to whose will we humbly submit, a terrible calamity has befallen our city, which demands of us our best efforts for the preservation of order and the relief of suffering:

Be it known, That the faith and credit of the city of Chicago are hereby pledged for the necessary expenses for the relief of the suffering.

Public order will be preserved. The police and special police now being appointed will be responsible for the maintenance of the peace and the protection of property.

All officers and men of the Fire Department and Health Department will act as special policemen without further notice.

The Mayor and Comptroller will give vouchers for all supplies furnished by the different relief committees.

The headquarters of the City Government will be at the Congregational Church, corner of West Washington and Ann streets.

All persons are warned against any act tending to endanger property. Persons caught in any depredation will be immediately arrested.

With the help of God, order and peace and private property will be preserved.

The City Government and the committee of citizens pledge themselves to the community to protect them, and prepare the way for a restoration of public and private welfare.

It is believed the fire has spent its force, and all will soon be well.

R. B. MASON, Mayor.
GEORGE TAYLOR, Comptroller.
(By R. B. MASON.)
CHARLES C. P. HOLDEN, President Common Council.
T. B. BROWN, President Board of Police.

October 9, 1871, 2 p. m.

Promptly following the above proclamation, and growing out of the exigencies of the day, or the hour, as it came, others were issued; and no better account of the action of the municipal government can be given than that which is contained in these several official papers, and therefore, without comment, which would be needless, the text of these proclamations, which in some instances were only fly-sheets, is herein given.

BREAD ORDINANCE.—NOTICE.

CHICAGO, October 10, 1871.

The following ordinance was passed at a meeting of the Common Council of the city of Chicago, on the 10th day of October, A. D., 1871:

An Ordinance

Be it ordained by the Common Council of the City of Chicago:—

SECTION 1. That the price of bread in the City of Chicago for the next ten days is hereby fixed and established at *eight* (8) *cents per loaf* of twelve ounces, and at the same rate for all loaves of less or greater weight.

SEC. 2. Any person selling or attempting to sell any bread within the limits of the City of Chicago, within said ten days, at a greater price than is fixed in this ordinance, shall be liable to a penalty of ten (10) dollars for each and every offense, to be collected as other penalties for violation of City Ordinances.

SEC. 3. This Ordinance shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage.

Approved October 10, 1871.

Attest:

C. T. HOTCHKISS, *City Clerk.*

R. B. MASON, *Mayor.*

MAYOR'S PROCLAMATION—ADVISORY AND PRECAUTIONARY.

1. All citizens are requested to exercise great caution in the use of fire in their dwellings, and not to use kerosene lights at present, as the city will be without a full supply of water for probably two or three days.

2. The following bridges are passable, to wit: All bridges (except Van Buren and Adams streets) from Lake Street south, and all bridges over the North Branch of the Chicago River.

3. All good citizens who are willing to serve are requested to report at the corner of Ann and Washington streets, to be sworn in as special policemen.

Citizens are requested to organize a police for each block in the city, and to send reports of such organization to the police headquarters, corner of Union and West Madison streets.

All persons needing food will be relieved by applying at the following places:—

At the corner of Ann and Washington; Illinois Central Railroad Roundhouse.

M. S. R. R.—Twenty-second Street station.

C. B. & Q R. R.—Canal Street Depot.

St. L. & A. R. R.—Near Sixteenth Street.

C. & N. W. R. R.—Corner of Kinzie and Canal streets.

All the public school-houses, and at nearly all the churches.

4. Citizens are requested to avoid passing through the burnt districts until the dangerous walls left standing can be leveled.

5. All saloons are ordered to be closed at 9 p. m. every day for one week, under a penalty of forfeiture of license.

6. The Common Council have this day by ordinance fixed the price of bread at eight (8) cents per loaf of twelve ounces, and at the same rate for loaves of a less or greater weight, and affixed a penalty of ten dollars for selling, or attempting to sell, bread at a greater rate within the next ten days.

7. Any hackman, expressman, drayman, or teamster charging more than the regular fare, will have his license revoked.

All citizens are requested to aid in preserving the peace, good order, and good name of our city.

Oct. 10, 1871.

R. B. MASON, *Mayor.*

In addition to the action of the city authorities, Lieut. General P. H. Sheridan, whose military headquarters were here, at the earnest request of Mr. Mason, the Mayor, and many prominent citizens of Chicago, consented to declare martial law for the preservation of order throughout the city, as well as to protect from fire what remained of it, and on the 11th of October a proclamation was

issued by him to this effect. Two days previous to this, while the fire was still spreading on the North Side, he had ordered a company of frontier soldiers from Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to be sent by rail to Chicago, and as soon as they arrived they were detailed in squads of about twenty each to guard the various places along the outer edge of the burnt district that needed protection. Throughout the South Division burnt, were many bank vaults still buried beneath heated bricks and stone, in an uncertain condition. At night the soldiers detailed to guard these were quartered on the premises of Messrs. Fuller & Fuller, which had been saved from the general wreck as already told. And in conversation with Mr. Fuller, the informant of the writer, as to the fidelity with which they executed their trust, the praise which he gave these noble soldiers should not be omitted. They were strictly temperate, many of them teetotalers, and some of them old weather-beaten veterans as noble in sentiment as they were brave and faithful, and an honor to the country in whose service they had enlisted. The debt of gratitude which Chicago owes them challenges this acknowledgement.

The extent of the fire may be summed up in the following statement, which has been carefully taken from various records of the event: On the West Side, the burnt district measured 194 acres, and the number of burnt buildings was about 500, most of them being of an inferior class.

In the South Division 460 acres were burned over, on which stood 3,650 buildings, which constituted substantially the banks, wholesale stores, hotels, and the general heavy business blocks of the city included, with many of its first-class private dwellings, added to which was a district in the southwest portion, where many poor people lived. In the North Division 1,470 acres were burnt over, and 13,300 buildings destroyed, leaving but about four per cent of the buildings standing in the entire division, and those of the poorest class. The total number of acres burnt over was 2,124, and of buildings destroyed about 17,450. About 100,000 people were rendered homeless, which included guests at hotels and boarding-houses. Of these, some thousands were gathered in squads on the prairies outside the city on the morning of the 9th, and not a few made the earth their bed on the night of the 10th. Every train of railroad cars that left the city for several days was loaded to its utmost with the fugitives. The most of them had no means wherewith to pay their fare. In such cases, the railroad companies, with exemplary generosity, carried them free till the Relief and Aid Society had organized, to make provision for the sufferers On the 10th relief began to come in from the country towns near by. Never before had their sympathies been so awakened.

Mothers, in their imagination, heard little children crying for bread on the open prairie, and saw whole families lying on the ground, bereft of everything but natural claims on humanity, and the next trains that went to the city were loaded with free bread, milk, blankets, and such other things as the body stands most in need of when stripped of everything but its wants.

To detail all the means used to relieve the immediate wants of the victims would be inconsistent with time, and space to record them. It was one of those great waves that roll over mankind, burying them so deep beneath its crest as to drown out selfishness for the time, and open an unfrequented path to many hearts. Dormant passions and affections were awakened into being, that else might have slumbered and died ere they had blossomed into life and beauty. Like a flash, the cry of distress went through the world, and gathered force as it traveled. News of the destruction of armies in one great chasm of death had been told before till recitals of such events palled upon the senses; but this was a great social disaster, visited upon effeminate grace and beauty, quick and sudden, dashing ambition to the ground, and withering life's sweetest hopes; sundering the dearest associations and robbing the heart of home treasures, so highly prized by the most refined people.

From St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York, Boston, and nearly all the large cities of the United States, and from many cities in England, Germany and France, came prompt relief. The most of the cash sent from these places was taken into the custody of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, and by them dispensed to the sufferers with as provident a care as could have been expected under such a pressure.

The amounts contributed from the world, (the great field of charity for this occasion), was but little short of $3,000,000. The number of lives lost in the fire can never be told. It has been estimated to exceed 300. The charred remains of many were found, but no such number as this.

The amount of property destroyed in the fire, by a careful estimate by Elias Colbert, was $192,000,000. Not more than one-fourth of this was covered by insurance, and of the amounts insured, not more than fifty per cent was paid, some insurance companies not paying more than ten per cent, while others paid in full.

The heads of families and business portion of the hundred thousand victims of the fire may be divided into several classes. The portion of them whose wealth was in stocks or bonds had lost nothing but their ink-stands and writing-desks, and the opportunities now offered for speculation, seemed to give promise of an abundant harvest out of the situation. Of the merchants

who had both capital and credit yet in reserve, to begin anew, a prospect opened for business perhaps never before equaled. To those merchants who had lost everything, little consolation could come, and yet many of these, availing themselves of an untarnished reputation, immediately began again on credit, and not a few of them made a success of it. Out of the recoil that came from such an overwhelming calamity quickly sprang up a buoyant feeling in the minds of everyone. No timid counsels prevailed. *Redivivus* was the watchword. Dimension stone, brick, mortar, lime, marble, red sandstone, granite, cement, iron pillars, girders, floor tile, sand, glass, joist, scantling and boards were at a premium. Autumn hung on into the winter months, and fireproof buildings sprang up rapidly amidst the desolations of the burnt district. Meantime, while these were in course of construction, every empty place on the West Side, and far out in the South Division, was rented at high figures, and frequently might be found the most enterprising merchants doing business in some dingy, cavernous quarters on the West Side, that for years before the fire had grown moldy for the want of tenants. For several months, Canal street, between Lake and Madison, was the center of business. Here the newspapers set up their presses, and by dint of courage and resolution to be found nowhere outside of Chicago, soon reproduced their respective sheets, undiminished in size and unctious with grit. All the while capital flowed into Chicago, and the building mania was at fever heat. Nobody seemed to think it could be overdone. They did not stop to consider that the improved class of buildings which were being substituted for the old ones would afford convenience and room for a greatly increased amount of business. Add to this the extra room for business where private houses had been burnt, close by the business portions of Chicago, which would never be replaced, on account of their proximity to the turmoil of a commercial emporium, and it is not strange that an unnecessarily large area was left open for the wants of business. These conditions caused a temporary lull in building up the burnt district after the work had been going on two years, for which reason there are still (1881) many vacant lots where the moldering walls of old buildings, burnt in the fire, stand as reminders of the event; but no great length of time can now transpire till the recent increasing demand for more stores and offices, as well as a demand beyond the present supply for private dwellings, will not only fill up vacant lots in the burnt district, but enlarge the area of the city.

LAND TITLES IN COOK COUNTY.

BY S. B. CHASE.

The destruction by the great Chicago fire in 1871, of the public records of Cook county, gave an unexpected value and public importance to all other evidences of titles to real property which had been preserved and were accessible.

The want of the ordinary means of proving ownership of lands was especially felt by citizens of Chicago, who, in consequence of losing by the fire their homes or sources of income, needed money for re-building or to supply their pressing necessities, and to obtain it saw no way but to sell or mortgage their real estate. These found that not only the records but also a large part of the original muniments of their titles had been destroyed; these latter having been quite generally held by attorneys or agents who had their offices within the burned district—but it was also found that several firms engaged in the examination of land titles as their exclusive business, had fortunately saved considerble portions of their memoranda of conveyances, wills, decrees, and other matters relating to titles, and that the information contained in these would go far towards supplying the requisite evidences.

These private records, or abstract books, as they are usually termed, have, since the calamity alluded to, played so important a part in the real estate transactions of Chicago, that a brief description of their origin and character is not out of place in a history of the city.

The system of private indexes to the public records of conveyances, judgments and tax sales, substantially that now in use in hundreds of counties throughout the Northwestern States, was about the year 1848 devised by Messrs. James H. Rees and Edward A. Rucker, two of those early settlers of Chicago whose enterprise and sagacity have done so much towards creating the present material prosperity of our city.

Although Cook county had then but a little over twenty thousand people, its population and commerce were growing with such rapidity as to promise a brilliant future, and to suggest that preparations for the greatness to come could hardly be made too large or broad in any department of business. The wild speculation of 1837, and consequent revulsion had wrecked a large part of those who had to any extent dealt in real estate in and about Chicago. Great carelessness had prevailed in forms of convey-

nces and in their acknowledgment. Omissions to record were frequent. Titles were clouded to a considerable extent by judgments, bankruptcies and tax sales. Public records and indexes thereto were quite defective. Searches of title were, to a greater or less extent, unreliable, though made by attorneys of skill and ability, because they were without the proper facilities for accurate work. The remedy for this condition of things proposed and applied by Rees & Rucker, and their successors, will appear when we describe a set of abstract books, as devised by them, and now in use in this (Cook) county.

These consist of, first, Books of Original Entries. These are the conveyancer's "Day Books," in which he enters descriptions, in their most important particulars, of all instruments filed for record in the office of the Recorder of Deeds—each instrument being described in the order of its filing. Next, we have numerous volumes, termed "Indexes," which are the conveyancers' "Ledgers." In them he opens a separate account with each lot or parcel of land in the county, and in this account enters a description of every deed, mortgage or other recorded instrument relating to such lot, giving the names of the parties thereto, its date of record, and some other particulars. Thirdly, we have with appropriate nominal indexes thereto, a set of Judgment Dockets, showing in the order in which they were commenced, the suits prosecuted in courts of record, with memoranda of judgments rendered, executions issued, etc. Fourthly, copies or abstracts of all sales made at any time of lands for unpaid taxes and assessments.

The great value of these books for immediate use, anticipated by Messrs. Rees & Rucker, consisted in the indexes; inasmuch as these were to exhibit on a single page, all recorded instruments relating to any title under examination, which, without some such expedient, must be found by a long, careful, tiresome search of hours, sometimes of days' duration. It had not however escaped their sagacity that a possible loss or destruction, total or partial, of public records, might put their books substantially in the place of them.

The results of their scheme exceeded their expectations. The development of the Northwestern States, and the growth of its great metropolis, far exceeded the wildest dreams of the most enthusiastic. Real estate transfers and the conveyancers' business kept pace with the progress of population and commerce. The autumn of 1871 found the abstract system somewhat enlarged, and in some details modified, but in all its main features as originally planned, in successful operation, employing in its maintenance and application, several firms with 100 to 150 em-

ployes, and with an immense accumulation of material generally relied on by real estate lawyers, without search of the records themselves, in judging of the validity of land titles.

Very much of this material, many valuable volumes of indexes; thousands of pages of copies of abstracts, great quantities of original memoranda, were destroyed in the great conflagration. So much however was saved by the three principal abstract establishments then in existence, that, with few exceptions, a connected history from the government down, can still be given of every lot in the county, not, it is true, with the particularity and fullness in details which could have been obtained from the records, but to such an extent has the reliabilty of the abstract books and papers still preserved from the old abstract offices been demonstrated by some nine years' experience, that it is safe to say that in none of the great cities of this country are real estate titles more certain, and less likely to be disturbed, or properly exhibited with greater dispatch and at a less expense.

No doubt the originator of this system, like many of the founders of Chicago, "builded better than they knew," but many of the results were such as would have resulted without the occurrence of unusual forces. The correct anticipation of these results was a most fortunate thing for Chicago, and entitles these two gentlemen to much credit for foresight and sagacity.

Both were, in fact, men of worth and intellect. Mr. Rucker was a lawyer by profession, and a man of acute mind. He, however, disposed of his interest to Mr. Rees as early as 1850, while the system had hardly been perfected or tried. He died several years since. Mr. Rees, alone or associated with others, prosecuted the business till 1862, continuing in it long enough to fix the character and assure the success of the enterprise. He was one of the old settlers of Chicago—a man of sound judgment and unblemished integrity—and although resolute of purpose and persistent in any line of conduct he might decide on, had an even and amiable temper, that very tenderly endeared to him those closely associated in business interests or in the circle of family friends. He has very recently passed away, leaving with all the many who knew him a memory honored and loved as that of an upright and generous man. Probably no act of his long and useful business life has been so fruitful of lasting and beneficial results to the public as the establishment of the first "Abstracts of Title" in Illinois.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS AND CHICAGO.

BY JAMES W. SHEAHAN, OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

The State of Illinois was admitted into the Union on the 3d day of December, 1818, and during the years that have intervened has had a memorable history in the matter of debt, poverty, bankruptcy and taxation. Her record in these particulars is, in many respects, similar to that of many other States, old and new; but her record is unstained by dishonor, is free from all taint of repudiation, and her present glorious condition of wealth, prosperity and high commercial as well as political grandeur is a fitting result of her steadfast devotion to honor and justice in all her financial dealings. On the last day of 1880, Illinois will be free from debt of every kind, with a handsome surplus in the treasury and a steady income, which lessens the ordinary burden of maintaining one of the best administered and most charitable State governments of the Union.

A brief sketch of the origin, the growth and the great magnitude of her public debt; of the courage and fidelity with which her people, rejected under the strong temptations of poverty, destitution, fraud, absolute loss of credit and the example of other States, every suggestion of repudiation; the steps they took to meet that debt by self-imposed taxation, and the final triumph of honest purposes, honestly carried into execution, may find a fitting place in the history of the great Northwest.

The new State at the time of its admission contained about 50,000 inhabitants, the census of June, 1820, showing a population of 55,211,and this whole population resided, with few exceptions, south of a line drawn west from Alton to the Wabash River.

The science of government and the principles of political economy were but little studied or known in those days. The inhabitants of Illinois were mainly from the Southern States, and their habits, traditions and general opinions were widely different from the more advanced systems of the Northern and Eastern States. One of the peculiarities of the day, and, until very recently, adhered to in some of the Southern States, was a resort to public lotteries, instead of to taxation, in order to raise money to meet public expenditures. When the war with Great Britain closed, the population of the territory was small, and money was a rarity. Peltry found a ready sale, and became a medium of ex-

change; values were computed in deer and coon skins. The legislature of the territory were ready converts to the system (which still has its advocates) of making money cheap and plenty by the mere process of printing. Ohio and Kentucky had met the scarcity of money by chartering a large number of banks; the notes of these banks found their way into Illinois. It was promptly discovered and decided that Illinois need be under no obligations to these States for currency, so the territorial legislature in 1816 chartered "The Bank of Illinois," located at Shawneetown, on the Ohio river, and a year later another bank at Kaskaskia, and still another one at Edwardsville.

These banks were all banks of issue, and their notes were soon put in circulation. To give them credit, the legislature of the territory was induced to make them substantially a legal tender; that is, it enacted laws staying all legal process for the collection of debts unless the creditor would receive the notes of these banks in satisfaction of the execution; and subsequently this law was made to include, also, the notes of the banks of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. Money was thus made plenty, and it became very cheap, and times were supposed to be good. Incidental to this abundance of money, grew the famous charter of the city and bank of Cairo, which provided for building a magnificent city—the capital to be obtained from the sale of lots at $150 each—$50 of which was to be expended in building the city, and the other $100 was to constitute the capital of the bank. That charter was but a reflex of the popular mind under the excitement and speculative spirit produced by the great inflation.

It required but a brief time for this condition of affairs to collapse. "Everybody was inextricably in debt to everybody." (Davidson and Stuve).

Such was the condition of affairs when, on the first of January, 1819, the first State government of Illinois was inaugurated. The currency was irredeemable; gold and silver there was none. The legislature of the new State sought to avert the coming crash by chartering a new Bank of Illinois, with a capital of two millions of dollars. This bank, however, failed to organize.

In 1820, the banks of Illinois and those of all the neighboring States suspended, many of them were bankrupt, and the brief holiday of inflation was succeeded by the gloom of financial ruin. The legislature of 1820, '21 met the difficulty by chartering "The Illinois State Bank," based wholly on the credit of the State. The parent bank was located at Vandalia, with branches at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown, and

one in Edwards county. The notes were to be loaned to the people in sums of $100, on personal security; and all sums over $100, and not exceeding $1,000, to any one borrower, on real estate of double the value of the loan. The bank notes bore interest at two per cent., and were made legal tender to the extent that executions for debts were stayed, unless endorsed, payable in bills of the bank. $300,000 of these notes were ordered to be issued directly, and that sum was soon issued. The notes at once depreciated, and as the State revenue was paid in this money, the operations of the government were clogged. The notes were payable ten years after date. In 1831, the State borrowed $100,000 of Col. Thomas Wiggins, and with the money redeemed the notes and wound up the bank. Directly and indirectly, it is estimated that the State lost $500,000 by this abortive scheme of banking.*

This was in 1831, and the date is significant, as showing the fleeting effect of even the most costly experience.

In January, 1835, just four years after the collapse and winding up of the "Illinois State Bank," at such heavy cost, the legislature again ventured upon the experiment of banking without capital, and making money cheap and plenty by the mere issue of promises to pay. Severely as the State and the people had already suffered by this delusion, the most costly of all its ventures was now authorized.

A new State Bank was chartered, with a capital of $1,500,000, and the right to increase that capital $1,000,000 more. Six branches were authorized. The State was to take $100,000 of the stock, and the remaining $1,400,000 were to be subscribed by individuals. The subscriptions to the stock far exceeded the amount authorized, and after the awards, the stock commanded 13 per centum premium. The note circulation was not to exceed two and a half times the sum of the paid up stock.

The city of Alton at that time aspired to be the controlling center of Western trade. Lead from the Galena mines was then an important article of trade. The merchants of Alton held large interests in the bank, and by the aid of loans, undertook to purchase all the lead offered for sale—to corner the entire production. The competition raised the price of lead enormously, the fancy prices attracted all the metal to Alton, but it could not be sold. Other merchants, by the aid of the bank, engaged in like speculations in produce; all proved disastrous. "It was estimated," say Davidson and Stuve, "that the bank lost by the Alton operations $1,000,000; but these reverses were not gener-

*Davidson and Stuve, History of Illinois

ally known." So prosperous was the new bank, that a year after its charter, the legislature was convened in December–January, 1835–6, in special session. The governor recommended that the State subscribe to the extra million of dollars of bank stock; he represented that the stock was then at 113 and would rise to 130, and the State would realize $300,000 in premiums. The legislature was not then as advanced as the governor; it however, authorized the sale of the $100,000 of stock held by the State.

What the legislature of 1836 hesitated to do, the legislature of 1837 was prepared to do on a much magnified scale. It added $2,000,000 to the capital stock of the bank, the whole increase to be taken by the State.

The old, defunct, suspended "Bank of Illinois," established at Shawneetown, in territorial days, was revived with its capital stock increased to $1,700,000, of which $1,000,000 was taken by the State. These banks were made depositories of all the State funds, and for the proceeds of all State Internal Improvement bonds. This legislation was in January,1837, and the banks had about fairly got in operation when the panic of 1837 occurred. In May the banks suspended specie payments, a special session of the legislature met in July, and the suspension of the banks was legalized. Subsequent legislatures renewed the legalization of the suspension, and the State bank dragged along its paper at a large discount, until, "In February, 1842, the monster institution, with a circulation exceeding $3,000,000, snapped its thread of life and passed into dissolution, spreading devastation upon every hand, far and wide." (Davidson & Stuve p. 424.)

The State Bank, and the Bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown, were wound up by an act of the legislature January 24, 1843. Of the terms of the settlement we will have something to say hereafter.

The refusal of President Jackson to approve the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States, though perhaps dictated by the highest purposes and sound policy, produced consequences which the great President hardly anticipated, and even before the date prescribed by law for the expiration of the charter of the great bank, there had already begun an inflation of paper money, under the inspiration of which the country was then rushing to financial disaster and bankruptcy. The crushing of the one "monster" was followed by the birth of hundreds. We have already told the history, as briefly as possible, of the several schemes of banking projected in the State of Illinois, and of their lamentable and costly termination.

The antagonism of the national government towards the Na-

tional Bank, particularly when shown by the withdrawal of the public deposits from that institution, necessitated the adoption of some other policy. The sub-treasury system had not then been devised; the use of banks was a natural continuation of the old system, modified by the extinction of the great national "regulator." The government deposits were then transferred to State banks, those selected being popularly called the "pet banks." So soon as the fate of the United States Bank had been definitely determined, there was a strong demand for State banks, and these issuing money in great abundance, led to that inflation out of which grew an era of wide-spread speculation, and a rivalry between sections and States, for improvements in the way of railroads and canals.

It was under the fever of this great internal improvement demand, that the State of Illinois, at the sessions of 1835 and 1836, overlooked or put out of sight the history of the previous costly experiments of banking, and again chartered banks on a more magnificent scale, to the extent and at the cost already stated. It cannot be denied that this revival of charters for banks in which the State was to be a partner, was due to the popular demand for works of public improvement. The means for this purpose could only be obtained through the agency of banks; the banks were State agents, and were to be sustained by the credit and resources of the State, and were expected to furnish all the bank paper needed to float the credit of the State. The laws were ample for this purpose, so far as this could be accomplished by statute, but no legislation has yet been framed which can compel public confidence nor sustain credit where there are no substantial and available means. So, the legislature having provided the bank in 1835, and that bank having during that time of universal speculation been eminently successful, the legislature of 1836 enlarged the banking system, that the State might engage in the great system of railway and other improvements, which was to construct a highway to market from every quarter-section farm in the State.

At the election in 1834, Joseph Duncan was elected governor of Illinois. He was then, and had been, a successful member of Congress. He was personally opposed to the anti-bank policy of President Jackson, but this was not generally known until after the election. He was inaugurated in December of that year, and in his address boldly denounced the policy of the President. He was elected as a Democrat, and sought to capture the popular sentiment by strongly recommending the construction of State roads, cordially approving the project of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and urging liberal charters for railways. He of course

proposed banks, and the legislation of 1834–5 was substantially that suggested by him. So successful were the banks then created, that a special session of the legislature was held in the winter of 1835–6, and the banks were enlarged. Speculation had become wild in the extreme.

Chicago was then in her infancy, but real estate in that city reached prices which it never permanently commanded for forty years later. The immigration to the State was, in those days great. In 1836, public lands to the value of $5,000,000 were entered in Illinois. Speculation was however rife in all the infant cities and towns. Lots in Chicago and in the hundreds of other Illinois cities and towns, were purchased, unsight and unseen, by speculators at the East, just as mining property in the mountains of Colorado and Wyoming is now bought. Governor Ford, in his history mentions the statement that the staple articles of Illinois export were town plats, and that there was danger of crowding the State with towns to the exclusion of land for agriculture. Under the excitement of this craze a new legislature was elected in August, 1836. The subject of internal improvements was the all absorbing issue; it was considered that all that was necessary to build up these towns, and populate the State was the construction of railways. Simultaneously with the meeting of the legislature, a monster convention was held at the seat of government, to promote this grand scheme. The scheme itself was, to a great extent indefinite, but its advocates insisted that it should be comprehensive enough to meet the wants of every locality. The legislature was overwhelmed by an outside pressure, which it was unable, even if disposed, to resist.

On the 27th of February, 1837, the legislature passed the "act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvements." This act authorized and directed the expenditure of various sums for the purposes and objects stated. We include in this list the additions made thereto by subsequent legislation :

Improvement of Great Wabash River	$100,000
Illinois River	100,000
Rock River	100,000
Kaskaskia River	50,000
Little Wabash River	50,000
Great Western Mail Route from St. Louis to Vincennes	250,000
Central Railroad, from Cairo to the Illinois and Michigan Canal...	1,600,000
Southern Railroad, from Alton to Mt. Carmel	
Railroad from Alton to Shawneetown	
Northern Cross Railroad, from Quincy to Indiana State Line	1,800,000
Branch of Central Hillsboro to Terre Haute	650,000
Railroad, from Peoria via Mt. Carmel and Carthage to Warsaw	700,000
Railroad, from Alton to Hillsboro to the Central Railroad	600,000

Railroad, from Belleville via Lebanon to intersect Southern Cross Railroad	150,000
Railroad, from Bloomington, to Mackinaw, in Tazewell County, thence to Pekin	350,000

Also, an appropriation of $250,000 out of the first proceeds of the internal improvement bonds, to be distributed per capita of the population, to those counties in which no railroad was directed to be constructed, and in which no navigable stream was to be improved. This money was to be expended in making roads and bridges.

Two "Boards" were of course organized to operate the machinery of this system. One was a Board of "Fund Commissioners," to manage the financial part; the other was a Board of "Commissioners of Public Works." This latter Board had jurisdiction over all the public works, except the canal. The law required that portion of the Northern Cross Railroad between Springfield and Jacksonville to be built immediately. But all the other roads were required to be begun at each end, and, at important towns on the line, the work to progress in both directions from every point at which it was begun. The jealousy which inspired such legislation as that, was characteristic of that time. No locality was willing that another should have even a day in advance in the march to unlimited prosperity.

The construction of the canal had, up to this time, been carried on by the proceeds of the sale of lands and of lots in Chicago and other towns along the line of the canal. In order to obtain votes for the internal improvement system, the legislature included in this act of 1837, an authority to make a loan for the sum of $500,000 for the canal, and thereafter that work became part of the system.

The act of 1837 authorized an expenditure of $10,230,000. At the legislature of 1839, additional expenditures were authorized directly, to the amount of $1,000,000, including two new short railways; and it also included indirectly and prospectively, a new railway from Alton to Carlinville, and additional river improvements. The crowning act was an authority to negotiate a loan of $4,000,000, to continue the work on the canal.

Connected with the legislation on this subject was that of the removal of the seat of the State government. When it was removed from Kaskaskia, the location at Vandalia was limited to twenty years. Alton had the promise for the future; but Alton had become, in its own expectation, the future commercial metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, and in consideration of being made the terminus of three railways, renounced the claim to be the State Capital. Springfield was the aspirant. Sangamon County was a large one, and had nine members of the general

assembly, two senators, and seven representatives. These nine votes were of consequence in the passage or defeat of the Internal Improvement measure. They were primarily for the removal of the seat of government to Springfield, and when the building of a State Capitol at Springfield was included in the scheme, the nine votes of Sangamon voted for the enormous job. Governor Ford, in his history, thus sums up this part of the story:

"Amongst them were some dexterous jugglers and managers in politics, whose whole object was to obtain the seat of government for Springfield. This delegation, from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question. Most of the other counties were small, having but one representative, and many of them with but one for the whole district; and this gave Sangamon County a decided preponderance in the log-rolling system of those days. It is worthy of examination whether any just and equal legislation can ever be sustained, where some of the counties are great and powerful and others feeble. But by such means 'the long nine' rolled along like a snow ball, gathering accessions of strength at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable party for Springfield, which party they managed to make almost as a unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for which the active supporters were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the State about $6,000,000 to remove the system of that seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices; and thus, by log-rolling on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole State bought up and bribed, to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever cripples the energies of a growing country."

We forbear even a sketch of the financial transactions. The banks negotiated some of the bonds, and all the banks of the country having suspended in 1837, money, such as it was, was easy. The canal loan was sent to Europe, and the negotiations there and at home were of the most remarkable character. The bonds were forever depreciating, and the proceeds of the loans disclosed cruel losses and much irregularity. At last Governor Carlin called a special session of the legislature, to meet December 9, 1839. He who, a year before remonstrated against any

abandonment of the scheme, now confessed its failure. He reached the conclusion that if the State went on with the work already begun, it would find itself in debt at least $21,000,000; it already owed about $14,000,000; its annual revenue was not over $200,000; its annual charge for interest was $800,000; and the population of the State was not exceeding half a million. Not a mile of railroad had been completed, and the Governor stated the assets of the State to be 430,000 acres of land, and 3,491 lots in the towns along the canal, and some railroad iron in New York subject to the payment of duties! This was the end of the system of nearly 1400 miles of railway, and a canal 100 miles long, and vast river improvements.

In 1838 some eight miles of track from Meredosia, were laid; subsequently, at a cost of $1,000,000, this track was extended to Springfield, and was sold by the State for $100,000, payable in State indebtedness. That was the total outcome of the whole mammoth scheme. At that session of the legislature, in the month of Feb., 1840, the legislature abolished its various Boards, prohibited any further sale of bonds, or expenditures, discharged its force of engineers and other officers, and provided for winding up the whole business. The work on the canal was not then arrested—its life was protracted a little longer. This was the situation of affairs when the legislature adjourned in the spring of 1840. The payment of interest for 1841 on the canal loan was accomplished, but it was not possible to meet that on the other parts of the debt. The legislature that met in December, 1840, authorized the hypothecation of a sufficient number of the internal improvement bonds to pay the interest which would "legally" fall due in 1841. The reason for the use of this term "legally" was to meet the objection already raised that some of the bonds of the State had been negotiated outside of the requirements of the law, and were therefore no longer a legal charge upon the State. A law was also passed authorizing the State to sell State interest bonds—to be sold in the market for what could be got for them. By these expedients the State was able to pay the January and July interest of 1841; that was the last payment that was made—no further efforts seem to have been made to that end. In February, 1842, as has already been stated, the State banks went down to rise no more, and were put into liquidation. The State bonds were quoted as low as fourteen cents. Davison and Stuve in their history say, page 452:

"The condition of this fair State, with her calamities thus augmented, was truly distressing. Abroad, her name was freely associated with dishonor; emigrants, dreading high taxation, gave it a wide berth, unless it was those, who having no character of

their own, cared little for that of the State of their adoption; while the people here with rare exceptions, were anxious to sell out and flee a country which presented no alternative but dishonor or exorbitant taxation. The chances to sell were, however, in adverse ratio to the desire, and while impending financial ruin, disgrace, and the fear of taxation kept the State from gaining population as rapidly as had been her wont; the inpracticability of effecting sales saved her against loss. In the meantime, an utter dearth and stagnation in all kinds of business prevailed."

Governor Ford thus describes the condition of affairs at this time in Illinois:

"No further attempt was made after July, 1841, to pay interest on the public debt. For want of full knowledge of her condition abroad, and of the condition of other new states, in a short time Illinois, and some others in the West, became a stench in the nostrils of the civilized world. The people at home began to wake up in terror; the people abroad, who wished to settle in a new country, avoided Illinois as they would pestilence and famine; and there was great danger that the future immigrants would be men who, having no regard for their own characters, would also have none for that of the State where they might live. The terrors of high taxation were before all eyes, both at home and abroad. Every one at home wanted to sell his property and move away, and but few, either at home or abroad, wanted to purchase. The impossibility of selling kept us from losing population, and the fear of disgrace, or high taxes, prevented us from gaining materially."

In 1824 the affairs of the infant State of Illinois were brought to a crisis of the most terrible character. It was then proposed to make African Slavery an institution of the State. At that moment, when the dark shadow of the national curse thus threatened this broad State, there was, seemingly by the hand of a special Providence, a man raised up to meet the calamity at the threshold, and to resist it so bravely and so successfully, that it was not only kept beyond the limits of the State, but its introduction here was forever thereafter prohibited. That man was Edward Coles, the second Governor of Illinois. His name will live in honor while that of Illinois is remembered, and so long as human liberty has an advocate on earth.

In 1842 Illinois was in the dust. Her treasury was empty—her credit destroyed. Her name was a world-wide reproach. She was bankrupt—hopelessly. She knew not what to do. She was overwhelmed in debt, and had no property. Her people were in debt far beyond their means of payment. Her statesmen were weak and cowardly. They had involved the State in all her trouble, and had not the courage to take the consequences. It only needed a demagogue bold enough to avow the purpose, and dishonor and shame would have completed the dire misfortune. Again the hand of Providence seemed to have been especially interposed to save the State. Another candidate having been

nominated, death intervened and removed him before the election, and the man needed by the State to meet the pending calamity was selected unexpectedly, and was made Governor in December, 1842. That man was Thomas Ford—a name which, because of his own great merits of integrity and ability, is forever entitled to distinction and credit; but which is entitled to grateful remembrance because of his heroic and inflexible purity and the firmness, by which he rescued Illinois from the peril into which she had fallen, and in which she was overwhelmed in despair. No braver, truer, nobler man ever served the State; no brighter record tells the public deeds of even the greatest of her sons. Governor Ford, in his own history of the State, thus describes the condition of affairs when he entered the office of Governor:

"There was no party in the legislature of 1842–3 in favor of an immediate increase of taxation to pay interest on the public debt. Many there were who wanted to do nothing for five or ten years; and to trust to luck and accident for the means of improvement. There were a very few who were in favor of repudiating the whole debt of the State, who denied the power of the legislature to bind the people by contracting it, and who were in favor of giving up to the public creditor all the property purchased with the borrowed money, and all the public works constructed by it, as all that ever could or ought to be done in the way of payment. But the great majority of the legislature held different opinions. Resolutions were passed which clearly stated the inability of the State to meet its engagements, and fully recognized our moral and legal obligations to provide for ultimate payment. The pay immediately was out of the question. Heavy taxation then would have depopulated the country, and the debt would never be paid."

He further says:

"The people of Bond County, as soon as the internal improvement system passed, had declared in a public meeting that the system must lead to taxation and utter ruin; that the people were not bound to pay any of the debt contracted for it; and that Bond County would never assist in paying a cent of it. Accordingly, they refused to pay taxes for several years. When the system went down and left the State in the ruinous condition predicted by the Bond County meeting, many people remembered that there might be a question raised as to the obligation of payment. Public men everywhere, of all parties, stood in awe of this question; there was a kind of general silence as to what would be popular or unpopular. The two great political parties were watching each other with eagle eyes, to see that no one should get the advantage of the other. The whigs, driven to desperation by repeated ill-success in elections, were many of them in favor of repudiation, as a means of bettering their party. Very many democrats were in favor of the same course, for fear of losing the power the democratic party already possessed. It was thought to be a very dangerous subject to meddle with. At a democratic convention which nominated Mr. Snyder for governor, a resolution against repudiation offered by Mr. Arnold, of Chicago, was laid on the table by an overwhelming vote of the convention, so as not to commit the party one way or the other. It was evident that this was to be a troublesome question, and a great many of the politicians on both sides were as ready to take one side of it as the other, and their choice depended upon which might finally appear to be the most powerful. The whigs were afraid if they advocated the debt-paying policy, the democrats would take the other side and leave the whigs no chance of ever coming into a majority; and the democrats were afraid if they advocated

a correct policy, the other side might be more popular, and might be taken by the whigs. I speak only of the leaders of parties; amongst whom on all sides there was a strong suspicion that repudiation might be more popular that taxation."

And he thus states his conviction of what then might have been done:

"It is my solemn belief that when I came into office, I had the power to make Illinois a repudiating State. It is true, I was not the leader of any party; but my position as governor would have given me leadership enough to have carried the democratic party, except in a few counties in the north, in favor of repudiation. If I had merely stood still and done nothing, the result would have been the same. In that case, a majority of both parties would have led to either active or passive repudiation. The politicians on neither side, without a bold lead to the contrary, by some high in office, would never have dared to risk their popularity by being the first to advocate an increase of taxes to be paid by a tax-hating people."

The governor was a practical man, and an honest man, and one more intent upon accomplishing the public interests than upon glorifying himself. We have already stated that he obtained the legislation by which he was able to close out the indebtedness of the State to the banks. The legislature was induced by him to settle with the banks, whereby those institutions surrendered state bonds held by them as collateral for the capital stock of the banks, subscribed for by the State. Subsequently, and after long and laborious negotiation, the foreign holders of the canal debt were induced to make a further loan of $1,600,000 to complete the canal, the property to be conveyed to trustees, and held by them until the canal debt and interest was paid. Though the canal debt was not paid, nor the State discharged from it, that debt was placed in a condition that it would be eventually paid out of the earnings of the work itself. By the bank settlements, the State was released of $3,000,000 of debt, and from the immediate pressure of the canal debt, amounting with deferred interest, to more than $4,000,000. The governor had fought and beaten down the spirit of repudiation. During these very days of trial and struggle, the State was visited with a succession of storms and floods, carrying off the crops, and reducing the people in several sections to actual want.

But this was only temporarily bridging over an extremity. Some-thing more, and of a permanent character, was required. A delay in the canal negotiation, postponed for a season, other measures were proposed by this fearless and faithful public officer. He proposed, but it was not until a later date, that he obtained the legislation imposing a direct tax of one and one-half mills, to pay interest on the debt of the State. This, be it remembered, was enacted at a time when, for two successive seasons, there had

been a failure of crops, a devastation by floods, and an unprecedented visitation of malarial fevers and other diseases. Under the firm hand of the inflexible governor, the State levied this direct tax to pay interest on the debt—a debt which had left nothing substantial to represent it. It was some time before the machinery for reconstructing the credit of the State could be put in motion. The proceeds of this 1½ mill tax, levied by the act of 1845, were to be applied to the payment of interest on all the bonds of the State, including the canal bonds; as the interest on the latter consumed nearly one-half the proceeds of the tax, there was, even after the tax began to be collected, a large and annual deficiency of interest which continued to be added to the long account of unpaid interest. At the time of the suspension of interest in 1841, the annual charge for interest was $830,000. This was reduced somewhat by the settlement with the banks, but it was still, for that day, an immense charge.

The great victory, however, was won when the State resolved to pay the debt and interest, and levied the first tax therefor. After that it was a mere question of time. The moral victory was already accomplished. The people, under the guidance of honest Thomas Ford, their governor, had triumphed over every temptation to be false to the State, to their honor and to their creditors. Governor Ford thus recapitulates the condition of affairs as he found them on entering office in December, 1842, and when he left office in 1846:

"In the conclusion of this history, the author must be permitted to indulge in a slight retrospection of the past. In 1842, when he came into office, the State was in debt about $14,000,000 for moneys wasted upon internal improvements, and in banking; the domestic treasury of the State was in arrear $313,000 for the ordinary expenses of government; auditors' warrants were freely selling at a discount of fifty per cent.; the people were unable to pay even moderate taxes to replenish the treasury, in which not one cent was contained, even to pay postage on letters to and from the public offices; the great canal, after spending five millions of dollars on it, was about to be abandoned; the banks, upon which the people had relied for a currency, had become insolvent, their paper had fallen so low as to cease to circulate as money, and as yet no other money had taken its place, leaving the people wholly destitute of a circulating medium, and universally in debt; immigration to the State had almost ceased; real estate was wholly unsaleable; the people abroad, terrified by the prospect of high taxation, refused to come among us for settlement, and our own people at home were no less alarmed and terrified at the magnitude of our debt, then apparently so much exceeding any known resources of the country. Many were driven to absolute despair of ever paying a cent of it; and it would have required but little countenance and encouragement in the then disheartened and wavering condition of the public mind to have plunged the State into the one terrible infamy of open repudiation. This is by no means an exaggerated picture of our affairs in 1842.

"In December, 1846, when the author went out of office, the domestic debt of the treasury, instead of being $313,000, was only $31,000, with $9,000 in the treasury; auditors' warrants were at par, or very nearly so; the banks had been put into liquidation in a manner just to all parties, and so as to maintain the

character of the State for moderation and integrity; violent counsels were rejected; the notes of the banks had entirely disappeared, and had been replaced in circulation by a reasonable abundance of gold and silver coin, and the notes of solvent banks of other states; the people had very generally paid their private debts; a very considerable portion of the State debt had been paid also; about three millions of dollars had been paid by a sale of the public property, and by putting the banks into liquidation; and a sum of five millions more had been provided for, to be paid after the completion of the canal; being a reduction of eight millions of the State debt which had been paid, redeemed, or provided for, whilst the author was in office.

"The State itself, although broken, and at one time discredited, and a by-word throughout the civilized world, had, to the astonishment of every one, been able to borrow on the credit of its property, the further sum of $1,600,000 to finish the canal; and that great work is now (1847) in a fair way of completion. The people abroad have once more begun to seek this goodly land for their future homes. From 1843 until 1846, our population rapidly increased, and is now (1847) increasing faster than ever it did before. Our own people have become contented and happy, and the former discredit resting upon them abroad for supposed willful delinquency in paying the State debt, no longer exists."

In 1846 the people, by popular vote, elected a State Convention to remodel the Constitution. This body met in 1847. The constitution then formed was ratified by the people in March, 1848. Our interest in this Constitution is merely to show that a proposition to place in the constitution an irrepealable section imposing a tax to pay the State debt, was voted down. Demagogues and cowards affected to doubt the people's honesty. That section was, however, submitted as an article of the constitution, to be voted upon separately by the people, so that its defeat would not carry with it the defeat of the whole constitution. The vote on this section, imposing a permanent tax of two mills on the dollar, on all the taxable property of the State, to be applied to the payment of the principal of the State debt other than the canal debt, was ratified by the people, they voting directly upon the merits of the proposition.

The State had now made provision as follows:

1. An annual tax to pay the interest on all the public debt.
2. An annual tax to pay the principal of the State debt other than the canal debt.
3. A setting apart of the earnings of the canal to pay that debt.

Then, in 1850, was the contract with the Illinois Central Railroad, by which, in lieu of other taxes, the Illinois Central Railroad Company agreed to pay into the State treasury a sum equal to seven per cent. of its gross earnings. The State had thus made ample provision for the payment of its debts. In 1847 the State provided for funding the principal of all its debts, except the canal debt, and in 1857 provided for funding all the arrearages of interest on all its debts, issuing bonds therefor, thus paying interest on the interest which had fallen in arrear during the years of helplessness.

It is not the purpose of this paper to relate the detailed history of the debt.

Notwithstanding the payments and reductions made in the twelve years, from 1841 to 1853, such had been the accumulations of unpaid interest, that on the first of January, 1853, the principal and overdue interest still unpaid amounted to $17,398,985. Under the act of 1857, the arrearages of interest accrued and then unpaid were funded to the amount of $2,973,029.

From the date of the act of 1845, imposing a tax to pay interest on the debt, down to Nov. 30, 1860, the direct taxes collected from the people of Illinois and paid on account of principal and interest of their public debt, was as follows:

RECEIVED AND DISBURSED.

1½ MILL INTEREST TAX.		2 MILL TAX, PRINCIPAL.	
To November 30, 1846....	$ 62,024	To November 30, 1850....	$165,789
1846 to 1848.....	234,944	1850 to 1852.....	492,167
1848 to 1850.....	296,327	1852 to 1854.....	771,221
1850 to 1852.....	366,394	1854 to 1856.....	1,113,413
1852 to 1854.....	528,258	1856 to 1858.....	1,387,554
1854 to 1856.....	966,420	1858 to 1860.....	1,192,010
1856 to 1858.....	1,047,884		
1858 to 1860.....	949,082	Total.....	$5,052,153
Total.....	$4,451,333	Grand Total.....	$9,503,486

With these and other payments, the State debt, November 30, 1860, still remaining unpaid, was $10,346,017.

The Legislature of Illinois authorized the city of Chicago to make certain expenditures for the purpose of deepening and otherwise improving the Illinois & Michigan Canal. This act gave the city a lien on the canal for the amount not exceeding $2,800,000 to be refunded at the pleasure of the State, from the earnings of the canal. The great fire in Chicago took place in October, 1871, and the Legislature, at a special session, assumed this expenditure, and bonds to that amount were issued to the city in satisfaction of the lien. In this way $2,800,000 more was added to the cost of the canal, and the bonds issued for that purpose were added to the debt of the State then unpaid.

The debt of Illinois has been comparatively a light burden since 1860. Up to that time the tax had been a grievous one. A half million of people in 1845 bravely began to tax themselves to pay interest on a debt, which then, with accumulated interest, was nearly $18,000,000. Three years later they adopted a permanent tax, to pay the principal of that debt. The great recovery which followed the adoption of these measures, soon enabled the State not only to meet its current liabilities for interest, but also

to begin the payment of the principal and, funding the long over due interest, to begin the reduction. In addition to this, the State in 1856 began to receive an increasing income from the Illinois Central Railroad Company. In 1870 the two mill tax was discontinued, being no longer needed; the interest fund tax was reduced to a nominal sum. The whole tax for ten years on account of the public debt has been nominal, or wholly omitted, and the State treasury has during that time been always in advance of the maturity of the outstanding bonds, which the creditors preferred to hold, than to surrender.

And now, on the first day of January 1881, the last outstanding piece of scrip, warrant, voucher, coupon and bond of the State of Illinois ,has become due, and has been paid, and the heroic work begun in January, 1842, has been completed, and Illinois has been delivered from her bonds, has been emancipated from the chains in which Governor Ford found her, and is FREE FROM DEBT.

GRADE OF CHICAGO STREETS.

The first houses erected in Chicago were built on spiles set into the ground, sufficiently elevated to fix the lower floor above the possibility of being flooded by excessive rains. Of course cellars or basement kitchens were not to be thought of. Later, when a better class of buildings were erected as business blocks, private grading up the streets in front of them began to be practiced, some of which grading may have been done by a street tax authorized by the corporation, but the first street grade was not established till 1855, as appears from the following letter from Mr. Moody, Ass't City Clerk.

R. BLANCHARD,
Wheaton, Ill.,

DEAR SIR: I have looked up the question of grades of the city, as you requested. I find the first ordinance was passed in March, 1855. This established the grade of Lake street at about 8.62. The present grade of the street is 14 feet. My figures refer to the plane of low water of the Chicago river in 1847 as fixed by the canal commissioners, and mean 8.62 feet and 14 feet above that level. I find several other streets where the change is about the same. On the West Side the change is not so great, being originally estab ished at a higher point. I estimate the change at about three feet.

Yours truly,
JOHN A. MOODY.

The grade of the whole city is now sufficiently above high water to admit of convenient basements, and is doubtless established on a permanent basis, never again to be changed.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHICAGO.

BY WILLIAM J. ONAHAN.

The history of the Catholic Church, in Chicago, dates from 1674.

The first chapter begins with *Father Marquette.*

The narrative of Father Marquette's memorable explorations formed the necessary introduction to this history of the Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest.

There is a certain unique fitness in devoting its closing part, to an account of the growth and present position of that Church, whose sacred rites he celebrated on the banks of the Chicago River, upwards of 200 years ago. The memory of Father Marquette, is held in reverence and admiration by every American, no matter before what altar he worships, or what the form and tenets of his religious creed. He is honored as a courageous and heroic explorer, and a zealous and Apostolic Christian Missionary.

He is held in veneration for the grace and beauty which shone in his character, and the gentle and benignant qualities that were illustrated in his labors.

His lonely and touching death on the opposite shore of Lake Michigan fitly crowned a life consecrated to a noble mission.

That mission was the salvation of souls. He was a priest of the Catholic Church, and a missionary of the *Society of Jesus.*

It was on the occasion of Father Marquette's second trip to the Illinois country that he made a brief sojourn at the site of the future city of Chicago, and here, Nov. 1, 1674, on the banks of the Chicago river, having erected a temporary hut which served as a chapel, he solemnized the mysteries of his faith. His congregation comprised the two *voyageurs*, his companions, and the few Indians who had gathered in the vicinity.

Thus, upwards of 200 years ago, the Catholic Church consecrated the site of the future city by the solemn rites and ceremonies of Christian worship.

It is not deemed necessary to enter into the history of the subsequent missionary labors of the pioneer apostles of that church, who devoted their labors and consecrated their lives in the effort to win to Christianity the Indian tribes of the prairies. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, and Professor Parkman have made the narrative familiar.

With the close of the French dominion in the Northwest, effected by the *Treaty of Utrecht* the presence and labors of the *black-gown* gradually disappeared from the scene; though one or more of the zealous missionaries would, from time to time, reappear in the then forbidden territory, to recall and renew amongst the Indian tribes the teachings of the pioneer fathers. Some semblance of Catholic faith and teaching was thus kept alive and preserved by the Indians of Illinois up to the beginning of the present century.

Prior to 1843, Chicago and the entire State of Illinois was embraced within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Vincennes, Indiana. Up to the year 1835, the religious wants of the Catholic settlers of Chicago and vicinity were supplied by the occasional visits and ministrations of a priest from Detroit, or Vincennes.

In that year, the Rev. Bernard Schaeffer, was assigned to the mission of Chicago, as its first settled pastor. His earliest care naturally was the erection of a place of worship which he accomplished, though not without labor and difficulty, in consequence of the poverty of his flock.

Before Father Schaeffer's death, which occurred in 1837, he had been reinforced in the person of Rev. Father St. Cyr, who still survives, and is now in retirement at Carondelet, near St. Louis, venerated and honored for his career of missionary labors.

The earliest mention of Chicago in the official Catholic almanacs, occurs in that published for the year 1839, which gives this brief notice:

"Rev. James O'Meara, Chicago, visits occasionally *Mt. Juliet*, *Calumet*, *Smallfork*, Illinois Canal, etc." During the administration of Father O'Meara, visits to Chicago were made by Bishops Loras, of Dubuque, and Bishop Purcell, present Archbishop of Cincinnati. These prelates came to reconcile difficulties that had arisen between Father O'Meara and his people.

The original Church built by Father Schaeffer had meantime been removed from the corner of State and Lake to the corner of Madison St. and Michigan Avenue, where a lot had been secured from the U. S. the same, on which was erected at a later period the Episcopal residence, known before the fire as the "Bishop's Palace." Following the history of this primitive Church edifice, we find it moved, some years afterwards, to the well known site of St. Mary's Church, the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison street, and from there it was again displaced to give way to the well known Pro Cathedral—dear Old St. Mary's. The old building was moved to the rear, where it served as a school

house and place of meeting for the societies of the Church.

The Rev. Father Badin—"Old Father Badin", as he was familiarly designated in the West, was an occasional visitor to the Catholics of Chicago, in the early days, and many interesting reminiscences and anecdotes connected with his labors, are told by early surviving Catholic settlers.

He founded a local temperance society, which embraced nearly all the Catholic male adults in Chicago at that time. From 1840 to 1842, Rev. Father St. Palais, afterwards Bishop of Vincennes, was pastor of the Chicago Mission, and he had for his assistant Rev. Francis J. Fisher.

The Catholic population of the diocese, which then included Indiana, Michigan and Illinois was estimated in the official Almanac for 1842, at 25,000.

The formal official history of the Catholic Church in Chicago dates from the appointment of its first Bishop—Right Rev. William Quarter.

The Catholic "*See* of Chicago," was established in 1844, Bishop Quarter was consecrated in New York, March 10, 1844, and took formal possession of the newly-created *See* Sunday May 5, following; thec eremony of installation, being held in the old Church previously referred to.

Bishop Quarter was accompanied to Chicago by his brother—Rev. Walter J. Quarter.

Bishop Quarter was obliged to begin his Episcopal work at the foundation. He built and completed St. Mary's Cathedral which was solemnly consecrated Sunday, Oct. 5, 1845. He founded the College later known as the "University of St. Mary's of the Lake" and through his foresight and efforts, a charter for the institution was subsequently obtained from the legislature of the State. The College was first opened and formally dedicated, 4th, July, 1846. Enrolled among its earliest students were many names that have since become honored in the ranks of the Priesthood, and others distinguished in public life. Rev. Dr. Jno McMullen, who has just laid down his trust as administrator of the diocese, and the gallant and lamented General James A. Mulligan, occur in the first register, with others that might be named. To Bishop Quarter, is likewise due the credit of having secured the passage of the law incorporating the Catholic Bishop of Chicago as a "Corporation Sole, with power to hold real and other property in trust for religious purposes." Bishop Quarter's Episcopal rule was not of long duration. Incessant and laborious toils undermined his health, and on Passion Sunday, 1848, his flock in St. Mary's received for the last time his Episcopal blessing. On the 10th, of April ensuing, he expired in the

arms of his beloved and always faithful brother. Loved and lamented by all, his remains were solemnly deposited in his Cathedral, according to his wish, and a votive tablet long remained in St. Mary's, recalling his memory and his memorable works.

His brother, Rev. Walter J. Quarter, acted as administrator until the appointment of Bishop Van de Velde, in 1848.

The Right Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde, had previously filled an important position in the Jesuit University St. Louis, Mo., and was a member of that Society. He was formally installed as Bishop of the diocese in the Cathedral of St. Mary's, in 1849. The same year was commenced the Church of the Holy Name, under the direction of Rev. Father Kinsella, who was at the same time rector of the "College of St. Marys of the Lake."

Associated with Father Kinsella were the well known Fathers Clowry and Breen. St. Patrick's Church, corner of Desplaines and Randolph, had been established; and about the same time, also, a Church for German Catholics was dedicated, which latter was located on Washington St. near 5th Avenue?

The first of the religious orders to obtain a foundation in Chicago, was that of the Sisters of Mercy, the foundation of their convent on Wabash Ave. being laid in 1846, under the direction of the accomplished and lamented *Mother Agatha*, whose early death in 1852 was greatly mourned, not only by Catholics but by the entire community.

Bishop Van de Velde's administration was troubled and clouded by discussions and difficulties, which finally resulted in his resignation and transfer to another field of labor. His appointment to the diocese of Natchez, dates from July, 1853.

In that year the experiment of a Catholic weekly journal was attempted, under the management of Mr. William Linton, then recently from St. Louis.

Associated with Mr. Linton in the editoral chair was James A. Mulligan, a young lawyer of promise, and possessing first class talents as a writer.

January 8, 1854, the "Chicago Catholic Institute" was founded, a literary association which embraced for many years the leading Catholic young men of Chicago, in its ranks and membership.

The course of lectures given by it in the fall of that year, presented to the Chicago public, Dr. O. A. Brownson, Thos. D'Arcy McGee, James A. McMaster, Donald McLeod, and others.

On the removal of Bishop Van de Velde to Natchez, the Rev. James Duggan of St. Louis, subsequently Bishop, was appointed administrator of the diocese, which position he continued to

hold until the installation of the Right Rev. Anthony O'Regan, likewise of St. Louis, who was consecreted Bishop of Chicago July 25, 1854.

His administration, like that of his Episcopal predecessor, was soon marred by unhappy differences with some of the leading priests of the city, finally resulting in the dismissal from the diocese of Messrs. Kinsella, Breen and Clowry.

The bad spirit and resentments sown during the unfortunate feud (we do not assume to fix the responsibility), occasioned much bitterness of feeling, and, being unable or unwilling to bear the burden of discontent, Bishop O'Regan sought peace by following the example of his predecessor. He too resigned. Dr. O'Regan was transferred to a See *i. p. f.*, and retired to Ireland, where he spent the rest of his days in the seclusion of a College with which he had been connected in earlier days.

In 1859 the Right Rev. James Duggan, the same who had charge of the diocese five years previously, and who in the meantime had been promoted to the Episcopal dignity as co-adjutor to the Archbishop of St. Louis, was transferred to Chicago.

The increase in the Catholic population up to this time had fully kept pace with the growth of the city. Churches had multiplied on every side; various institutions of charity had been founded, and the establishment of Catholic schools became the rule in nearly all the parishes.

The House of the Good Shepherd, otherwise known as the "Magdalen Asylum," was founded in 1857, and the same year the Jesuits opened a church "out on the prairie."

The prodigies and wonders accomplished by the Jesuits under the energetic leadership of *Father Damen* remains to-day the pride and marvel of the West Division.

The Jesuit institutions in Chicago merit a separate chapter.

A magnificent Church of imposing design and vast proportion; a grand College completed in all its appointments, and possessing a museum perhaps, unequaled in the West, besides a fine library carefully selected, containing 12,000 volumes; numerous and capacious Schools, having an attendance of fully 5,000: an immense building lately erected for the use of the Societies of the parish—all these testify to the zeal and energy of the great order.

In addition to the church of the Holy Family, on West 12th St., the Jesuits also built two other Churches, one on 19th St., near Halsted—the Church of the Sacred Heart—the other corner of 18th and Paulina Sts., St. Pius Church.

The latter is now in charge of Rev. Hugh McGuire—the former remains under the control of the Jesuits, and its pastor is

the renowned Father Damen himself—the pioneer, projector and builder of nearly all the great works first noted. Many other of the religious orders had already obtained a foothold. The Benedictines and the Redemptorists were assigned to German congregations, and each built up fine and capacious churches in the North division. The female religious orders had been equally active—notably the "Sacred Heart," which was fortunate in its first superior and founder in Chicago—Madame Gallwey, a woman of great mind and possessing prodigious energy of character.

The progress of the Church in Chicago during Bishop Duggan's reign was certainly remarkable, and to the public eye all seemed fair and prosperous; but there were causes at work which effected to bring his official administration to a painful and melancholy termination.

Needless now to recall the deplorable controversies and dissensions which sprung up in 1868–9. It is a painful chapter in the Catholic history of Chicago.

The malady that afflicted Bishop Duggan became so serious as to necessitate his removal, in 1869, to St. Louis, where he has remained ever since, under the kind and tender care of a community renowned for their experience and skill in the treatment of like cases. Though enjoying robust health, Bishop Duggan has never recovered, or shown signs of recovery, from the infirmity which had taken root and suddenly obscured an intellect once bright and promising.

Up to the recent appointment of Archbishop Feehan, Bishop Duggan remained titular Bishop of Chicago. Rev. Thos. J. Halligan acted as administrator after the removal of Bishop Duggan to St. Louis, and continued in that capacity until the arrival of the Administrator Bishop, Right Rev. Thomas J. Foley.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BISHOP FOLEY.

The appointment of the Rev. Thomas Foley, of Baltimore, as Bishop of Pergamus, *i. p. f.*, and Administrator of Chicago, was announced at the end of the year 1869, and his formal consecration took place in Baltimore, February 27, 1870. He came without ceremony or ostentation to enter upon his grave and critical charge, and the felicitous opening words of his installation address to the clergy and laity, delivered in the Cathedral of the Holy Name the Sunday following his arrival in the city, "Peace be to you!" was a happy omen to all the faithful. It was not only the key-note to—it was likewise the watchword of, his administration to the end.

During its comparatively brief existence, the Episcopal See of Chicago had been the scene of many and serious troubles.

There had been feuds and failures, contentions and recriminations, suspensions and removals, to the grief and affliction of the Catholic body at large; but at no time was there suspicion of personal scandal; and never did there appear a germ of schism in any of the unfortunate ecclesiastical difficulties that had arisen between the Ordinary and his clerics. These troubles were bruited abroad as indicating that Chicago was an ungovernable and an intractable diocese, though never was impression less well founded.

Certainly there had been difficulties from time to time. Authority may have exercised its power in instances with doubtful wisdom; and obedience and docility too often, perhaps, were wanting on the part of those whose duty it should have been to set the example of submission. But all this, and much more, that might be alluded to, it is not wise to recall in specific detail, still less to comment on and criticise. To ignore it altogether, however, would be to omit what has passed into the public history of the period.

From the beginning to the lamented close of Bishop Foley's administration, no sign of faction, no token of feud, ever made an appearance, and he left the diocese at his decease in a condition of concord and prosperity, which constitutes the best tribute and the highest testimony to his prudence as an administrator, to his zeal as a bishop, to his charity as a man.

The overwhelming disaster of the great fire in October, 1871, razed to the ground many of the finest churches and leading Catholic institutions of learning and charity. Besides "dear old Saint Mary's," there was swept away the Cathedral of the Holy Name, the beautiful Benedictine Church of St. Joseph, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, St. Michael's (Redemptionists), and St. Paul's.

Of the charitable institutions, first in all minds was the Orphan Asylum, then situate adjacent to the Cathedral. The poor orphans were all saved by the almost superhuman exertions of the good Sisters in charge, of the Order of St. Joseph. The convent and asylum of the Good Shepherd, the Alexian Brothers' hospital, and the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, the Convent and Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, the Christian Brothers' Academy, and the schools attached to all the churches named, except only the Cathedral, which, by some strange anomaly, was up to this without a parochial school! All these, together with convents and academies of the German congregations, were utterly swept away in that memorable fire.

Needless to refer to the wreck and ruin of private homes, and to the public and personal losses caused by the fire.

Ten years have not yet passed since that eventful October night, and yet scarcely a vestige of that wreck now remains visible, and, more surprising still, the fire itself is hardly a living memory. If referred to at all, it is as if it were an event in the far away past, like the great fire of London.

So swiftly do we live in these days of electricity and telephones!

But the great destruction and loss was met by Bishop Foley with a promptness and decision which brought out the strength and beauty of his character in a stronger light. The orphans were homeless: he instantly provided for them. A large number were transferred to asylums in the cities of St. Louis, Cincinnati and Milwaukee. The Good Shepherd nuns, and the religious of the other houseless orders, and their different charges, were provided with temporary asylums.

The Bishop himself accepted the hospitality of the Jesuit Fathers, and made their college his home. His fine house, corner of Michigan avenue and Madison streets, with its valuable and unique library, rare paintings—accumulated in great part by Bishop Duggan—had gone into the common wreck. A few of the books, and two or three pictures, hastily rescued, were all that remained. His solicitude, however, was for more important interests and concerns. He dispatched several of the leading priests on missions through the country to collect funds to aid in rebuilding and restoring what had been destroyed. He encouraged all who had suffered to begin anew.

The unexampled energy which characterized the rebuilding of Chicago infused itself into all circles and classes. The Catholics, owing to position and circumstances, were least able to set the example in this gigantic task, but, aided by generous benefactions from abroad, they, too, set to work and proved themselves no laggards in reconstruction. The cathedral was rebuilt, more beautiful than before; a new St. Mary's was provided, although in a different quarter; the other churches were gradually renewed; convents, asylums, hospitals, schools, were reared again in the familiar places, and, after the lapse of a few years, affairs were restored to a settled condition.

Meantime the population of the city had grown beyond all calculation. Not only were the disasters of the fire repaired in an incredibly short space of time, but it was made to appear as if, indeed, the fire itself was only a "blessing in disguise." A new era, and a grander destiny, seemed to open out in prospect for this wonderful city. Certainly no people in history have

shown themselves more energetic, more public spirited, more broad minded, than have the men who rebuilt Chicago; nor is there a city in America more free from the cramping restraints of bigotry.

The Catholic charities and public institutions of Chicago are a proof and a testimony to this honorable characteristic. People of every denomination, and of no denomination at all, aided in the hour of necessity; and a large class of non-Catholic merchants and others continue still to help them generously.

After the fire, numerous additional religious orders were introduced, and nearly all the known communities and religious congregations—those at all events known in the United States—now possess a foothold and institutions in Chicago. The most notable, though the humblest of the late comers, The Little Sisters of the Poor, have a spacious house and upwards of one hundred inmates.

It would be tedious and monotonous to give in detail the titles of the religious orders established in Chicago—the Catholic Directory and even the Chicago Directory will serve to supply the *hiatus* for those curious in such matters.

The number of the Catholic population of Chicago has long been a disputed question.

It is certainly not fewer than 200,000 souls, and there are those whose judgment in the matter is entitled to consideration, who affirm that it approaches more nearly to 250,000, or one-half the entire population of the city.

The growing importance of Chicago, it is known, had long ago fixed the attention of the authorities of the Holy See, and but for the obstacles growing out of abnormal relations and the situation of the titular Bishop, it is not doubted that it would have been created a Metropolitan See at the time that dignity was conferred on Milwaukee.

Bishop Foley would have worthily become the dignity, but it was ordained otherwise.

In the prime of his manhood, in the midst of his usefulness, and surrounded by the honorable and shining monuments of his zeal, his charity and his love for religion, he was unexpectedly to all, called to receive the reward appointed for the faithful shepherd. He died February 19th, 1879.

With the death of the greatly lamented Bishop Foley, this sketch may suitably be brought to a conclusion.

By way of supplement, a few statistics may be grouped showing the Catholic population of the City, the number of Churches, Schools and Academies, Asylums, Hospitals and other institution founded by, and under the patronage of that denomination.

The number of Churches in the city, including also Hyde Park, and the town of Lake, both practically forming part of the city, is 43:

The Catholic population of the city and the towns named, is not less than 250,000.

The school attendance in the Catholic parochical Schools and Academies is fully 25,000.

The College maintained by the Jesuits, St. Ignatius College, supports a staff of 23 professors, and has an attendance of 200 students. St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum shelters and provides for 300 Orphans.

The German Catholic Orphan Asylum for 100, and an Asylum for Polish and Bohemian children.

The Catholic Reformatory for boys under the charge of the Christain Brothers, contains on an everage, 175 boys.

The House of the Good Shepherd has upwards of 300 inmates, under the benificent guidance of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

The Home for the Aged Poor, provides for 103 old people of both sexes, whose daily wants are ministerd to by the prodigies of charity, "The Little Sisters of the Poor."

Three great hospitals are sustained by the Catholic religious orders. The Mercy Hospital by the Sisters of Mercy; St. Joseph's Hospital by the Sisters of Charity; and the Alexian Hospital by the Alexian Brothers.

The Catholic Female Academies are numerous, and occupy a high rank. We may instance:

St. Xavier's Academy, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy; the two Academies of the Sacred Heart, by the ladies of that Institute; besides several Seminaries conducted by German Sisterhoods.

Very many of the Catholic churches of the city are fine and costly edifices—notably the Cathedral of the Holy Name, Church of the Holy Family (Jesuit), St. James' Church, (Wabash Ave.) St. John's Church (Clark and 18th,) St. Mary's, St. Columbkills, St. Anthony's, St. Michael's, St. Joseph, St. Anne's, St. Stanislau's etc. etc.

The Catholic charitable institutions, and societies claim a separate chapter, but the limit of space, assigned to this sketch will not admit even the most meager notice.

Considering the position and resources of the Catholic population, it must be admitted that prodigies of religious and charitable zeal have been shown in building up and maintaining so many costly institutions devoted to the service of God, and the needs of their fellow creatures.

Innumerable temperance, and benevolent societies, the noble

organization of St. Vincent de Paul, serve to promote the welfare and elevation of the members, and assist the suffering poor of the city.

By the dying wish of Bishop Foley, his vicar-general, the Rev. Dr. John McMullen, became the administrator of the diocese, an appointment which was subsequently confirmed by the authorities of the church.

He conducted the affairs of the diocese with signal ability and discretion until the recent appointment and installation of the Most Rev. P. A. Feehan, Archbishop of Chicago, who commences his rule under happy auspices, and who already has won the esteem and affection of his people.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF CHICAGO.

BY M. E. COLE.

The following act, establishing the collection district of Chicago, was passed by the Congress of the United States on the 16th day of July, 1846:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled; That a collection district be and hereby is established upon the western shore of Lake Michigan, to be called the District of Chicago, within which the port of Chicago shall be a port of entry, on the western shore of said lake, from the dividing line of the State of Indiana and Illinois, northward, to the town and river Sheboygan, and inclusive of the same, which are within the territory of Wisconsin. A collector shall be appointed for said district, who shall receive the same amount of annual compensation as the collector of the district of Michilimackinac.

Prior to this date Chicago was a port of delivery in the collection district of Detroit, Michigan, with Mr. W. B. Snowhook as deputy collector. By this act Milwaukee was included in and became a part of the collection district of Chicago, and remained so until September 28, 1850, when Congress cut off that portion of the district lying in the State of Wisconsin, and included it in the new district of Milwaukee.

The following table gives the names of those who have held the appointment of Collector of Customs at the Port of Chicago from date of establishment of the port, with date of commission and term of service:

NAME.	DATE OF COMMISSION.	FROM	TO
W. B. Snowhook,	August 18, 1846,	August 27, 1846,	July 5, 1849.
Jacob Russell,	May 3, 1849,	June 6, 1849,	April 18, 1853.
W. B. Snowhook,	March 18, 1853,	April 19, 1853,	July 31, 1855.
Philip Conley,	July 10, 1855,	August 1, 1855,	April 30, 1857.
Jacob Fry,	March 31, 1857,	May 1, 1857,	June 30, 1858.
B. F. Stroeher,	June 15, 1858,	July 1, 1858,	April 30, 1861.
Julius White,	March 30, 1861,	May 1, 1861,	October 2, 1861.
Luther Haven,	October 3, 1861,	October 3, 1861,	March 9, 1866.
T. J. Kinsella,	Deputy,	March 10, 1866.	June 30, 1866.
W. B. Scates,	June 11, 1866,	July 1, 1866,	June 30, 1869.
J. E. McLean,	May 18, 1869,	July 1, 1869,	July 17, 1872.
N. B. Judd,	July 2, 1872,	July 18, 1872,	Sept. 30, 1875.
J. R. Jones,	September 21, 1875,	October 1, 1875,	December 2, 1877.
Wm. H. Smith,	September 6, 1877,	December 3, 1877,	....

The following comparison of the numbers employed in the Custom House in its early history, with those of a recent date is one of the evidences that marks growth:

During the year ending June 30 1850, there were employed in the Custom House service in the district of Chicago—

One collector, five deputies and inspectors, one secret inspector. In all, seven persons. During the year ending June 30 1880, there were employed, one collector, six deputy collectors, one surveyor, one auditor, one assistant auditor, one cashier, ten clerks, one watchman, three messengers, four storekeepers, one appraiser, two examiners, one opener and packer, twenty inspectors. In all, 53 persons.

The first importation of foreign merchandise into Chicago, as a separate district, was made on steamboat "Boston." Pease, master, from Port Sarnia, Canada West; value, $47,000; duty collected, $14,00. The record does not give the name of the importer or character of the goods. This is but one instance, of the many, of the imperfection of the record regarding the foreign commerce of Chicago in the earlier times.

The best data that can be obtained regarding the imports, exports, duties collected, etc., must be very far from complete so far as actual aggregates and volume of foreign transactions are concerned, because large amounts of importations have been, and are still being made by Chicago houses, which are received at, and duties collected by, the customs officers at the seaboard, and in no way enter into the aggregates of the foreign traffic of Chicago; and in exporting, very little of the enormous business

really done by Chicago houses, and which, to be accurate, should be here exhibited, is sent through the Chicago Custom House, but instead, goes through those at the tidewater, thus leaving no data for aggregating on even basis for estimating. Then it will be seen, in tables that are here given, that after exhausting the records of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics; the Register of the Treasury; and the Commissioner of Customs, the figurers are yet incomplete, for while there is a record of duties collected since and including 1847, there is nothing to show the value of foreign commerce at the Port of Chicago until the year 1856; and as far as any record that might once have existed in Chicago regarding transactions prior to October 9th 1871, the fire at that date destroyed them, leaving only the records in Washington, on which to build the foundation of the later and wonderful growth of the City.

The following table exhibits the Imports of merchandise at the Port of Chicago, for each year ending June 30th, beginning with 1856—there being no record of prior years—compiled from the official records at Washington, not embracing goods imported by Chicago merchants upon which duties are paid at the seaboard:

Year Ending June 30.	Direct from Canada.	Rec'd in Bond from other districts under Warehousing Acts.	Rec'd without Appraisement under Act of July 14, 1870.	Total Imports.
1856	$ 277,404	No data.	.....	$ 277,404
1857	326,325	" "	.....	326,325
1858	222,930	" "	.....	222,930
1859	93,588	" "	.....	93,588
1860	60,214	" "	.....	60,214
1861	77,348	" "	.....	77,348
1862	62,129	" "	.....	62,129
1863	134,204	" "	.....	134,204
1864	322,352	" "	.....	322,352
1865	311,455	" "	.....	311,455
1866	1,095,585	" "	.....	1,095,585
1867	355,790	" "	....	355,790
1868	344,174	$1,110,508	.....	1,454,682
1869	423,889	791,114	.....	1,215,003
1870	735,894	951,947	No data.	1,687,841
1871	575,154	1,467,345	" "	2,042,499
1872	953,111	1,635,627	" "	2,588,738
1873	1,658,625	746,059	$ 3,139,572	5,544,256
1874	808,517	282,597	1,959,161	3,050,275
1875	561,549	178,237	2,721,903	3,461,689
1876	521,537	498,261	3,065,492	4,085,290
1877	327,420	656,701	2,229,319	3,213,440
1878	399,920	309,795	2,693,618	3,403,333
1879	272,966	304,648	2,583,621	3,161,035
1880	847,935	667,544	4,027,273	5,542,752

The following table shows by years the receipts at the Port of Chicago, from August 27, 1846, to June 30, 1880, on account of duties on Imports, Tonnage duty and Marine Hospital money; also, the expense of collecting the revenue from customs:

Year Ending June 30.	Duties.	Tonnage Duty.	Marine Hospital Collections.	Expense of Collecting.
1847	$ 21.75	.....	$ 259.74	$ 1,332.26
1848	1,104.90	.....	640.47	1,784.83
1849	2,045.26	.....	707.30	2,609.52
1850	4,256.07	.....	1,060.55	4,935 21
1851	1,924.48	.....	776.75	2,816.00
1852	10,610.85	.....	577.89	2,400.00
1853	110,885.46	.....	838.40	2,853.01
1854	332,814.28	.....	1,119.50	5,017.75
1855	573,921.75	.....	1,549.05	7,295.00
1856	205,195.00	$ 372.50	1,826.50	11,971.83
1857	143,009.23	.....	2,151.97	14,536.00
1858	80,149.91	.....	1,598.64	14,097.11
1859	23,131.89	$ 277.00	1,044.67	12,723.00
1860	68,919.53	.....	1,661.13	12,576.00
1861	45,149.35	.....	2,137.32	12,525.00
1862	21,628,14	.....	2,753.67	12,809.35
1863	65,980.59	$ 9,760.13	3,432.10	12,317.45
1864	158,454.92	10,962.97	3,581.70	15,670.00
1865	127,931.74	28,006.60	3,910.02	17,213.00
1866	393,406.55	22,953.85	4,137.06	20,146.40
1867	511,081.89	32,842.78	3,763.55	31,585.40
1868	659,380.73	31,192.72	4,475.64	59,831.83
1869	583,835.71	32,859.07	4,370.50	70,019.82
1870	691,066.82	28,135.07	4,189.89	58,425.30
1871	827,964.81	7,922.03	1,384.42	65,942 00
1872	1,397,395.72	9,434.84	7,272.11	100,917.99
1873	2,150,536.32	8,530.56	7,928.66	161,662.39
1874	1,354,645.39	7,959.82	8,214.56	134,981 97
1875	1,447,290.21	3,800.13	7,951.64	121,308.44
1876	1,647,002.17	2,451.46	6,901.39	144,484.10
1877	1,370,079.52	2,096.54	7,112.92	123,818.96
1878	1,497,939.12	2,846.93	7,067.65	98,191.92
1879	1,482,063.56	4,882 06	6,906.66	94,210.48
1880	2,233,537.62	5,382.42	7,529.20	119,682.50

As has been previously stated, the exports direct from Chicago, as shown in the following table, are not complete, and do not give a correct statement of the total or aggregate export business at the port of Chicago, as the only available statistics are those covering exports sent from Chicago on through bills, it being impossible to separate shipments from Chicago which go through other custom houses, from the business of that district, thus affording no opportunity for Chicago to know the real magnitude of its export trade.

The following table shows the value of merchandise exports from Chicago for the years named, as shown in the record of direct and through business from the port:

Year Ending June 30.	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.
1856	$1,345,223	.....	$1,345,223
1857	1,585,096	$ 308.00	1,585,404
1858	1,713,077	.....	1,713,077
1859	1,269,385	.....	1,269,385
1860	1,165,183	.....	1,165,183
1861	3,522,343	.....	3,522,343
1862	2,303,275	.....	2,303,275
1833	3,544,085	.....	3,544,085
1864	3,529,034	.....	3,529,034
1865	4,590,350	.....	4,590,350
1866	2,636,589	$ 7,936.00	2,644,475
1867	1,818,463	5,908.00	1,824,371
1868	5,052,062	.....	5,052,062
1869	3,742,256	.....	3,742,256
1870	2,611,678	$ 1,394.00	2,613,072
1871	5,573,660	6,514.00	5,580,174
1872	3,088,629	1,757.00	3,090,386
1873	6,039,125	10,538.00	6,049,663
1874	7,110,052	2,884.00	7,112,936
1875	3,427,759	1,596.00	3,429,355
1876	3,398,847	47,704.00	3,446,551
1877	3,413,373	21,265.00	3,434,638
1878	3,765,855	16,044.00	3,781,899
1879	2,829,582	6,980.00	2,836,562
1880	3,438,671	6,708.00	3,445,379

The following table shows the number and tonnage of vessels built, also the tonnage of vessels documented at the port of Chicago, Ill., from August, 1846, to June 30, 1880, inclusive:

Year Ending June 30.	Total Number Built.	Total Tonnage.	Registered Tonnage.	Enrolled and licensed Tonnage.	Aggregate.
1847	.....	.....	.....	3,951.56	3,951.56
1848	.....	.....	.....	10,488.62	10,488.62
1849	13	2,210.84	.....	17,332.43	17,332.43
1850	13	1,691.21	.....	21,242.17	21,242.17
1851	4	313.56	.....	23,103.45	23,103.45
1852	17	1,217.28	.....	25,209.30	25,209.30
1853	9	1,158 35	.....	27,015.75	27,015.75
1854	16	3,255.08	.....	31,041.04	31,041.04
1855	12	1,742.15	.....	50,972.00	50,972.00
1856	21	4,404.47	.....	57,407 30	57,407.30
1857	9	2,722.78	.....	67,316.92	67,316.92
1858	7	586.42	.....	67,001.23	67,001.23
1859	3	230.01	1,057.56	67,065.78	68,123.39
1860	.....	.....	1,624.00	77,192.05	78,816.05

Year Ending June 30.	Total Number Built.	Total Tonnage.	Registered Tonnage.	Enrolled and licensed Tonnage.	Aggregate.
1861	4	1,537.20	.....	85,743.66	85,743.66
1862	5	1,411.83	1,100.89	107,256.48	108,357.42
1863	85	9,783.18	1,385.59	125,298 76	126,684.40
1864	96	11,468.01	9,682.37	150,558.65	160,241.07
1865	34	3,521.07	4,223.31	71,220.55	75,444.41
1866	12	942.39	2,569.50	84,115.83	86,685.33
1867	36	1,896.22	521.91	94,814.14	95,336.05
1868	29	7,153.80	3,313.61	97,346.36	100,753.71
1869	16	2,346.03	2,079.65	101,966.22	104,314.58
1870	15	1,676.67	956.04	92,365.16	93,625.49
1871	12	1,771.49	494.96	93,423.98	93,918.97
1872	6	926.41	.....	95,195.04	95,195.04
1873	18	4,664.15	3,373.74	102,878.99	106,252.73
1874	14	3,562.98	3,644.27	92,322.20	95,966.47
1875	12	500.89	8,843.06	77,234.24	86,077.30
1876	11	775.93	11,915.40	76,302.85	88,218.25
1877	6	377.10	14,980.69	69,885.53	84,866.22
1878	13	512.13	17,406.48	68,579.97	85,986.45
1879	5	180.46	13,042.61	65,175.92	78,218.53
1880	1	37.04	5,062.96	71,415.06	76,478.02

VITAL STATISTICS OF CHICAGO.

Among the essential conditions necessary to the growth of large cities, a healthy location may be set down as the first and even an indispensable one. Torpid livers are a millstone around the necks of business men, and are a stumbling-block to the progress of any locality whose inhabitants are afflicted by them. Happily for Chicago, its atmosphere is salubrious, notwithstanding the whole country around is flat. Its elevation above tide-water is 600 feet as an average throughout the city, and from the great plateau on which it stands the general grade of the entire country southward to the Gulf of Mexico declines at the rate of between three and four inches to the mile. To the East, down the country, along the lakes and through the valley of the St. Lawrence, the declination is only a trifle less per mile on the average, the distance to the sea being somewhat greater. Northwardly and westwardly, for about 500 miles, the general level of the country (though varied by gentle slopes and oval ridges to the west, and some precipitous river banks and uplifts to the north) is only a little above that of Chicago, and over this broad surface the wind plays, breathes and ventilates, dissolving and neutralizing any stagnant or dormant accumulation of bad air.

Table showing the number of deaths each year from 1843 to 1879, inclusive:

Year.	Population.	Deaths.	Remarks.
1843	7,580	129	
1844	8,000	306	Increased mortality due to prevalence of scarlet fever.
1845	12,088	313	Scarlet fever prevailed.
1846	14,169	359	" " "
1847	16,859	520	The first record of deaths by City Sexton.
1848	20,023	580	First small-pox "scare" occurred this year.
1849	23,047	1,547	Cholera epidemic—678 deaths; one in 36 of the population.
1850	28,269	1,334	Cholera epidemic—420 deaths.
1851	34,434	843	216 deaths from cholera; small-pox prevails.
1852	38,733	1,652	630 deaths from cholera, and 9 deaths from small-pox.
1853	60,652	1,205	Only one death from cholera; 54 deaths from dysentery.
1854	65,872	3,834	Increased mortality mostly due to cholera, from which there were 1,424 deaths.
1855	80,028	1,983	Only 147 deaths from cholera; 150 from dysentery; 30 from small-pox.
1856	84,113	1,897	Typhoid and malarial fevers prevalent; 16 deaths from small-pox.
1857	93,000	2,170	Remittent and typhoid fever prevalent; scarlet fever appears; dysentery epidemic.
1858	90,000	2,050	Scarlet fever and dysentery prevail.
1859	95,000	1,826	" " " " "
1860	112,172	2,059	Decrease of scarlet fever and increase of diptheria; of the latter 154 deaths occurred.
1861	120,000	2,072	Only 45 deaths from scarlet fever, and 112 from diptheria.
1862	138,835	2,578	335 deaths from scarlet fever; slight increase from nearly all other causes.
1863	160,000	3,523	405 deaths from scarlet fever; 115 deaths from small pox; erysipelas prevails.
1864	169,353	4,044	From small-pox, 283 deaths; typhoid fever, 192 deaths; erysipelas, 34 deaths.
1865	178,900	3,663	From small-pox, 57 deaths; typhoid and malarial fever, 330 deaths.
1866	200,413	5,931	Deaths from cholera, 990; typhoid and malarial fevers, 422 deaths.
1867	220,000	4,648	Only 10 deaths from cholera; 123 deaths from small-pox.
1868	252,054	5,984	Small-pox, diarrhœal diseases, scarlet and typhoid fevers prevail.
1869	280,000	6,488	No epidemic influences; increase of deaths due to increased population.
1870	298,700	7,323	No epidemic influences; increase of deaths due to increased population.

Year.	Pop'la'n.	Death.	Remarks.
1871	334,270	6,976	Statistics imperfect in consequence of the destruction of Records by the Great Fire, Oct. 9.
1872	367,396	10,156	655 deaths from small pox. Increased mortality due to overcrowding of workmen engaged in rebuilding the City.
1873	380,000	9,557	517 deaths from small pox, and 117 from cholera.
1874	395,409	8,025	No deaths from cholera; 90 from small pox.
1875	407,000	7,899	Principal causes of death, diarrhœa and lung diseases.
1876	420,000	8,573	Scarlet fever and diptheria prevail.
1877	439,976	8,026	" " " " "
1878	450,000	7,422	Free from epidemic influences.
1879	480,000	8,614	Diptheria and scarlet fever prevailed; no epidemic.

The population for several of the foregoing years has been estimated, and, for several, based on directory statistics.

The following table shows the nativities of those who died in Chicago in the year 1879:

Nativities.		REMARKS.
Chicago	4,808	Of the aggregate deaths this year were 4,570 males, 4,044 females, 1,915 married, 6,095 single, 414 widows, 190 widowers, 8,503 white, 111 colored. Premature births, 101; still births, 692.
U. S.—elsewhere	1,423	
Germany	911	
Ireland	748	
Other foreign countries	668	
Unknown	56	

Comparative mortality for the ten years ending 1879, giving the death rate per thousand of population:

Year.		REMARKS.
1869	23.17	The death rate for 1879, for New York was 25.82; Brooklyn, 20.49; Boston, 19.72; Philadelphia, 17.17; New Orleans, 23.66; San Francisco, 14.13; Baltimore, 19.33.
1870	24.52	
1871	20.87	
1872	27.62	
1873	25.16	
1874	20.29	
1875	19.41	
1876	20.41	
1877	18 24	
1878	16.50	
1879	17.23	

The foregoing statistics have been obtained from M. K. Gleason, M. D., Register of Vital Statistics for Chicago.

THE CALUMET CLUB.

[BY F. B. TUTTLE.

The Calumet Club was organized on the 4th day of April, 1878, at a meeting of gentlemen, who, "being desirous of forming a club for social purposes," had signed a document pledging their personal assistance in the organization of the same. A charter was procured the 13th of April, the following officers having been elected to serve for the first year:—President, Gen. Anson Stager; Vice-President, Mr. Chas. J. Barnes; Treasurer and Secretary, Mr. F. B. Tuttle; Directors, the above mentioned officers and Messrs. Chas. W. Drew, Augustus N. Eddy, J. G. Coleman, S. J. Glover, E. F. Getchell, Edson Keith, and Wm. Chisholm.

The large residence on the northeast corner of Michigan Avenue and 18th Street was secured under a three years lease, and thrown open for an inspection by members, Monday evening, May 27th, 1878.

The formal opening occurred June 3rd, when the club gave its first reception to the members and their ladies. The reception proved a success in every particular, and the precursor of other equally enjoyable entertainments. In the following October, the Club gave its next reception, when one hundred and thirty meritorious works of art were displayed on the walls of the Club House—a rather ambitious undertaking for a six months old Club. The art reception was followed by one given to the State Microscopical Society, the members thereof exhibiting over one hundred instruments with interesting objects.

On the 24th of January, 1879, a reception was given to Miss Minnie Hauk, "as a mark of recognition of her efforts on behalf of the sufferers by the Chicago fire."

In pursuance of a resolution, adopted at the first annual meeting of the Club, a reception to the Old Settlers of Chicago, resident prior to 1840, was given on the evening of the 27th of May, 1879, the first anniversary of the opening of the Club House.

It was indeed a happy thought, to thus honor the men, who by their perseverence and "go-ahead-ativeness," had done so much to build up the city. They had made Chicago their home when it was but a small prairie village; had suffered privations incident to a frontier settlement, but had felt sufficient confidence to invest such funds as they accumulated, for very few brought

money with them when they came to the "far West," in land that sold in 1835 at prices that now seem incredible, as for instance, $1.25 an acre for the ground on which the Club House now stands. A syndicate composed of several members of the Club, has just purchased 54 x 163½ feet of this same property, with improvements, at $38,000, with the intention of tearing down the present building, and erecting on the site, one in every way suited to Club purposes, containing in addition to the ordinary reception rooms, etc., a large assembly room for art exhibitions, concerts, lectures, banquets, etc.; suites of private dining rooms, bowling alleys, and a grand dining room, besides eighteen or twenty rooms for members, the income from which will materially aid in offsetting the interest to be paid on the amount of money invested in the establishment.

But to return to the Old Settler's reception, an occasion that gathered together so many silvered-haired gentlemen that a lady who rode to the Club House with her husband, gazing through the open window at the unusual sight in Chicago, actually did her best to persuade her husband not to enter, as "it was a secret society, for they all wore white caps." The guests at this time were seated in the parlors where they listened to addresses by the Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, who held a service in Fort Dearborn in 1831; Ex-Chief Justice John Dean Caton, "the father of the Chicago bar," who in his own words "was an old resident of six weeks' standing before two hundred and fifty inhabitants could be counted to authorize a village incorporation under the general laws of the State;" Judge Henry W. Blodgett, who came to Chicago in 1831, a mere lad, but strong enough to be one of the hundred who bore muskets in old Fort Dearborn, when every man, woman, and child in Illinois north of Ottawa and east of Rock River, were gathered there for safety; Judge James Grant, now of Davenport, Iowa; the Hon. John Wentworth, who has done so much to rescue from oblivion the early history of Chicago; Judge Grant Goodrich, who came to Chicago when there were but eight frame buildings in all the territory now covered by the city; the Hon. J. Young Scammon, who in an early day was said to be "crazy on the subject of schools," and it was added "that the people would not allow their money to be wasted;" ex-Lieut. Gov. Wm. Bross, who, though not technically an old settler, has been by his writings and researches, more or less identified with early Chicago; and by Henry Strong, Esq., who delivered an address of welcome that was replete with facts pertaining to the past and present of Chicago. The *Tribune* of the following day says:—

"The gathering was called to order at 8:30, by Mr. S. B. Cobb,

Chairman of the Committee on Reception, * * * * * * * and, the programme being completed, the Chairman further announced that the Old Settlers would adjourn from business to lunch.

And the old settlers didn't stay upon the order of their going, but repaired at once to the lunch-rooms adjoining. In one of these a long table was set with a cold supper of sandwiches, salads, and ices, reinforced by the delicious concoction of the fragrant berry. Such as could not get within this room were served in the reading-room. The table in the main supper-room was rendered additionally attractive by a clever imitation in sugar of Fort Dearborn, placed directly in the centre. After supper, Mark Beaubien got out his fiddle, "rosined" the bow, got the venerable instrument in tune, and in less time than it takes to write it, "Long John" Wentworth had a number of choice spirits under way to the accompaniment of the liveliest kind of dances. The veterans, ably assisted by some of the young men, who were n't exactly following out Long John's advice with regard to keeping such hours as would result in a surplus of corn on their Cobb (no more were the veterans themselves), scampered around at an equally lively rate, and the fun was of the fast and furious, though innocent, kind that a lot of happy children might indulge in. In short, it was glorious, and the old fellows, as well as the young fellows—to whom it must have been a novelty—enjoyed it for all it was worth. The festivities were drawn out until some time after midnight, when the gathering broke up, amidst many repetitions of the unanimous verdict that the old settlers' reception had been an unqualified success,—one far beyond the most sanguine hopes of its promoters,—and amidst a general wish that the reception might not be the last of its kind."

The "general wish" was gratified; as the reception not only proved an occasion of great enjoyment, both to the club and its guests, but also caused a renewed interest in the early history of Chicago, it was resolved by the Board of Directors, that such reception be given on the third Thursday of May in each year hereafter. The success of the reception was largely due to the Old Settlers' Committee of the club, who labored energetically to perfect its details and to compile a list of the early residents who were still living. On the 17th of November, Gen. and Mrs. U. S. Grant were received by the Club; and on the 15th of January a Reception was given by the Bachelor Members of the Club.

The first reception to the Old Settlers partook largely of a literary character, and succeeded in awakening a renewed interest in matters pertaining to early Chicago, and in causing many publications relating thereto, among others, a pamphlet contain-

ing the speeches made at the reception, and a record of the Old Settlers who registered that evening. The register was not as complete as it was hoped it would be, many of the elder gentlemen having been obliged to leave the reception before the speeches were concluded. On the occasion of the second annual reception to the Old Settlers, many names were added to the record, which is particularly interesting, as the dates, etc., were written by the parties themselves, with the exception of Mr. Oliver C. Crocker's, of Binghampton, N. Y., who came to the Club House one morning in July, 1879, to register, and before doing so, asked the privilege of resting a few moments on the lounge, as he felt ill. He grew rapidly worse and died the second day after. The dates were afterward supplied by his family. The following are the

NAMES OF THE OLD SETTLERS OF CHICAGO, WHO CAME PRIOR TO 1840, REGISTERED AT THE CALUMET CLUB.

NAME.	DATE OF ARRIVAL.	BIRTHDAY.	AGE.	PRESENT ADDRESS.
Adams, Charles	1835, Sept.	Norwalk, Conn.	65	Norwalk, Conn.
Adams, William H.	1837, Sept.	Westport, Conn.	64	Chicago.
Adsit, James M.	1838, April 2.	Spencertown, N. Y.	70	Chicago.
Allen, Edward R.	1839, July.	Cortland, N. Y.	61	Aurora, Ill.
Allen, Thomas,	1835, Oct.	Broome Co., N. Y.	70	Chicago.
Arnold, Isaac N.	1836, Oct.	Hartwick, N. Y.	64	104 Pine Street, Chicago.
Batchelor, Ezra,	1837, June 4.	Paxton, Mass.	59	Milwaukee.
Bailey, Bennet,	1834, August,	Harford Co., Md.	68	Chicago.
Baker, Franklin,	1838, May,	Watertown, N. Y.	62	Chicago.
Baldwin, William A.	1836, June 13,	Austerlitz, N. Y.	71	263½ Ill. Street, Chicago.
Balsley, John,	1839,	Pennsylvania.	66	Chicago.
Bascom, Flavel,	1833, July,	Lebanon, Conn.	76	Hinsdale, Ill.
Bates, John,	1832, May 20,	Fishkill, N. Y.	76	Chicago.
Beaubien, Mark,	1826,	Detroit, Mich.	79	Newark, Kendall Co., Ill.
Beecher, Jerome,	1833, July 1,	Remsen, N. Y.	61	Chicago.
Beggs, Stephen R.	1831, June,	Rockingham Co., Va.	78	Plainfield, Ill.
Berden, Nicholas,	1837, Sept.	Germany.	76	Englewood, Ill.
Blackman, Edwin,	1839, May,	Jericho, Vermont.	64	Chicago.
Blarsy, Barnhard,	1837, June,	Germany.	69	Chicago.
Blake S. Sanford,	1834, June 15,	Burlington, Vt.	63	Racine, Wis.
Blodgett, Henry W.	1837, June,	Massachusetts.	57	Waukegan.
Boone, Levi D.	1836, May 31,	Lexington, Ky.	70	Chicago.
Botsford, Jabez K.	1833.	Connecticut.	66	Chicago.
Bowen, Erastus S.	1833.	New York.	64	Chicago.
Bradley, David,	1835, Oct.	Groton, N. Y.	69	Chicago.
Bradwell, James B.	1834, June,	England.	51	Chicago.
Brookes, Henry,	1833, Oct.	England.	59	Hyde Park, Ill.
Brown, Lemuel,	1833, Feb.	Cumberland, R. I.	96	Kenwood, Ill.
Bryan, Frederick A.	1836, Oct.	England.	59	Chicago.
Burley, Arthur G.	1835, May 11,	Exeter, N. H.	66	Chicago.
Burley, Augustus H.	1837, May 25,	Exeter, N. H.	60	Chicago.
Burnet, Gen. Ward B.	1832, Aug.	Pennsylvania.	70	New York City.
Campbell, James,	1836, May,	Northumberland Co., Pa.	70	Chicago.
Carter, Thomas B.	1838, Sept.	New Jersey.	62	Chicago.
Carpenter, Abel E.	1833, June,	Savoy, Mass.	65	Aurora, Ill.
Carpenter, Philo,	1832,	Massachusetts.	74	Chicago.
Castle, Edward H.	1839, May,	Dutchess Co., N. Y.	69	Chicago.
Caton, John Dean,	1833, June,	Orange Co., N. Y.	67	Ottawa, Ill.
Chacksfield, Geo.	1835, Nov.	England.	70	Chicago.
Church, William L.	1836, May 16,	Lima, N. Y.	62	Kenwood, Ill.
Clarke, Henry W.	1838, June,	Watertown, N. Y.	64	Chicago.
Clarke, L. J.	1836,	Vermont,	51	Chicago.
Couch, James,	1836,	New York.	79	Chicago.
Clarke, Norman,	1835,	Vermont.	71	Racine, Wis.
Cobb, Silas B.	1833, May 29,	Montpelier, Vt.	67	Chicago.

NAME.	DATE OF ARRIVAL	BIRTHPLACE.	AGE.	PRESENT ADDRESS.
Cleaver, Charles,	1833, Oct. 23,	London, England.	64	Chicago.
Cook, Isaac,	1834, February,	New Jersey.	76	St. Louis.
Crocker, Oliver C.	1834, June,	Union, N. Y.	68	Binghampton, N. Y.
Densmore, Eleazer W.	1835, Sept.	Paris, N. Y.	58	Chicago.
DeWolf, Calvin,	1837, Oct. 31,	Luzerne Co., Penn.	64	Chicago.
Dodge, Martin,	1838, April,	Salt Point, N. Y.	64	Montague, Mich.
Dodge, W. S.	1839, May,	Salt Point, N. Y.	66	LaFayette, Ind.
Dodson, Christian B.	1833, August,	Burwick, Penn.	69	Geneva, Ill.
Doty, Theodorus,	1837,	New York.	77	Chicago.
Drummond, Thomas,	1835, May,	Bristol, Maine.	69	Winfield, Ill.
Dyer, G. R.	1835, Nov.	Clarendon, N. Y.	67	Joliet, Ill.
Eastman, L.	1839, April,	Amherst, Mass.	65	Maywood, Ill.
Egan, Wiley M.	1836, Nov.	Ballston, N. Y.	52	Chicago.
Elliott, James F. D.	1838, May 30,	New York.	55	Mattoon, Ill.
Ellithorpe, Albert C.	1839, April 1,	St. Albans, Vt.	56	Chicago.
Fergus, Robert,	1839, July 1,	Clasgow, Scotland.	64	Chicago.
Ferguson, Andrew,	1836, April,	Laurens, N. Y.	77	Geneva Lake, Wis.
Flood, Peter F.	1835, June,	Ireland.	64	Chicago.
Follansbee, Charles,	1836, May 9,	Massachusetts.	68	Chicago.
Freeman, Robert,	1833,	Pennsylvania.	70	Naperville.
Freer, L. C. Paine,	1836, May,	Auburn, N. Y.	65	Chicago.
Gale, Abram,	1835, May 22,	Warwick, Mass.	82	Galewood.
Gale Stephen F.	1835, May,	Exeter, N. H.	67	Chicago.
Gates, Philetus W.	1837, June,	Madison Co., N. Y.	62	Chicago.
Germain, George H.	1839,	New York,	63	Chicago.
Gilbert, Samuel H.	1836, June,	Bristol, England,	76	333 Walnut St., Chicago.
Goodrich, Grant,	1834,	New York,	67	Chicago.
Goodrich, T. W.	1832,	Benson, N. Y.	58	Milwaukee.
Goold, Nathaniel,	1838, July,	New Hampshire,	66	Chicago.
Graff, Peter,	1836, Sept. 10,	Albany, N. Y.	64	Chicago.
Granger, Elihu,	1836,	New Hampshire,	76	Kaneville.
Grannis, Amos,	1836,	New York,	54	Chicago.
Grant, James,	1834, April 23,	Enfield, North Carolina,	66	Davenport, Iowa.
Gray, Franklin D.	1839, Sep.	Sharon, Conn.	61	Chicago,
Gray, George M.	1834, June,	Sherborn, N. Y.	60	Chicago,
Gray, John,	1837,	New York,	68	Jefferson.
Gray, Joseph H.	1836, July,	Boston, Mass.	67	Hyde Park.
Gray, William B. H.	1837, Sept.	Boston, Mass.	58	Chicago.
Hadduck, Edward H.	1833, May,	Salisbury, N. H.	68	Chicago.
Haines, E. M.	1835, May,	Oneida, N. Y.		Waukegan, Ills.
Hall, Philip A.	1836, June 4,	New York,	60	Chicago.
Hamilton, Polemus D.	1834,	New York,	65	Chicago.
Hanchett, John L.	1835, June,	New York,	73	Chicago.
Harmon, E. R.	1833, Aug.	Fredonia, N. Y.	62	Chicago.
Harmon, Issaac N.	1833, Aug. 3,	Fredonia, N. Y.	52	Chicago.
Hawley, John S.	1837, May,	Ridgefield, Conn.	59	Aurora, Ill.
Herrick, Charles,	1837, April,	Westford, Mass.	66	Racine, Wis.
Hickling, William,	1835, March,	England,	65	Chicago.
Higgins, Eben,	1836, April,	Jamestown, N. Y.	64	Chicago.
Higgins, Van H.	1837,	New York,	58	Kenwood.
Hilliard, Lorin P.	1836, May,	Unadilla Forks, N. Y.	64	Chicago,
Hoard, Samuel,	1836, Oct, 13,	Westminster, Mass.	80	205 Morgan St., Chicago.
Hoffman, Michael,	1837, Oct.	Germany,	68	Chicago.
Holden, Charles N.	1837,	New York,	63	Chicago.
Holden, James,	1839, May,	Springfield, N. Y.	64	
Hollinshead, Wm.	1836, May,	Stroudsberg, Pa.	74	Elkhorn, Wis
Hooker, Jas. L.	1834, June,	Sackett's Harbor, N.Y.	59	Watertown, N.Y.
Horton, Dennison,	1836, Aug.	Connecticut.	63	Chicago,
Howe, Frederick A.	1834, July,	Buffalo, N. Y.	50	Chicago,
Huntington, Alonzo,	1835,	Vermont,	70	Chicago,
Hovne, Thomas,	1837, Sept. 1,	New York.	61	Chicago,
Hubbard, Gurdon S.	1818, Oct. 1,	Windsor, Vt.	76	243 White St., Chicago.
Jones, Nathaniel A.	1838, Sept.	Rutland, Vt.	77	Chicago.
Kehoe, Michael,	1839, May,	Ireland,	73	390 W. 12th St., Chicago.
Kellogg, Artemas B.	1838, Nov.	.....	61	Chicago.
Killick, I. E.	1836, Sept.	London, Eng.	76	Southport.
Kimball, Mark,	1839, Sept.	Genesee Co. N. Y.	58	Chicago.
Kimball, Martin N.	1836, Oct.	Saratoga, N. Y.	68	Chicago.
Kimball, Walter,	1833, Sept.	Rome, N. Y.	69	Chicago.
King, Tuthill,	1835, April,	New York	75	Chicago.
Knickerbocker, H. W.	1833, Oct.	New York,	66	Naperville.
Lane, Elisha B.	1836,	New Hampshire,	64	Chicago.
Lane, James,	1836,	Ireland,	75	Chicago.
Lange, Oscar.	1838, Sept.	Gothenberg, Sweden,	69	Chicago.
Laflin, Mathew,	1837, May,	Southwick, Mass.	77	Chicago.
Lathrop, Sam. J.	1834, Sept.	Providence, R. I.	68	Bristol, Ill.

NAME.	DATE OF ARRIVAL.	BIRTHPLACE.	AGE.	PRESENT ADDRESS.
Lock, William,	1839,	Philadelphia,	66	Chicago.
Loomis, Henry,	1836, Feb.	Burlington, Vt.	62	Burlington, Vt.
Loomis, Horatio G.	1834, May 3,	Burlington, Vt.	64	Naperville.
Manierre, Edward,	1835, Aug. 4,	New London, Conn.	66	Prairie Ave., Chicago.
Marshall, James A.	1832,	London, Eng.	70	Chicago.
McDaniels, Alexander,	1836, May 27,	Bath, N. Y.	64	Willmette.
McDonnell, Chas.	1836, April,	Ireland,	71	Chicago.
McFarran, Jno. H.	1837, April,	Whitehall N. Y.	67	Chicago.
McNeill, Geo.	1837, June,	England,	62	Chicago.
Metz, Christopher,	1837, Oct.	Baden, Germany,	57	Chicago.
Mills, John R.	1839,	Connecticut,	65	Chicago.
Milliken, Isaac L.	1837, June 17,	Saco, Maine,	63	Chicago.
Miltimore, Ira,	1836,	Verm't, [died June 10,'79]	66	Janesville, Wis.
Mohr, M.	1835, May,	Switzerland,	71	Watertown, Wis.
Morrison, Daniel,	1835,	New York,	59	Chicago.
Morrison, Ephriam,	1834, Oct.	Oneida Co., N. Y.	64	Chicago.
Morrison, Ezekiel,	1833,	New York,	68	Chicago.
Mueller, Jacob,	1834, May,	Rochbach, Ger.	68	Chicago.
Murphy, James K.	1835, August,	Ireland,	54	Chicago.
Murray, R. N.	1831, July,	Washington, N. Y.	64	Naperville.
Myrick, Willard F.	1837, April,	Bridgeport, Conn.	69	Chicago.
Noble, John,	1831, June,	Yorkshire, England.	76	743 Sedgw'k St., Chicago.
Ogden, Mahlon D.	1836, June 14,	Walton, Dela. Co., N. Y.	67	Elmhurst, Ill.
Oliver, John A.	1839, June,	Elizabeth, Union Co., N.J.	64	Chicago.
Osborn, A. L.	1835, July,	Watertown, Conn.	64	Laporte, Ind.
Osborn, William,	1834, May 1,	Ridgefield, Conn.	67	Chicago.
Otis, Seth T.	1837, January,	Watertown, N. Y.	67	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Page, Peter,	1837, June 12,	Pompey, N. Y.	64	Chicago.
Patterson, J. G.	1836, October,	Newburg, N. Y.	63	Vernon, Ill.
Parker, John,	1837, October,	Boston, Mass.	70	Hinsdale, Mich.
Peacock, Elijah,	1837, September,	England.	62	Chicago.
Peacock, Joseph,	1830,	England.	66	Chicago.
Peck, Charles E.	1836, November,	Montpelier, Vt.	64	Chicago.
Pierce, Asahel,	1833, October 8,	East Calais, Vt.	66	Chicago.
Plum, W. V.	1836, July,	New York City.	66	Aurora, Ill.
Pool, J. W.	1831, October,	Philadelphia.	75	149 W. Wash. St., Chicago.
Porter, Hibbard,	1833, September,	Jefferson Co., N. Y.	72	Chicago. Died May 30, '79
Powers, William G.	1835, May,	Auburn, N. Y.	65	Chicago.
Price, Cornelius,	1836, September,	New York City.	59	Chicago.
Prindiville, John,	1836,	Ireland.	54	Chicago.
Prindiville, Redmond,	1836, August 23,	Ireland.	53	Chicago.
Rand, Socrates,	1834, February,	Wendell, Mass.	76	Des Plaines, Ill.
Raymond, Benj. W.	1836, June 5,	Rome, Oneida Co., N. Y.	77	Calumet Ave., Chicago.
Reader, D. L.	1833, July,	Milton, Pa.	68	Chicago.
Rees, James H.	1834, August 11,	Stroudsburg, Pa.	66	Chicago.
Rexford, Stephen,	1833, June 27,	Charlotte, Vt.	75	Blue Island, Ill.
Richards, James J.	1835, July,	Salina, N. Y.	54	Evanston.
Rodgers, Edward K.	1835, November,	Ipswick, Mass.	66	359 Ontario St., Chicago.
Rooney, William,	1837, May,	Ireland.	67	Chicago.
Rumsey, George F.	1836, June 14,	Troy, N. Y.	59	Chicago.
Rumsey, Julien S.	1835, July 28,	Batavia, N. Y.	56	Chicago.
Satterlee, M. L.	1830,	Litchfield, Conn.	65	Chicago.
Sawyer, Sidney,	1839, May,	Albany, N. Y.	68	301 Ontario St., Chicago.
Scammon, J. Young,	1835, September,	Whitefield, Maine.	66	Hyde Park.
Scott, Willis,	1826,	New York.	69	Chicago.
Scott, Willard,	1826, August 26,	New York.	71	Naperville.
Scoville, William H.	1837, May,	New York.	56	Chicago.
Sherman, Alanson S.	1836, November 1,	Vermont.	68	Waukegan.
Sherman, Ezra L.	1836,	Newton, Conn.	61	Riverside.
Sherman, J. S.	1834, September,	Newtown, N.Y.	61	Northfield, Ill.
Sherman, Oren,	1836, Nov. 1,	Vermont.	63	E. Van Buren Street.
Skinner, Mark,	1836, July,	Manchester, Vt.	65	Chicago.
Smith, David S.	1836, May,	Camden, N. J.	63	Chicago.
Snowhook, Wm. B.	1836,	Ireland.	64	Chicago.
Sollitt, John,	1838,	York, England.	65	Chicago.
Stearns, Marcus C.	1836, August,	Naples, N. Y.	63	Chicago.
Steele, James W.	1836, Nov. 7,	New York.	71	Chicago.
Stewart, Hart L.	1832,	New York.	76	Chicago.
Stow, W. H.	1834, July,	Utica, N. Y.	72	Chicago.
Stubbs, S. A.	1835,	State of New Jersey.	71	Chicago.
Sturtevant, Austin D.	1838, July,	Thetford, Vt.	63	Chicago.
Sullivan, Eugene,	1837, March,	Ireland.	68	Chicago.
Surdam, Samuel J.	1839, May,	Troy, N. Y.	62	Chicago.
Taylor, Augustine D.	1833, June,	Hartford, Conn.	84	Chicago,
Taylor, Edmund D.	1835, April,	Virginia.	76	Chicago.

NAME.	DATE OF ARRIVAL.	BIRTHPLACE.	AGE.	PRESENT ADDRESS.
Taylor, L. D.	1834, June,	Hartford, Conn.	58	Chicago.
Taylor, W. H.	1834, June,	Newport, Conn.	71	Brooklin, Miss.
Tripp, Robinson,	1834,	Vermont.	74	Chicago.
Turner, John,	1835, April,	Philadelphia, Pa.	72	Chicago.
Tuttle, Frederick,	1836, January 3,	New York.	70	Chicago.
Vail, Walter,	1839, April,	Rahway, N. J.	65	Newburg, N. Y.
VanNortwick, John,	1837,	New York.	70	Kane Co., Ill.
VanOsdel, John M.	1837, June 9,	Baltimore.	67	Chicago.
Wadhams, Seth,	1835, July 4,	Goshen, Conn.	66	Elmhurst, Ill.
Waite, George W.	1839, Nov. 15,	Walcott Village N. Y.	60	Hyde Park.
Walter, Joel C.	1837, June,	Goshen, Conn.	68	Chicago.
Watlon, Nelson C.	1834, January,	Essex County, N. Y.	63	San Francisco, Cal.
Wayman, Samuel,	1833, August,	England.	69	Chicago.
Wentworth, John,	1836, October 25,	Sandwich, N. H.	64	Chicago.
Whitehead, Henry,	1833, September,	Chatham, England.	68	Chicago.
Wilcox, Sextus N.	1839, October,	Stockbridge.	53	Chicago.
Willard, Alonzo J.	1838, September,	Lancaster, N. H.	62	Chicago.
Williams, Eli B.	1833, April,	Tolland, Conn.	80	Chicago.
Wilson, John L.	1834, May,	New York City.	65	Chicago.
Winship, James.	1836, November,	Palmyra, N. Y.	53	Chicago.
Wolcott, Alexander,	1834, June 4,	Middletown, Conn.	64	Chicago.
Wood, Alonzo C.	1834, August,	Farnham, L. C.	69	Granby, P. Q.
Wright, Freeman G.	1832, September,	Shaftsburg, N. Y.	78	Racine, Wis.
Wyman, William,	1837, June,	England.	62	Chicago.
Yates, Horace H.	1838, March 14,	New York.	64	Chicago.

†Registered at the first reception or prior to the second.
*Deceased.

The second reception was less formal and more social in its character, a greater opportunity being given to renew old acquaintances, at least one instance occurring of two former roommates meeting, who had not seen each other for forty years. After prayer by the Rev. Flavel Bascom, of Hinsdale, Ill., an address of welcome was delivered by the President of the club, Gen. Anson Stager, and responded to by Judge Blodgett. Music of "ye olden time" was dispensed by Mark Beaubien, and that of the present day by the Chicago Quartette.

Supper was served in the three billiard rooms, the central ornament being a floral ship, the "Illinois," named after the first schooner that entered the Chicago River. Some difference of opinion existed among the old settlers in reference to the first vessel having been the "Illinois," but Mr. James L. Hooker, who was a passenger on the "Illinois," wrote under date of May, 15, 1880, from Watertown, N. Y., that he wished to correct a statement made at the first old settlers' reception, that the first schooner to enter the river was the "Ariadne," but that it was the "Illinois," Captain Pickering. Believing that, as he says, he "knows whereof he writes," it was decided to put the name "Illinois" on the side of the floral [ship, for if the schooner was not the "Illinois" it ought to have been. Besides the above mentioned letter, there were a great many other interesting ones received, recalling events that occurred in the early days of Chicago. These letters are mounted in an album for preservation, and are highly prized by the Club. Among those that have already been published, was one from Mr. A. F. Clarke, now

living in Marietta, Georgia, giving a brief account of the first club ever organized in Chicago. It was formed in the winter of 1836–7, and was called the Pickwick Club, the members assuming the names of Dickens' characters.

The Calumet Club closed its first year, with a membership of two hundred and twenty-seven, and with $2.500 invested in government bonds. The second year the members numbered three hundred and sixty, and the bonds amounted to $5,000, par value, with $3,540.92. cash on hand. At the present time the membership is nearly four hundred, and the surplus funds amount to $13,000. The club proposes to make a special feature of its library, and especially of matters pertaining to early Chicago. In addition to possessing a number of books relating to the city that are now out of print, the club has acquired by gift, about two hundred cabinet-size photographs of the Old Settlers, a file of the Chicago American for the winter of 1839–40, and a map of Chicago in 1834, by J. S. Wright.

The old settlers committee has lost during the past year, a member that was highly esteemed by all who knew him, Mr. James H. Rees. The committee as at present constituted, consists of the following gentlemen: Silas B. Cobb, Horatio G. Loomis, Arthur G. Burley, Frederick Tuttle, Marcus C. Stearns, Joel C. Walter, Mark Kimball, Jerome Beecher and Franklin D. Gray.

The present officers of the Club are Gen. Anson Stager, President; Mr. Edson Keith, 1st Vice President; Mr. A. G. Van Schaick, 2nd Vice President; Mr. F. B. Tuttle, Secretary and Treasurer; and Messrs. W. F. Blair, Alfred Cowles, J. W. Doane, Chas. W. Drew, Jas. B. Goodman, Edson Keith, X. L. Otis, R. L. Perry, Anson Stager, F. B. Tuttle, and A. G. Van Schaick, Directors. The success of the Club is due in a great measure, to the general spirit of concord that has existed among the members. May they continue to

"Smoke the Calumet, the
Peace-Pipe;
And as brothers live
henceforward."

THE WESTERN ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Although the electric telegraph is to-day the indispensable auxiliary of the Associated Press, yet news had been collected, transmitted and published through individual and associated effort for several years prior to the establishment of the Morse line between Washington and Baltimore. To the success of the news enterprise of James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald*, from 1835 to 1842 can be traced the origin of the Associated Press. It is related that one morning after the *Herald* had published some exclusive news, a knock was heard at the door of the editorial rooms of that paper.

"'Come in!' answered the editor. The tall, gaunt figure of David Hale (of the *Journal of Commerce*) entered. One of the magnates of Wall street journalism was in the office of a despised penny paper! But Hale was a practical man. He saw the handwriting plainly enough. There was very little circumlocution about him.

"'I have called,' said he, 'to talk about news with you. Have you any objections?'

"'None,' replied the penny editor. 'Am always pleased to talk on that subject.'

"'We propose to join the *Herald* in getting news,' continued Mr. Hale. 'Have you any objection to that*?'"

There was no objection, and out of this conversation grew the system of coöperation known as the Associated Press. At first the associated arrangements were confined to marine news, afterwards to the obtaining of news from the National Capitol by means of pony express, and from European steamers by carrier pigeons and fast boats. In 1844 the telegraph line came into limited use. But it was not until the winter of 1848–9 that the New York Associated Press, the parent of all of the associations, was formed. At first the Association embraced five papers. Now, after over thirty years the seven leading papers of that city constitute the corporation. Other coöperating Associations, like the Western Associated Press and the New England Associated Press, have since been organized, and these together constitute what is known as the "Associated Press."

The New York organization did not acquire much power and influence, until after 1851, when under the management of D. H. Craig, a man possessing remarkable energy and versatility of

*Hudson's *Journalism in the United States.*

talent. "Mr. Craig had been an independent news collector in 1844–5, and a successful one in flying carrier pigeons, under great difficulties and obstacles, from the Cunard steamers, as they approached Boston. He sold his news to any one who would purchase—Jacob Little or James Gordon Bennett—and he attracted the attention of the Executive Committee in 1849, or thereabouts, and was appointed the local agent of the Association at Halifax, to look especially after the European news." He was so successful, and exhibited such superior business talent, he was invited in 1851 to become the general agent, and assist in arranging the details and carrying out the news plans of the Association, which were to follow the rapidly-extending telegraph lines and organize a system for the collection and distribution of news.

The newspaper has always accompanied the march of civilization in America. The Pittsburgh *Gazette* was established as early as 1788, when there were at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, a few straggling houses around a fort; and in the following year, on the 28th of August, John Bradford, who knew nothing of the printing business, issued the first number of *The Kentucky Gazette*, at Lexington, then the centre of immigration for the Ohio Valley. The Cincinnati *Gazette*, which is to-day one of the great newspapers of the United States, dates its origin back to Nov. 9, 1793, when the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* was first issued. William Maxwell was the pioneer printer in this territory, and, if the claim of the *Gazette* is admitted, in a sense, the founder of that paper. This claim is good, if the *Liberty Hall* and *Cincinnati Mercury*, which was established in 1804, was the successor to the *Centinel*, as the former paper was consolidated with the Cincinnati *Gazette* in 1806.

It is only a few years since the name *Liberty Hall* was dropped from the heading, and it is still familiar to thousands of the patrons of the *Gazette*. The scope of this sketch does not admit of the introduction of accounts of the origin of the leading papers of the cities of the West, but the history of the *Gazette*, the pioneer paper of "the territory northwest of the Ohio," and a member of the Western Associated Press, the most extensive news organization in the world, has a peculiar interest. Established in a wilderness, it has aided in the work of civilization, has witnessed the union of the Colonial States expand into a mighty nation of 50,000,000 of people, the growth of cities hundreds of miles further west rivalling and surpassing Cincinnati, the rise and fall of hundreds of newspapers, and the remarkable success of a few wealthy and powerful journals with which it is co-operating to-day. Distinguished men have directed its course and contributed to its editorial columns. It early obtained great in-

fluence and reputation, as an exponent of political principles, under the management of Charles Hammond, one of the most remarkable men this country has ever produced, and later, while maintaining this influence under the management of Richard Smith, has come to be recognized as able in all of the departments that go to make up a great newspaper. The *Gazette* was first issued as a daily, June 25, 1827, and seven years later, in 1834, when Stephen S. L'Hommedieu, son-in-law to Charles Hammond, was business manager, was printed on the first steam power-press introduced in the northwest.

The telegraph companies were the pioneers in the news-collecting business west of Philadelphia. There was very little commercial business done, and few private messages sent. The managers of the line shrewdly directed their operators to employ their leisure time in transmitting news items for the daily papers, for which the latter paid whatever they chose. The entire amount collected per week from the Cincinnati papers, was eighteen dollars, and occasionally this meagre assessment was not forthcoming.

Gen. Anson Stager dwells with delight on early experiences in the construction of telegraph lines west of Philadelphia, and the supplying of news despatches to the struggling newspapers in the Ohio valley. Cincinnati then boasted of twice as many dailies as she can show now, and although suspensions were frequent, the number was rarely decreased for more than a day—so great was the demand for "organs," and so inconsiderable was the expense of getting out a daily paper in comparison with the cost of publication to-day, even in cities of the third or fourth class. The circulation of each was then a few hundred, and the news was procured from the columns of exchanges. This was the situation when the first wire was carried over the mountains by the Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph Company, and connected with a battery in Pittsburg. After that the age of news for cities further west did not reach beyond one Sabbath. Foreign commercial news was then, as now, of great importance to business men, and upon the arrival of vessels at Halifax, was forwarded as rapidly as possible to Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and thence by wire to Pittsburg. From the latter point it was carried by fast riders, who changed horses every ten miles, to Steubenville, Wheeling, Zanesville, Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati. The work of this enterprising post-news company ceased in a few months, as a new company, called the Pittsburgh, Cincinnnti and Louisville Telegraph Company, took up the enterprise of constructing lines in the west: and the route of the post-riders grew shorter, and the news fresher day by day, until

the Queen City was reached. The wire reached Cincinnati in the spring of 1847, whereas the line of the Atlantic and Ohio Company had been opened in Pittsburgh in the last days of December, 1846. The route to Cincinnati was by the National Road, thence along the river to Louisville. A third company was organized, called the Ohio and Mississippi Telegraph Company, which extended a wire from Louisville to St. Louis *via* Vincennes. These different companies interchanging business, their lines constituted a system. Another system, comprising the lines of the O'Reilly and Lake Erie Telegraph Company, extended from Buffalo to Chicago, *via* Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit. This found a competitor in the Erie and Michigan Telegraph Company, having lines from Buffalo to Milwaukee, and so sharp was the rivalry between the managers, for months there was blood on the face of the moon. A third system comprised the Caton lines in Illinois and Iowa.

In the year 1847, the first notable feat in telegraphing a long distance was performed. Henry Clay spoke at Lexington, on the 13th of November of that year, on the war with Mexico. An abstract of the speech was made, expressed to Cincinnati, and thence telegraphed to the *New York Herald*. A few weeks after that, an attempt was made to get through the message of President Polk from Philadelphia, for the use of the papers of Cincinnati. It required three days and nights continuous work to transmit it. To-day the same amount of matter could be transmitted from Washington to Chicago, with the aid of ten wires, which could easily be supplied by the Western Union Telegraph Company, without seriously interfering with commercial business and social messages, in from forty to sixty minutes. Then everything was printed in Morse characters, on strips of paper, which passed over a reel, and it was necessary for the most intelligent and experienced operator to spell out the words for another who wrote them down. On this important occasion, Mr. Stager, who was in charge of the wire, would trust no one else, and he read while Richard Smith, then acting as the agent of the press, and the most prominent editors, laboriously wrote down the words of the President. Among these editors, was John Brough, of the *Enquirer*, who, in later times, was distinguished in railroad circles, and as the ablest of the war Governors of Ohio. Most of the editors gave out before the task was completed, but Brough remained with Smith and Stager to the end. The ending was so truly absurd as to provoke laughter from the three tired workers, and offered a momentary compensation. It was in these words: "God and Liberty, JAMES K. POLK."

Some of the papers receiving the manuscript thus, printed the message without alteration, to the scandal of the administration and all good democrats. There was great indignation at Washington, and the head of the offending operator, who had taken such a liberty with a grave public document was demanded. The telegraphic officials, somehow, could never find the culprit, but at this late day there is no harm in letting out the secret: The words "God and Liberty" were added by Mr. James D. Reid, then Superintendent at Pittsburgh, who was so much elated at reaching the end of the long State paper, that he expressed his feelings through the aid of Morse and "chained lightning," in the well known words of Santa Anna. This is the story of the first attempt to transmit by wire a President's message to the papers of the West.

Many years passed, and many papers died before the New York Associated Press entered the Western field in the person of D. H. Craig, General Agent. It was after the ground cultivated by the telegraph companies and local agents began to give promise of an abundant harvest. A brief report was made up at Buffalo, not exceeding fifteen hundred words per day, not extending later than 11 o'clock p. m., for which the New York Association demanded and received excessive rates. The arbitrary management at New York then extended to the control of the specials of the seven papers of that city. But in the West a broader system was being developed, which was rapidly extended by the war of the rebellion. Henceforth the great papers of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, Pittsburg, Cleveland and Detroit, became noted for special enterprises, and no longer were dependent on New York. Dissatisfaction with the management in the East was manifested as early as 1861, when a meeting of representative Western publishers was held in Indianapolis, to devise some method of relief. A committee consisting of Jos. Medill, of the Chicago *Tribune*, and H. N. Walker, of the Detroit *Free Press*, was appointed to secure an act of incorporation. This was not accomplished until 1865, in which year the Legislature of Michigan granted the desired charter. On the 22nd of November following, the Western Associated Press was formally organized in the city of Louisville. J. D. Osborn of the *Journal* of that city, was first chosen President, but subsequently it being necessary to have the principal office in the State of Michigan, by which the charter was granted, H. N. Walker, of the *Free Press*, and H. E. Baker, of the *Tribune*, of Detroit, were made President and Secretary, respectively. The independent attitude of the Western papers brought on a conflict with the New York papers. In 1866 a vigorous

and relentless war between the two associations was waged. Two separate reports were transmitted, and the claims of each association were pressed at a large expenditure of money. D. H. Craig cast his fortunes with the Western press, and his experience was invaluable in such a contest. The result was the triumph of the Western papers. Peace was declared, and a contract between the two associations was formed in 1867. Since then there has been co-operation in the work of supplying the press of the United States with news.

The business affairs of the Western Associated Press have for the most part been conducted by an executive committee consisting of Joseph Medill, Richard Smith and Walter N. Haldeman. The present organization is as follows:

President, Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial;* *Vice President*, Joseph Pulitzer, of the St. Louis *Post-Despatch;* *Secretary*, H. E. Baker, of the Detroit *Post and Tribune;* *Directors*, Richard Smith, of the Cincinnati *Gazette;* W. N. Haldeman, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal;* Wm Penn Nixon, of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean;* D. M. Houser, of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat;* Joseph G. Siebeneck, of the Pittsburgh *Chronicle;* Ira P. Jones, of the Nashville *American;* I. F. Mack, of the Sandusky *Register.*

The growth of the newspaper business in the West has been very remarkable, and I propose giving a few figures to illustrate it:

The *Sentinel of the Northwestern Territory*, of January 11th, 1794, was about equal to one page of its successor, the Cincinnati *Gazette* of to-day. The *Sentinel* gave news from France dated Sept. 10th, 1793; from Portland, Me., Nov. 11th; from Baltimore Nov. 22d. Cincinnati was then four weeks distant from Pittsburg by boat. To-day the cities are a few hours distant by railroad, and conversation may be had by wire without inconvenience or loss of time. The *Gazette*, in the columns of its eight pages, contains an accurate register of the tone and transaction of the great commercial marts, and full accounts of the most interesting political and social events of the previous day throughout the whole world. The *Sentinel* was printed from a hand press, at the rate of a few hundred an hour. The *Gazette* is printed from a Hoe perfecting press, and folded, cut and pasted at the rate of from 15,000 to 20,000 copies per hour. As striking a contrast would be shown by comparing the first number of the St. Louis *Republican* issued in 1808, with the issue of any day in 1880.

The growth of the Chicago papers has been more rapid and remarkable. Like the city, they are to be set down as the pro-

duction of the energy and enterprise of one generation. When Joseph Medill took charge of the *Tribune* in the spring of 1855, its daily paying edition was just about 1200 copies, the Tri-Weekly 250, and the Weekly 1000. The Associated Press report, which was all the telegraphic matter received, then amounted to one column, all told, and cost $45 per week. There was not much change or enlargement of telegraphic news until 1860, when a "midnight" report was made up at New York for the Associated Press at an additional cost of $10 a week to each paper. During the campaign the *Tribune* paid out about $100 a week for specials. The war caused this to multiply two or three times, say $250 per week—about the present average of a day. *The total cost of issuing the* TRIBUNE *in* 1855 *was about* $50,000, *and for the year* 1880 *considerably over* $500,000. The revenue has increased at a greater ratio, and the *Tribune* is to-day one of the most profitable newspapers in the world.

Wilbur F. Storey purchased the Chicago *Times* in 1862, and I believe paid about $12,500 for it. The following approximate statement will give a good idea of its growth:

1862—Cost of telegraphic news about	$ 10,000
Other expenses about	60,000
	$ 70,000
1875—Cost of telegraphic news	$ 73,000
Other expenses	460,000
	$533,000
1879—Cost of telegraphic news	$ 85,000
Other expenses	440,000
	$525,000

Telegraphic rates were less in 1879 than in former years, and so of white paper and other expenses. In 1880, expenditures and receipts have both been much larger than they were in 1879. Mr. Storey has put a value of $1,500,000 on his newspaper establishment.

In 1869, the members of the Western Associated Press paid the Western Union Telegraph Company for tolls on specials, $175,501.23. The same papers during the year ending June 30, 1880, received the enormous amount of 29,627,384 words of special news, for which they paid for tolls, the sum of $353,672.39. They paid out also for what is known as "Regular," or Associated Press Report, $141,901.32. Thus the papers of the Northwest and of the States of Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas, paid nearly one-half of the amount collected of the press of

the United States, by the Western Union Telegraph Company. During the same period, the papers of the New York Associated Press, paid the Tel. Co. for specials, $195,216.62, and for "Regular" dispatches transmitted to New York, $62,953.91.

The above figures do not include the cost of collecting and editing, which was about as much more.

The reports of the Western Associated Press are collected at two great centres—New York and Cincinnati,—and the other large cities, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Louisville, Nashville and Memphis, receive on circuits. This report sent from New York, passes through a repeater at either Cleveland or Pittsburgh, to Cincinnati and Chicago simultaneously. The latter repeats to Milwaukee, St. Paul, etc., and the former to Indianapolis and St. Louis on one circuit, and to Louisville, Nashville, and Memphis on another. The report collected at Cincinnati, is relayed on the circuits before mentioned, and on another circuit for Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit. At Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, condensed reports are prepared and sent out on other wires to the papers of the interior cities. Report is also made up at Cincinnati for New York, and at Chicago for Cheyenne, Denver, Salt Lake, Sacramento and San Francisco.

Wm. Henry Smith.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO LAW INSTITUTE.

BY HON. ELLIOTT ANTHONY.

In the year 1852 I came to reside in the city of Chicago, having been admitted to the bar at Oswego, New York, in June, 1851. I had but very few books and felt the need of works of reference every day. The firm of Scammon & McCagg had at that time by far the largest library of anybody in town, and their office was constantly resorted to by members of the profession to consult their books, and access to them was never refused. They were very kind to young men, but those of us who were just starting out in life thought it would be much better to have a public library, which should be open to all and which should be obtained by aggregating our capital. I broached the subject to a number of my acquaintences and associates, and they all agreed that it was a proper thing to do, and ought to be done.

Some time before this, a voluntary association had been formed for the establishment of a Law Library, and was actually in existence, and they had procured a few books, but it had fallen into decay, and many volumes which had belonged to sets of reports and treatises had disappeared, so that it did not amount to much.

I had heard of the New York Law Institute, which had been founded by Chancellor Kent, and ascertained that it was an incorporated institution, and was in successful operation, and I resolved to visit New York and investigate it.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1855 or 1856, I went to New York and called at the rooms of the Institute, which were at that time in the old City Hall, and examined its charter and by-laws, and all of its workings. I found that it had been chartered by a special act of the General Assembly of the State of New York, was a stock company, that its shares were 100 dollars each, which the subscribers paid in installments extending over some three or four years, and that said shares were subject to a yearly assessment of 25 dollars. It was at that time in a most flourishing condition and had on its roll of members all of the leading lawyers in the city.

They did not, at that time, have any printed copies of either the charter or by-laws, and as I did not have time to copy them, returned without them. In the spring of 1857, I think Sandford B. Perry, Esq., came here from Boston to practice his profession, and we formed a partnership.

He came on first to look over the town before locating perma-

nently, and the matter of establishing a public Law Library was broached to him, and he became interested in the project and on his return East procured copies of the charter of the old Athenæum and some other libraries, and when he came back brought them with him. The provisions of these charters and by-laws were examined, but did not suit either of us, and I accordingly resolved to write for a copy of the charter and by-laws of the New York Law Institute. I wrote to Alexander Spaulding, Esq., late Judge of the Marine Court of the city of New York, whom I knew as a fellow-graduate of Hamilton College. In due time the charter and by-laws came to hand, and, to my surprise, made a large package, and with them a bill for copying of some twenty-five dollars. This was to me, at that time, a large sum of money. After some delay, I got together the amount, enclosed it in a letter and sent it to Mr. Spaulding, but it was lost in the mail, and I had to make it up.

The Legislature was to hold a session in the winter of 1857, and Mr. Perry and myself set to work to draw up a charter.

Judge John M. Wilson at that time was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Van H. Higgins had been elected a member of the lower House. It was thought that if their names were put in as corporators that it would stand a better chance of passing than if obscure and unknown names were inserted. Accordingly they were fixed upon as corporators and finally my own name was added as a mere make-weight, as I was wholly unknown.

After a considerable deliberation, the charter of the New York Law Institute was adopted as a model, and the act of incorporation drawn up. As I had never been to Springfield or seen any legislative body, I resolved to visit Springfield and see to its passage.

I accordingly visited Springfield, explained the matter to Mr. Higgins and other members of the General Assembly and it was introduced, and put upon its passage.

I kept watch of the proceedings, but the session was wearing away and I could not learn anything of its fate, although assured that it would finally pass. Fearing, however, that it might be buried beneath the vast number of private bills—which at that time absorbed almost the entire time of the Assembly—I again went to Springfield to see about it, and on the 18th day of February, 1857, was present when the final roll-call was made. I went with the Engrossing Clerk to the Governor, saw it signed, and procuring a certified copy of the same from the Secretary of State returned home with it. In 1857–8 the new Court House was in the process of erection, and I was very anxious to have a

room set apart for the future library. Hon. Charles B. Farwell was at that time County Clerk and potent in all county matters, and with his aid and assistance a room was assigned the Library, although not a book had been purchased and the Institute had not even been organized. The room was a large one, with an alcove looking out upon Randolph street. Nobody but Mr. Farwell, myself and the building committee knew anything about this assignment of the room, and things progressed favorably until one day the Board of Supervisors came together, inquired into the matter and resolved to change everything, cut up the room and give the alcove to the Coroner. Mr. Farwell sent for me and I used all my powers to persuade them not to do it, but they were incorrigible. Finally, in despair, I went to Judge Manierre and told him what was up, and he immediately adjourned his court and went for the Board individually and collectively, and after a great deal of argument and persuasion, order was restored, the partition which had been set up to separate the alcove from the main room was taken down and things restored as they were *ante bellum*.

The Institute was in due time properly organized, with Judge John M. Wilson as President, Van H. Higgins, Vice-President, and myself as Secretary.

Judge Manierre took a great interest in the matter, advanced the money to buy carpets and tables, and fit up the rooms, and gave it his support till the day of his death. An arrangement was made with the members of the Old Law Library, by which we took their books and gave them stock in the new corporation.

A part of the money which I had to pay for the charter and by-laws of the New York Law Institute, was allowed me, and the Institute grew in favor, and books were purchased as the funds were supplied by subscription to the stock. The charter was a liberal one, and contained all the powers necessary for such an institution, and in October, 1871, contained about 7,000 volumes, which were valued at about $30,000. All this collection was destroyed by the great fire of the 8th and 9th of October, 1871, together with the court house. We immediately undertook the task of restoring it. In this we were most generously aided by gifts from personal and professional friends in all parts of the country. Through the influence of Governor Hoffman, of New York, we received from the State of New York, a complete set of all the New York reports, and from the State of Indiana, a full set of their reports. From a report for the year 1871, now lying before me, I extract the following:

"The annual meeting of the Institute, required by its by-laws to be held on the first Monday in November, in each year, was duly called.

"It convened November 6, 1871, within the shattered walls of the court house, in the ruins of the county court room, adjacent to the late library rooms of the Institute.

"Smoke still rose from the ruins of the city, and the deliberations of the meeting were more than once interrupted by the falling of crumbling portions of the masonry of the court room. The meeting was large and the interest profound. Upon full and earnest discussion it was determined forthwith to relay the foundations of the library, and as speedily as practicable to restore the Institute to the degree of usefulness it had attained before the fire. To that end, an assessment for the current year, amounting to one-fourth of the par value of the stock of the shareholders, was levied; a liberal provision for the admission of new members was adopted, and its affairs were committed to the charge of a board of managers, selected from among the most eminent members of the profession."

Having been instrumental in founding the institute originally, it was thought best that I should try my hand at it again, and I was accordingly elected President, and set about the task of refounding it. Rooms were, after a considerable delay, procured in the new structure, erected by the city at the corner of Adams and LaSalle streets, where it has remained ever since. The Bar took a great interest in restoring the library, and to-day it has about 13,000 volumes.

It has had for its Presidents, Judge John M. Wilson, Judge Walter B. Scates, Judge George Manierre, Hon. Van H. Higgins, Elliott Anthony, Judge W. K. McAllister, Hon. Wm. H. King, Hon. James P. Root, John M. Rountree, John N. Jewett, Charles W. Reed, George Payson, Lambert Tree, Sidney Smith, Julius Rosenthal, Robert Hervey and George Gardner.

Julius Rosenthal was for years the librarian, and to him the institute is greatly indebted for the judicious care exercised by him in the purchasing and procuring of books, and the members of the Institute, in order to show their appreciation of his services, did, at the annual election in 1879, vote him an honorary member for life.

Among those who took a prominent part in the organization of the Institute were Sanford B. Perry, George Manierre, James P. Root, William H. King, John A. Thompson and Ira Scott.

The number of members of the Institute at the present time is 406.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF CHICAGO.

When the burned-out city had rebuilt most of its former centers, and the heart of the city again began to be a place of resort for men and women of common aims and feelings, there arose a new society, The Philosophical Society. The suggestion of it came from Dr. Hiram W. Thomas, then pastor of the first Methodist Episcopal Church, whose place of meeting is at the corner of Clark and Washington Streets. He thought it desirable to draw together men and women of thoughtful minds and earnest character, who were interested in the discussion of topics of philosophy, social science, natural science, in its broader aspects, history, as showing the lights of human experience, and of moral philosophy; people who loved truth so much as to feel free in discussion, and tolerant of the differing sentiments and views of each other, and of the world at large.

Dr. Thomas soon drew into council with himself, a few of like spirit, and a preliminary meeting was held Sept. 8, 1873, at which a committee on organization was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Dr. H. W. Thomas, A. B. Keith, Dr. T. A. Bland, E. F. Abbott, and T. B. Taylor. The next meeting was held Sept 16th, and the final organization was effected Oct. 11th, in the rooms of the First M. E. Church; and there the Society held its meetings for a while. The course of lectures was begun, even before the constitution was adopted, with a lecture by Col. A. N. Waterman, Sept. 23, on the influence of Modern Philanthrophy upon Law. At the same time, the plan was adopted of criticising each lecture, members of the society offering comments in brief speeches.

From the first the Society insisted upon perfect freedom of utterance in its lectures and discussions. Its constitution was the simplest possible form of organization, the preamble to which was as follows:

"Being profoundly impressed with the unity of Truth in its origin, and of its infinite value to man, and being equally impressed with the blinding effects upon the human mind of Ignorance, Prejudice and Superstition, it has seemed desirable to us (believing the time for such a movement has arrived), to seek the organization of a society, whose sole motto shall be 'What is Truth?' Whose members, regardless of past associations, preconceived opinions or expressed convictions, shall, in a spirit of simplicity and candor, associate for the investigation of questions that are peculiar to our time, pertaining to human welfare"

Upon this basis of common agreement the Society seeks to bring together earnest, thinking men and women, to listen to and to share in discussions of important topics: to develop clear views wise thoughts, and just practice: to foster a love of Philosophy, and a taste for the discussion of principles. A Society with such purposes must necessarily include persons holding a great variety of views. It has enrolled in its ranks at the same time materialists and idealists in philosophy; catholics, orthodox, heterodox and atheists in religion; and scientists of opposing theoretical views. No one should impute to the society any opinion or set of opinions because of doctrines put forth in its lectures or by its members individually, or because of questions suggested for discussion: it is its doctrine that the surest way to destroy error and to make truth illustrious, is to bring them both alike into the light of reason and the fire of discussion. Nowhere can a lecturer find a freer platform, nor greater surety of various, discriminating, and candid criticism.

The principal exercises are lectures every Saturday evening, from the first of October in each year to the end of the ensuing April. At the close of each lecture, a discussion of it is opened by one or more of the members of the Society previously appointed by the president: these are followed by such other members as see fit to join in the discussion; but no member is allowed more than five minutes in which to discuss the lecture, except the appointee of the chair, who is allowed ten minutes: the lecturer himself closes the discussion. In these discussions, adverse and conflicting views are freely and frankly presented. An Executive Committee of five persons has charge of the exercises, and is responsible for the lectures which are delivered before the Society. Only such persons are invited to lecture by the committee as are believed competent to treat topics with philosophical candor, learning, and completeness.

The first president was Rev. Joseph Haven, D. D., noted for his philosophical learning, his candid and tolerant spirit, and his firm adherence to the orthodox creed of his church. He died just at the close of the first year. Next, Dr. Hiram W. Thomas presided for a year. The third and fourth years Hon. Henry Booth, Circuit Judge, was president; he was followed, in the fifth year, by Gen. N. B. Buford; Dr. Samuel Willard, Professor of History, was the president of the sixth year; Dr. Edmund Andrews, the eminent surgeon, followed. In the current year, 1880–'81, Prof. Rodney Welch, one of the editorial staff of the *Chicago Times*, presides. The membership of the Society was in its first year near 300; but for several years following it varied from 100 to 150; now it is increasing its numbers again. But

it does not seek popularity so much as usefulness in its own line. In the first seven years of its existence, it held 215 meetings, at which 207 lectures were delivered, by 124 different lecturers. Though the society has met with opposition, chiefly from those who fear that truth will not prevail in the arena of free discussion, it has maintained a high reputation among thinking people, and has made itself felt as one of the educating influences of Chicago.

SAMUEL WILLARD.

WOLF'S POINT.

Two years after the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, Gurdon S. Hubbard, though a boy in his teens, came to Chicago in the employ of the American Fur Company, which was in 1818. He is still an active citizen among us, well known, not only to the people of Chicago, but his Historical records and early experiences have been eagerly sought after by the leading book-makers of the East, also, as well as of the West, and have given him a deserved reputation as one of the few remaining, living witnesses of the process by which a savage wilderness has been metamorphosed into a densely populated State. A few years after he came to Chicago a little cluster of houses sprung up at the Fork of the river, and not without a spirit of rivalry to outstrip the neighboring little nucleus for a village nearly a mile distant, under the guns of Fort Dearborn. This feeling was still manifest as late as 1833, and shared in by those who had settled at this spot, which was then known by the name of Wolf's Point. All this is fresh to the memory of Mr. Hubbard, because he saw it in his youthful days, and his letter is here inserted to give the public the benefit of his views from his own hand:

CHICAGO, October 13, 1880.

RUFUS BLANCHARD:

My Dear Sir—Your favor of 11th is at hand, and I most cheerfully give you what information I possess on the subject matter of your note.

Prior to 1800 the north branch of the Chicago river was called by the Indian traders and voyagers "River Guarie," and the south branch "Portage River." On the west side of the north branch a man by the name of Guarie had a trading-house, situated on the bank of the river about where Fulton street now is. This house was enclosed by pickets. He located there prior to 1778. This tradition I received from Messrs. Antoine Deschamps and Antoine Beson, who, from about 1778, had passed from Lake

Michigan to the Illinois river yearly; they were old men when I first knew them in 1818. This tradition was corroborated by other old voyagers. The evidences of this trading-house were pointed out to me by Mr. Deschamps; the corn hills adjoining were distinctly traceable, though grown over with grass.

I am of opinion that these branches retained their names until about the time of the location of the first Fort Dearborn, and were afterwards known as the north and south branches.

My impression is that Elijah Wentworth opened his tavern on the West Side, near the present west Kinzie street, in 1830, at what was then called the Forks. About this date Samuel Miller bought a small log cabin on the opposite side of the river from Wentworth's, and south of the present Kinzie street bridge, to which he added a two-story log building, finishing the outside with *split clapboards*. These two public houses were the first Chicago could boast of. Miller by his influence and enterprise, erected a bridge built wholly of logs, across the north branch, just north of his tavern. He and Wentworth being competitors for public favor, the Forks House getting the most patronage, Jos. and Robert Kinzie built stores there, and here resorted some of the officers of the Fort daily for social intercourse and "*drinks*" at Wentworth's bar. Wolves were in those days quite numerous; one had the audacity to enter in the day time Wentworth's meat house, and was by him killed. His house had for a sign a tall sapling topped off just above a prominent branch; it extended some distance above the top of the roof, and was a conspicuous notice, to be seen from the prairie and surroundings, that "here was food for man and beast;" it lacked however something to hang to the branch projection, to give it character; how to obtain a proper emblem, puzzled the good landlord, as there was no carpenter or paint shop, or citizen artist; a happy thought struck him, that Lieutenant Allen might condescend to supply the deficiency, if properly approached; this was effected through a mutual friend. The boards of a dry-goods box were obtained, from which was put in shape, under the superintendence of Lieut. James Allen, a well proportioned sign, the Indian Agency Blacksmith putting to it hinges, when Lieut. Allen took it in hand again, producing and presenting to Wentworth the picture of the slethy wolf, which was to serve not only an attractive painting, but a memorial of the landlord's valor in the killing alone and unaided, of a ferocious wolf. Officers and citizens received invitations to be present at the hanging of the sign; the day and hour arriving, found assembled a majority of the people; the sign was brought forth, duly veiled with a blanket, was attached to the branch of the pole, the veil removed, and it

WOLF S POINT IN 1850

View on the West Side, at the Junction of the North, a[illegible]

swung gracefully, and was greeted with hurrahs from those present; in turn something else greeted the hoarse throats of friends. Thus was produced and baptised the name of "Wolf Point."

Besides Wolf Point was a place called Hard Scrabble, of early historic interest.

Mrs. Jno. H. Kinzie, in her book, "Wau-bun," correctly describes the location as "Lee's Place." Mack & Conant, extensive merchants at Detroit, in the Indian trade, became the owners of this property about the year 1816. They sent Mr. John Craft with a large supply of Indian goods to take possession of it, and establish a branch of their house there, the principal object being to sell goods to such traders as they could, residing throughout this country, without interfering with the interest of those traders who purchased goods from him.

Mr. Craft repaired the dilapidated building, adding thereto, and erecting others necessary for the convenience of business. He, I think, named it "Hard Scrabble;" whether he or some one else, it bore that name in 1818.

At the organization of the American Fur Company, 1816, Mr. Astor's plan was to control the entire trade by absorbing other companies doing an Indian business. He succeeded in buying out the Southwest Company, whose headquarters were at Mackinaw, but failed in his efforts to buy out Mack & Conant.

Mr. James Abbott, however, their agent at Detroit, succeeded in buying them out in 1820 or '21, and they withdrew from the Indian trade, transferring their Indian goods, posts and good will to the American Fur, who constituted Mr. Craft their agent here, he removing his quarters from "Hard Scrabble" to the company's warehouse, located north of, and adjoining, the military burying ground. They enlarged it and built a log warehouse, besides; J. B. Beaubien, who had previously occupied it, removing to the "Factor House," adjoining Fort Dearborn. Craft died in the fall of 1826, and Mr. John Kinzie succeeded him. Wm. W. Wallace (who was one of Astor's men on his expedition to Columbia River) took possession of Hard Scrabble after Mr. Craft had left the place, and died there during the winter of 1827–8. From that time till the land title passed from the government, it was occupied by several families, temporarily, among whom were the Lawton's, for a short time, and James Galloway, the father of Mrs. Archibald Clyborne.

Yours Truly, G. S. Hubbard.

THE CHICAGO HARBOR AND RIVER CONVENTION.

This convention was the outgrowth of President Polk's veto of the bill making appropriations for the improvement of rivers, and the construction of harbors, at the first session of Congress under his administration, with the intimation from him that no such appropriations would receive his sanction whilst President. Popular meetings were held during the vacation of Congress in different localities, with reference to the matter for the purpose of forming some concert of action. On his way to the next session of Congress, Daniel Webster made at Philadelphia his celebrated speech of Dec. 2d, 1846, upon this subject, which may be found in the published volumes of his speeches. Upon the assembling of Congress, there were very frequent consultations of the members favorable to the vetoed bill, in defense not only of their own views, but to the expressions of the numerous meetings that had been held in vacation. The conclusion of those consultations was that a mass convention should be held at Chicago, without distinction of party, at such a time as its citizens, after mature deliberation, should consider the most opportune. Hon. John Wentworth* was not only the Congressman from the Chicago district, but was a member of the Committee of Commerce which had reported the vetoed bill. Congress adjourned upon the 3d of March, 1847; and, upon Mr. Wentworth's return, he made known to the citizens of Chicago the sentiments of the members of Congress opposed to the doctrines of President Polk's veto. A public meeting was called, a day named for the convention, and a committee of five appointed to draft an address to the people of the United States, three of whom had voted for President Polk's election. Of this committee, with the exception of Judge George Manierre, all are now living in Chicago. The address was

* John Wentworth, to whom allusion has heretofore been made, was the first member of Congress ever elected from Chicago, or north of Springfield, and has served as such twelve years, his first election being in 1843. He was elected Mayor in 1857 and in 1861, and has served the public in various other capacities; and was a Director in the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad Company at the time of its consolidation with the Northwestern. He was born at Sandwich, N. H., March 5th, 1815, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1836, and came to Chicago October 25th of that year. He immediately entered the law office of Henry Moore, completed his law studies at Harvard University, and was admitted to the Chicago Bar in 1841. He was present at the first meeting called in the winter of 1836–7 to consider the propriety of Chicago becoming an incorporated city, and voted at the first municipal election. Whilst pursuing his legal studies he wrote occasional articles for the Chicago *Democrat*, and eventually became its sole proprietor.

written by Hon. John Wentworth, and may be found in full in Vol. II, of Wheeler's Biographical and Political History of Congress, as well as a full history of the convention itself, and a very elaborate review of the proceedings of Congress upon the subject of Harbor and River improvements from the origin of our government.

This was the first national convention ever held in Chicago, and the number and character of those who attended it did so much towards bringing to light the natural advantages of Chicago, that an extract from the address of the Chicago committee is herewith inserted to give the points at issue before the convention.

"The high prices of freight, taken in connection with the loss of life and property upon the Western waters last season, caused several public meetings to be held in various sections of the country, for the purpose of devising the best means of remedying those and other evils, of which the great mass of the people interested in commerce were complaining. At all these meetings the propriety of holding a convention at some convenient point was discussed and universally concurred in.

"In consequence of Chicago having been generally named as the proper point, its citizens called a meeting, named the fifth of July as the appropriate time, and chose the undersigned a committee to draft an address setting forth the objects of the convention.

"The movers in this matter have been, from the first, like the undersigned, of entirely different politics, and, so far from there being even in the remotest degree any political design in the contemplated convention, one of the chief objects of it is to call together for a common object the men of all parties, and to convince the people everywhere that the improvements desired are not now, never have been and never should be, connected with "*party politics*," in the ordinary use of that term. Such a connection would in the minds of all interested have a very deleterious tendency. It can not be denied that there is a predisposition among all politicians to support the measures of a chief magistrate of their own party, and hence we have seen Western representatives, originally supporting harbor and river improvements, and elected upon express pledges to do so, finally vote to support a *veto* of bills providing for that purpose, and assigning as a reason, therefor, that it was their duty to sustain an executive of their own selection, even though it be in express opposition to the wishes and interests of their constituents. Repeated instances of this kind must eventually give this question somewhat of a political cast, which the undersigned and all who co-operate with them would seriously regret. * * * * *

"This convention is designed to be one of free discussion, and it is hoped that the *opponents* as well as the *friends* of lake and river improvements, will attend, and more especially since it is generally believed that they have only to see for themselves in order to be convinced that these demands coming from all our great waters are founded in justice.

"Although the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers, will be the prominent subject before the convention, yet, whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the West and to the development of its resources, will come properly before it, and all plans and suggestions will be freely entertained. The committee invite a general attendance from all sections of the Union, and tender, in behalf of their fellow citizens the hospitalities of the city of Chicago to such as impelled by a common interest see fit to honor them by their presence on the occasion.

JOHN WENTWORTH,
GEORGE MANIERRE,
J. YOUNG SCAMMON,
I. N. ARNOLD,
GRANT GOODRICH,
} Committee.

THE LAST CHICAGO RESIDENT SOLDIER OF FT. DEARBORN.

Luther Nichols was born in Gilbertsville, Otsego County, New York, in 1805, enlisted in the United States service in 1828, and came to Chicago with his wife and one child (as a soldier) in the Second United States Infantry, under the immediate charge of Major Whistler. The company consisted of about fifty soldiers. On their arrival they found Fort Dearborn crowded with refugees from the adjoining country, who had fled to the place for refuge from Black Hawk's Indians. These were ordered to leave at once, and obeyed the summons with reluctance, for their fears were not yet allayed from the danger of Indian scalping parties. A few days after their arrival General Scott came and brought the cholera. Major Whistler then left the quarters of the fort and built barracks outside for his men, at the foot of the present site of Madison street. Here they remained during the prevalence of cholera and assisted in burying the dead of Scott's army. Soon after Gen. Scott's arrival, several of the dead bodies of such soldiers as died on the passage, were driven by the winds ashore on the beach south of Chicago. Mr. Nichols with six of the company were ordered to go and bury them. It was a very unwelcome task. They were buried in the sand where they laid, about three feet deep, from which place they have never since been resurrected. Only two of Major Whistler's command died, both of whom were men who often drank liquor. Mr. Nichols accompanied Gen. Scott to Rock Island, witnessed his treaty with the Indians, at which time much hilarity prevailed among the soldiers, such as drinking and carousing.

Mr. Davenport, for whom the city was named, then kept a grocery and drinking saloon half a mile from Ft. Armstrong, on Rock Island, and here officers and soldiers made themselves merry on whisky which was said to be a very good brand.

Mr. Nichols served the remainder of his term as a soldier at Chicago, as one of the garrison at Fort Dearborn, and was honorably discharged in the latter part of 1833, and has ever since been a citizen of Chicago, living now (1881) at 106 Peoria street, in good health.

BILLY CALDWELL

Says Hon. John Wentworth: Billy Caldwell owed allegiance to three distinct nations at one and the same time. He was captain of the Indian department of Great Britain in 1816, and never renounced the British allegiance. He was justice of the

peace in Chicago, in 1826; and he was Indian chief all this time, and died a British American Indian subject.

The following obituary notice of his death was published in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 28, 1841:

Died, at Council Bluffs, on the 28th of September last, (1841,) Saugaunash, (Billy Caldwell,) the principal chief of the united nations of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomie Indians, in the 60th year of his age. He was well and favorably known to the old residents of Chicago, and the northern frontier of Illinois, as an old and efficient friend during the Sac and Fox trouble of 1832. Among those of the whites who knew him well, he was esteemed an honorable, high-minded, intelligent gentleman; generous to a fault, but attentively devoted to the interest and welfare of his people, who had unanimously called him to the chieftainship of their nation.

[From the Chicago *Democrat* of July 16th, 1834.]

ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST VESSEL THROUGH THE OPENING AT THE MOUTH OF THE CHICAGO RIVER.

"Our citizens were not a little delighted on Saturday morning last by a sight as novel as it was beautiful. About nine o'clock their attention was arrested by the appearance of the splendid schooner Illinois, as she came gliding up the river into the heart of the town under full sail. The Illinois is a new vessel of nearly one hundred tons, launched this spring, at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., is a perfect model of a schooner, and is commanded by Captain Pickering, who is one of the most enterprising and persevering seamen that navigates the lakes. Her topmast was covered with streamers, and her canvass was all spread to invite the gentle breeze. The banks of the river were crowded with a delighted crowd, and as she reached the wharf of Messrs. Newberry and Dole, where she stopped, she was hailed with loud and repeated cheers. Her decks were immediately crowded by the citizens, all anxious to greet her gallant commander with a warm and hearty welcome. The draw-bridge was soon raised, and she passed on to the upper end of the town, and came to Ingersoll's wharf in front of the Weston Stage House. On her passage up the river more than two hundred of our citizens were on board. We hope we shall often greet Captain Pickering and his brethren of the lakes in the harbor of Chicago.

"On Monday night the schooner Philip, Captain Hone, from Lake Erie, also entered the river, and was engaged yesterday in discharging her cargo at the wharf of Messrs. Newberry and Dole."

The vessel, you will see, arrived on Saturday, previous to the issue of the paper containing the notice, which date would be on the 12th of July. The Philip came in Monday the 12th of July.

LIST OF MAYORS OF CHICAGO.

Wm. B. Ogden,	elected	May 2, 1837	Isaac L. Milliken,	elected	Mar. 13, 1854
Buckner S. Morris,	"	Mar. 6, 1838	Levi D. Boone,	"	" 8, 1855
Benj. W. Raymond,	"	" 5, 1839	Thomas Dyer,	"	" 10, 1856
Alexander Lloyd,	"	" 3, 1840	John Wentworth,	"	" 3, 1857
Francis C. Sherman,	"	" 5, 1841	John C. Haines,	"	" 2, 1858
Benj. W. Raymond,	"	" 7, 1842	" " "	"	" 1, 1859
Augustus Garrett,	"	" 7, 1843	John Wentworth,	"	" 6, 1860
A. S. Sherman,	"	" 7, 1844	Julian S. Rumsey,	"	April 16, 1861
Augustus Garrett,	"	" 5, 1845	Francis C. Sherman,	"	" 15, 1862
John P. Chapin,	"	" 3, 1846	" " "	"	" 21, 1863
James Curtis,	"	" 2, 1847	John B. Rice,	"	" 18, 1865
Jas. H. Woodworth,	"	" 7, 1848	" " "	"	" 16, 1867
" " "	"	" 6, 1849	Roswell B. Mason,	"	Nov. 2, 1869
James Curtis,	"	" 6, 1850	Joseph Medill,	"	" 7, 1871
Walter S. Gurnee,	"	" 4, 1851	Harvey D. Colvin,	"	" 4, 1873
" " "	"	" 2, 1852	Monroe Heath,	"	July 12, 1876
Charles M. Gray,	"	" 14, 1853	Carter H. Harrison,	"	April 1, 1879

VALEDICTORY.

Far different is the early history of the Northwest from that of New England, or the Virginia colonies. The people of both came from the same origin, except the French, who remained in the country: but when the Anglo-Americans came to the West, their minds were unclouded by the servitude of caste, either in religious or political affairs, for time had wrought great changes between the days of the settlement of Jamestown by gentlemen, and Plymouth by unctious Puritans, and the days of William Henry Harrison, when Western pioneering became a mania throughout the East. Then came a rush of adventurers to the new field of labor. Not regretful fugitives from persecution, but bold, aggressive and ambitious fortune-seekers, who could tolerate Jews, especially if they would loan them money, or Quakers, if they would sell them "honest goods," as they are wont to do. They could fellowship any one who would do something to help subdue the wilds of the West, and build progressive institutions therein: and here grew into being from cosmopolitan elements, THE WEST AS IT IS: the wealthiest country in the world in creature comforts if not in gold. Its adult population have largely witnessed its growth, and who of them can say they have not felt their minds enlarge by Western experience.

Readers, to this conviction I confess. To you I therefore say, that in writing the foregoing pages, I have imagined myself familiarly conversing with my peers, who were in sympathy with me and knew how to accept my words, feeble as words are to measure THE GRANDEUR OF THE WEST HISTORICALLY.

Chicago, Ill., January, 1881. THE AUTHOR.

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